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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART I—A NEGLECTED CLASSICAL LANGUAGE

SOME fifteen years ago, the Books of the New Testament were being subjected to the same unflinching criticism which is now being applied to the works comprised in the older canon of the Sacred Scriptures. And it is only because religion is secretly so close to the heart of every man, even to the hearts of its deriders, that this sort of criticism is so strained and inveterate. But in those days there was no yielding from within the citadel. The defenders of the Faith were then led by one whose intellect was as subtle and analytic as his religion was devout and single-minded. If his constancy of soul was sustained from sources supernatural, his reason derived strength from a solid erudition and a capacity for the appraisement of evidence, which gravely smiled upon, as it quietly exposed, the showy mask of learning often presented to it. Although the Church included then, as it does now, many weak-kneed theologians, ready to make terms with German destructive criticism—eclectic Ritualism having not as yet bled the hybrid and charlatan variety of the stamp which has been lately revealed—such a champion as Bishop Lightfoot rallied even these with his cry of “no surrender.” He carried the defence into the camp of the enemy, and, in a series of brilliant papers in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* (1875-76), he succeeded in placing the Gospel narratives upon such rocks of defiance, with regard to the questions of age and authenticity, that their position in these respects has been deemed unassailable ever since.*

* For the most recent testimony to the impregnable historical position of the New Testament, see the remarkable review of *Lux Mundi* which appeared in *The Times* of 13th November 1890.

A NEGLECTED CLASSICAL LANGUAGE

As is now the method of attack adopted in one department of Old Testament analysis, so was there, then, a loud malignant whisper which talked of a common ancestral "document" from which the Gospel writers had drawn and misdrawn their "facts." It was a "Compendium of the Life of Jesus Christ," by one Tatian, to which Eusebius had referred, and which was in extensive circulation in the second century in the Syrian Church, which many of the critics seized upon as the probable quarry from which the Evangelists had picked out a harmonious substratum on which to build the bulwarks of Christianity. Bishop Lightfoot, however, had a subtler theory than that. "No," said he, "this work of Tatian shall, indeed, form a foundation for the Gospels, but only as fixing a chronological barrier, marking a date before which they must have been composed." Thence he went on to demonstrate the probability that Tatian's work was compounded out of the Gospels, not the Gospels out of Tatian. Now, if this theory could have been proved to be fact by the worthy Bishop, it would have established an irrefragable position—namely, that the Evangelists' narratives, from which Tatian copied, must have been in existence previous to the year 160 A.D., the acknowledged latest date for Tatian's Compendium. The Bishop guessed this work to be merely a harmony of the Four Gospels, but he could not prove it so, and thus establish the prior appearance of the Gospels, because the work itself had been lost for centuries, so that its exact contents were thus unknown. And here comes in the romance of the story. "Ah! if Tatian's work could only be recovered from the bygone ages to confirm the truth!" must have often been the learned writer's craving. But that was almost impossible. Even Eusebius, in the fifth century, could only describe the book from hearsay. When Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyrrhus, visited, in the year 280, the Syrian Church in Edessa, he had ordered all copies of "Tatian's Gospel" to be destroyed as heretical. Notwithstanding, then, the hopelessness of recovering the lost treasure in the 19th century, will the real situation be credited? The case was actually this. While Dr. Lightfoot was penning his famous articles, the longed for work was in reality stowed away on the top shelf of his book-case!

Prior to the destruction of Tatian's Gospel, one Ephraem, the Syrian, had embodied, paragraph by paragraph, the entire work in a Commentary which he had composed upon it. He wrote in Syriac, and his compilation had also long ago disappeared. However, in the days when it was popular, Ephraem's work had been translated into the Armenian language. The Armenian version had not been lost; but Armenian was—and

is—a language unknown to our theologians. An Armenian monk of the convent established by Mekhitar at Venice, by name Paschal Ancher, had even published Ephraem's Commentary in 1832, little dreaming of its value. Bishop Lightfoot, many years previously, in a bibliophilist humour, had purchased a second-hand copy in Venice, meaning some day to study Armenian. Yet it was not by the Bishop that these circumstances were brought to light. In 1877, a German lighted upon Ancher's publication at Venice, and it was only when this discovery was revealed to the world of letters that Dr Lightfoot found on his book-shelf his own copy. It remained for the learned scholar Theodor Zahn to pick out Tatian's Gospel—the Diatessaron, as it is styled—piece by piece from Ephraem's Commentary, and, putting the paragraphs together, to make public the ancient work in its entirety once again. Then, indeed, was Lightfoot's conjecture proved to be correct. Tatian had merely aimed at presenting a full and consecutive narrative of Christ's Life, by linking together into one whole all the important statements and facts recited by the four Evangelists. Their very words were culled bodily by this second century harmonist, and the antiquity of the Gospels, as Lightfoot had anticipated was indisputably settled by these voluminous quotations.

To the Armenians and their language is this important result primarily due. Moreover, we have introduced the long, but interesting, narrative only with the intention of leading up to the subject of this review, which is designed to set forth the importance of this neglected tongue to English students.

Armenian is a language which deserves to be seriously studied by both the theological and the classical scholar. Hidden away in this idiom,—and, again, hidden away in the libraries of obscure Armenian monasteries—exist treasures of ancient literature, indigenous as well as imported, which would adequately repay the trouble and patience of mastering a new language of certainly exceptional difficulty.

That the Armenian language and Armenian literature have not remained untouched by curious outsiders, I am fully aware. German linguists have naturally bored their way into these mines, and have been slowly and laboriously turning over the material with the view to its philological sublimation and calcination. But German philologists are, after all, mere digestive machines. What is here required is not patient soulless pedantry, but men of brilliant parts and wide general reading—men, not without a department of their own, but with the scholarship and all-round ability which can

appreciate and make use of the miscellaneous accumulations of a literary people, whose reputation has long lain forgotten. Thirty years ago M Brosset, who had mastered both the Georgian and the Armenian languages, performed much useful work in this direction, but his investigations dealt chiefly with the literature of Georgia. Since then, Mr H Dwight, Professor Petermann, and Dr S C Malan have published translations of Armenian writings, whilst one of the latest recruits is Mr. F C Conybeare, who, an accomplished Oxford man of polished tastes, has shown himself so enthusiastic a student of Armenian as to make a literary tour in the country of the language itself. However, whether one's hobby be Oriental history, Greek literature, Ecclesiastical lore, or Biblical investigation, if the desire is to make discoveries of importance in these departments, let the devotee be assured that, in the books and MSS of the tongue to which I am referring, lie the best of chances of the kind. But after a brief digression of a more general nature, I shall attempt to set forth more particularly the principal vein into which Armenian literature has flowed, and some enumeration of the treasures already known to exist may be likewise recorded.

Armenia, in connection with Turkish misrule, has recently been so much before the public that we have at length gathered more precise notions regarding its geographical situation. We at least picture it somewhere betwixt the Black and the Caspian Seas, with the Caucasus Mountains as a leading feature. Formerly, an extensive kingdom, with the Southern provinces protruding far into Persia and Asia Minor, Armenia, as we know, has now no political existence. Part of the old territory belongs to the Shah, part to the Sultan of Turkey, and by far the largest portion (including Erzerum, Kais, and Tiflis, with the great table-lands stretching north of the Caucasus) to the Czar of all the Russias. A great number of Armenians still cling to their ancient soil, but the majority of the educated and more enterprising of this nation migrated, many generations back, to the larger towns of Europe and Asia. Thus, at Constantinople, it is estimated that no fewer than 180,000 of the population are Armenians. At Vienna exists a colony of 15,000, whilst at Kutty, near the Carpathians, is an isolated settlement, dating from the fourteenth century, whose members speak a dialect, the nearest akin to the ancient Armenian tongue. The important religious community at Venice, who have given in their allegiance to the Pope, have been well-known for nearly 200 years, and it is from the San Lazzaro Academy there, that most modern works in the language, especially the grammars and the dictionaries, have been issued.

It was at Venice that Lord Byron attempted to study Armenian. Other centres of this scattered race are in Cairo, Bombay, and Calcutta. In Calcutta reside 670 Armenians, with church, schools, and institutions of their own. Manchester is the only rallying point on English soil, and possesses a small community of Armenian merchants, numbering about 130 souls. Everywhere, it would seem, except in their native land, they are notably prosperous, the richest merchants and bankers in Eastern towns belonging to this nationality. Confirmed money-makers, they are lavishly charitable to their own people, and in a philanthropic investigation in Calcutta, concerning the distributing of charitable relief to the poor of all nations in that city, only one Armenian was reported to be in want—a man who had offended the community by leaving their Church. In their wide diffusion, their wealth, and their business capabilities, not to mention their generosity to their own poor, the Armenians are curiously parallel with the Jewish race.

But, unlike the Jews, the Armenians are Christians, and their Christianity dates back to the most primitive times. They allege their Church to have been founded, circa A.D. 35, by the Apostle Thaddæus, and in the rejoinder issued in 1888 from the head of the Armenian Church, declining the invitation of Leo XIII to merge their national Church in that of Rome, mention is made of "her existence of 1854 years in an independence which she will ever maintain." However, historically we know nothing of the existence of an Armenian Church prior to the end of the third century when Gregory, the illuminator, evangelized the country, converted the king, and, in the year 302, was finally consecrated first Bishop of Armenia. The Armenian Patriarch, whose See is settled at Echmi-adzin, 12 miles from Erivan, in Russian Armenia, represents Gregory in his position of primate, and to the present day the "Gatoghigos," occupying this chair, is the Metropolitan of the whole Armenian Church. He is head of the ancient monastery at Echmi-adzin, and is known in European writings as the "Katholikos." Under this Patriarch are the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and in the three Patriarchates of the Orthodox Armenian Church are various Archbishops and Bishops, canonically subordinate to their respective Provincials. At Calcutta resides a suffragan in whom English clerics of the "advanced" type in our city take, one may say, a touching interest, styling him, in unctuous zeal, "the Armenian Archbishop."

In alluding, hereafter, to the liturgical department of Armenian literature, we shall have something to say concerning the doctrinal attitude of this Church and her present relationship to both the English and the Roman Churches. The

literature of the country is, indeed in many respects closely interwoven with Ecclesiastical History, both local and general.

When Armenian writings are denominated "classical," it should be explained that the term, far from being in this case an exaggerated, or unmerited one, deserves to be applied in two senses. The literature to be found in the language is to be divided into two great sections, and both of these are in great measure, classical, even in the technical sense. One section embraces the imported, or translated, works—translations executed in ancient times, the other section comprises the indigenous works—compositions of native Armenian authors, both ancient and modern. The first department, although wholly transferred by mere translation from other languages into Armenian, is altogether made up of the acknowledged classical writings of other civilised races, and, from its comprehensive purview, is a most important collection. This, moreover, should be the section dealt with first in these pages.

In the fourth century of the Christian era the Armenian idiom was elevated to the dignity of a written language, Greek having been previously the literary medium of Armenian scholars. When the language had thus gained a character of its own, a veritable bibliomania almost immediately set in. Throughout the fifth and following centuries, so amazing was the national voracity for books of all kinds, that a perfect army of scribes in every convent were put to attack the literatures of all countries. In that way, the whole body of Greek and Syriac works, sacred and profane, then current, was presently transferred into the Armenian tongue. So omnivorous were the translators, that writings, important and insignificant, were indiscriminately seized upon and duly assimilated, one and all, to the vernacular idiom. As a result, many of the minor compositions of ancient authors, which have been long ago lost in their original forms, are now found existing in these Armenian translations in old monastic libraries. In an age, like our own, which is so ingenious in erecting magnificent fabrics out of forgotten rubbish heaps, such materials will be considered more important than any discovery of *opera majora*. At least it is a consolation to surmise that certain of the books which the destruction of the famous Alexandrian Library was supposed to have removed for ever from the world, may yet be found mouldering in damp chambers on the crags around Ararat.

Some of the more prominent of the translations made from the Greek in the fifth century may now be enumerated. Armenian editions of at least five of the works of Aristotle, are known to survive, namely, the *Categories*, the *Analytikon*,

Περὶ Κοσμον, Περὶ Ἀρητην and Περὶ Ἐρημνείας. It is the Armenian version of these works which Mr Conybeare has collated and published. Then we have the complete productions of the poet Kallimachos, the writings of Diodoros Sikulos, Olympiodoros, and four volumes of Aeschvlos. A voluminous life of Alexander the Great, by an anonymous Greek author, is among the MSS at Venice. All the ordinary Greek classics are likewise to be met with.

The editions of the Fathers and the Ecclesiastical Historians are the most notable treasures. Amongst those specially worth examination and collation are the five series of the works of St Athanasius. The Armenian copies represent translations made within 100 years from the date of that great author's death, recording, therefore, his *ipsissima verba* before the corruptions and perversions of later editions were put forth. At Venice exist MSS of 23 separate works of Athanasius, including his "Life of St Anthony, the Abbot, and other Holy Anchorites," and the disputed tract on the Incarnation, also the Missal and Breviary said to have been the compilations of the saint. Philo's works have a peculiar interest, and the Armenians can boast here certain survivals not known to exist in any other form. I can only mention the writings of this author existing in the Mekhitar College at Venice, but others are reported from the Archiepiscopal Library at Erivan. The Venice series of Philo comprises —

- (1) Three Dialogues, one on the Souls of Beasts, and two on the Providence of God
- (2) Researches on the Books of Genesis and Exodus
- (3) Discourses on Samson and Jonah
- (4) On the three Angels which appeared to Abraham.

Of ancient books which have acquired a mysterious reputation, chiefly because they were numbered amongst the "lost," none seem to be so often referred to as the "Chronicle" of Eusebius of Cæsarea. Until comparatively recent times, this work was only known through Jerome's account of it, and was said to consist of an elaborate chronology, preceded by an epitome of universal history. Scaliger endeavoured to compile a supposititious text of the chronicle, using the various extracts from it, as given by contemporary authors. However, in 1788, an Armenian version of the original was found in St James's Monastery at Jerusalem, whilst, later, an Armenian translation of a Syriac version came to light from Echmi-adzin. Careful collations of these MSS were not made until 80 years afterwards, by Petermann, and now, with the help of Jerome's text, we may at last be said to have had this not very important mystery solved, and to have been put in possession of Eusebius's work exactly as it was left by its author. Naturally

there are innumerable writings by St Chrysostom to be met with in Armenian dress. It would require the scrutiny of an expert to pick out any of those which do not survive in their original Greek, if any such there be. Chrysostom has, I fancy, been too universally popular in the Eastern Churches, for even one of his minor compositions to have been permitted to lie in oblivion and so become lost. Nevertheless, it may be of interest to name some of the titles occurring in Somfal's Italian list —

- (1) Commentary on St Matthew
- (2) Thirty-three Homilies on St John's Gospel
- (3) Homilies on St Paul's Epistles
- (4) On the Annunciation
- (5) On the Holy Cross
- (6) Homilies on St Thomas's Unbelief and concerning the Sunday known as *Dominica in Albis*
- (7) On St Milesius, Bishop of Antioch
- (8) On the Baptism of Jesus Christ
- (9) On Penitence and the Prophet Jonah
- (10) On the Passover of the Hebrews
- (11) On the Good Samaritan

Turning to the Epistles of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, which, as documents composed only eighty years after the Crucifixion, are of the utmost importance in the determination of many nice points of primitive Christian doctrines, and of early Church government, the famous controversy as to the original shape of these letters will at once recur to the student's mind. Cureton's theory that the Ignatian Epistles were originally only three in number (which was so eagerly caught at and enlarged upon, *contra Christianos*, by Bunsen and Renan) has been at length most conclusively refuted. Zahn, Lightfoot, and Dr Travers Smith of Dublin, have caused the majority of critical scholars to accept, as the genuine productions of the venerable martyr, the seven somewhat shortened letters which Vossius first disinterred from the Medicean MS. Few, however, are aware of the important confirmation of these conclusions to be gathered from Armenian sources. The Armenian version contains the seven Epistles, in shortened form, and entirely free from the Arian interpolations which first cast discredit on the expanded editions. As the Armenians derived their series from the Syriac early in the fifth century, this version reaches back almost to the times of Eusebius, with whose extracts and comments it exactly harmonizes. In addition to the seven accepted Epistles, we find, in the Armenian series, the six other letters usually held to be spurious. Nevertheless, as these six non-Ignatian Epistles were evidently translated in one batch with the genuine letters, which had not then (as this version plainly proves) been manipulated by the Arian interpolator, we

at least ascertain that the six were not, as was once supposed, further compositions of the heretical interpolator, but that they are—though not of Ignatian authorship—yet *of very early origin*. These last are thus intitled in the Armenian collection —(1) To those of Antioch, (2) From Mary, the Proselyte of Kasdagh, to Ignatius, (3) Reply of Ignatius, (4) To those of Tarsus, (5) To the Deacon Heron of Antioch, (6) To the Phillippians

Our orthodox Churches, doubtless, have pardonable cause for triumph in the establishment of the authenticity of this famous septet of second-century letters, as opposed to Cureton's excerpts. Many are the important positions and doctrines which thereby gain the strength of the stainless testimony of a "Pupil of St John" as to their being current in the most primitive ages of Christianity. Some of those conclusions deserve special mention here. The Ignatian Epistles, when the unadulterated versions of Armenia and Syria are consulted, at least establish —

(1) That there existed in the Church of the first quarter of the second century the three Orders—of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon

(2) That the New Testament was, for Ignatius and also for the Church of his time, already a written collection like the Old

(3) That the Old Testament had the solemn imprimatur of re adoption by the Churches, as the direct Revelation of God, so early as 110 A D at least

(4) That the Holy Communion occupied then a commanding position, the word *Eucharist* being reserved to express only a specified section of the office

(5) That the Christians had already cast aside the Jewish Sabbath, and observed, as the Lord's Day, the first day of the week

(6) The writers of that day were familiar with the phrase "the Catholic Church"

Moreover, in quitting this most interesting of subjects, and one very properly interminable to the Christian apologist, it is worth pointing out, as one of the more important pieces of internal testimony to their antiquity, that the word "Trinity" is not once mentioned in these writings, just as it is absent from the canonical works of the New Testament. Nevertheless, as in the latter, the particulars of the doctrine are as fully and palpably implied

Extraordinary, indeed, is the mass of patristic literature thus lying *perdu* in this unknown tongue. Much of it, doubtless, is unworthy of translation, but, on the other hand, much would prove of the highest value for critical and collative purposes,

if only it were rendered available to the professional analyst. For example, of the works of Ephraem, the Syrian, twenty-nine volumes are known to exist in Armenian MSS, in addition to the valuable Commentary on Tatian's harmony. The writings of Eusebius Emesenus, of which nothing but a few fragments have been hitherto seen by European scholars, are to be found in their entirety in the Ararat monasteries. I must also mention having noticed the occurrence of no fewer than 34 volumes of St Gregory Nazianzen, 17 treatises by St Basil, and the rare works of Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria, in the Armenian lists. However, enough of this. My object is not to catalogue exhaustively, but only to indicate generally, and to lead the way to further investigations by future possible students.

The Armenian Church is so much part and parcel of the Armenian people that her distinctive character is almost synonymous with their nationality and patriotism. Their Church is their own, and with touching tenacity have the majority of the race clung to her as a peculiar possession, resisting for centuries the unrelenting enticements of the Roman Propaganda. So early as the year 1240 A.D., we find one of the national authors, Mekhitar Sgyuratzi, composing a vehement "Discourse against the Popes of Rome," and a MS of the work occurs in the Venice Library. Many similar writings of later date are extant, and, in fact, just at the period when the English nation was, under her Plantagenet monarchs, asserting the autonomy of the Anglican Church, in opposition to Papal encroachment—just then was the Armenian Church engaged in resisting the same interference from Rome*. As we know, however, pertinacity and importunity have gained their usual meed of success, and a portion of the Armenian race has yielded to offers of Papal protection. Thus, in addition to the Orthodox Armenian Church already referred to, we hear of the Uniat Armenian Church which is the Roman branch. The members of this branch (like the Chaldaean Church, separated by similar influence from the Orthodox Nestorian, or Assyrian, Church, and like the Uniat Church of Syria, separated from the Syrian Jacobite Church) have been permitted a half sort of independence, with the use of their national liturgy, as revised and emasculated by the Roman fathers. Happily the bulk of the Armenian nation is too patriotic to

* It would seem that in the year 1307 A.D. a king of Armenia, Leo the Third, having convened a Council, proposed to unite the National Church to that of Rome. Moreover, among other matters, he promised the Pope that the mixed chalice should be used in the Armenian Church. The bitter feeling which was thus evoked, at length led to his murder.

abandon its ancient religious autonomy, and continues to resist, with sterling vigour, both the blandishments of the Vatican, working on one side, and the stolid bribery of the American missionaries, who, on the other hand are bent on converting this grand Old Church to a vapid congregationalism. Of the two tempting forces, naturally the American system, as being non-episcopal, is more distasteful to educated Armenians than to the ignorant villagers, amongst whom the Yankee proselytism is chiefly conducted.

Towards the Church of England the Orthodox Armenians assume an attitude very different from that exhibited towards the two agencies who have thus trifled with long-standing ardent convictions. Reverencing her ancient lineage, her faithful preservation of much primitive doctrine, and her heroic isolation, many Anglican clergymen, from the Archbishop of Canterbury downward, have cultivated friendly relations with the Armenian Church. Our policy has been, not to entice these respectable Christians to quit the national fold, but to encourage them to help and improve themselves within its antique borders. Thus have they learnt to trust, and feel a fellowship with, the English Church. Although we have never entered into formal communion with the Armenian Church, our intercourse with her commenced in the last century. In the library at Jerusalem, the community exhibit with pride a printed record of the visit of an Armenian priest to Calcutta 100 years ago, and how, at the opening of St John's Church in that city, he was placed with the English clergy, near the altar. The year just concluded (1890) has been a noteworthy one for much reciprocal intercourse between representatives of the two Churches at Jerusalem. Dr Blyth the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, has attended, semi officially, services in the Cathedral Church of the Armenian Patriarch, who has likewise returned the courtesy. A correspondent of the *London Guardian*, writing from Jerusalem, has communicated so picturesque an account of a visit paid to the Cathedral on 20th July 1890 by Bishop Blyth and his chaplain, that we cannot refrain from a brief extract —

“When the Bishop and his chaplain arrived, they found that careful arrangements had been made for them, and the Principal of the Patriarch's College in the Convent, Mr Isaac, who was educated in part at Dorchester and Cowley, came forward to help the Bishop to understand the service, of which he had an English translation. The Patriarch was preaching with great force and distinctness when they were brought in. After a short interval, during which a hymn was sung, the procession of clergy came in, with the Bishop, who was to celebrate, wearing his mitre, a chaplain, carried his pastoral

staff, which was of the English shape, and of silver, jewelled, his mitre was large, of the Latin pattern, of cloth of gold, jewelled. The vestments were much like those worn formerly in England, and extremely rich and handsome. There was a large choir of men and boys, all richly vested, who sang the responses and an occasional hymn, or anthem. They stood (the boys in front, the men behind, about thirty five of each), forming three sides of a square, in the centre of the Church. The Patriarch's throne is a double one, with two chairs, the inner of these is the throne of the Patriarch, but it is once only occupied by him, at his installation. The theory being that St. James, who is claimed to have been beheaded where the beautiful little chapel of commemoration stands, retains the throne, which is occupied once only by the Patriarch, his chair is on the right, within the same dais. On the south side of the Church is a corresponding dais, on which Bishop Blyth and his chaplain were placed. The Armenian Bishop, who officiated, was assisted by two priests (who wore the stole crossed) and by four deacons (who wore it over the left shoulder), and by several other attendants, all wore vestments very tasteful and of great value. The chalice, tall and large, was of gold, or silver gilt, the paten fitted the top of it. When the congregation were communicated (choir first, then the people), the Bishop came to the front holding the chalice, in which were the bread and the wine together, he knelt down, supported by two of the clergy, and so communicated the people, who came forward with great reverence of manner. There were several children amongst the communicants, one little one was lifted up by her mother towards the Bishop. Had they been conscious that they would join again in no service on earth, there could not have been a more thorough earnestness of manner throughout the entire service, both on the part of those who ministered and of the congregation. The humility with which the Patriarch joined in the service was touching, especially to those who knew his character."

Notwithstanding these pleasant approaches to one another, it must be distinctly understood, that the Anglican Church is not considered to be in communion with the Armenian Church. The Armenians have kept aloof from all communion with other Churches since the Council of Chalcedon, being supposed to have adopted the Eutychian heresy, which alleged Christ to have been possessed on earth of but one "nature," and that, a non-human nature. Though accounted in this way a Monophysite Church, several Armenian authorities repudiate the idea that such doctrines have been, at any time, formally promulgated by their Canons or Councils. Certainly but few expressions occurring in their liturgy can be brought

forward in support of the alleged heterodoxy. Indeed, in the Armenian variety of the Nicene Creed, we may find a formal repudiation of the Eutychian opinions with which the Church had been charged. The words made use of may be translated thus —“ Was born perfectly of the Holy Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost, of whom he took body, *soul*, and mind, and *everything that is in man*, truly and not in phantom form.”

Both in doctrine and in liturgical usages, the Orthodox Church of these interesting people naturally approximates to the belief and customs of the Greek communion. No mention of the *Filioque* occurs in the Nicene Creed, graven images of saints are condemned as idolatrous, the Holy Communion is delivered in both kinds to the laity, the bread being dipped in the wine for that purpose, and the Parochial clergy are required to be married men. Nevertheless, there are many special points of difference, characteristic of the sturdy independence of the race, amongst these may be noted the use of unwatered wine and leavened bread in the Eucharist, the deliverance of the elements to the people by the celebrant in a kneeling posture, and the very curious form of the Ter Sanctus wherein it is alleged that the *Holy Trinity* suffered for sinners on the cross. Elaborate in ceremonial and vestments though modern Armenian ritual undoubtedly shows itself, yet over and over again is it asserted by liturgical writers that this was not always so. The intercourse with Rome, which was carried on during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is stated to have produced radical changes in the Armenian Use. Prior to such intercourse, the ritual was extremely simple, no robes, for example, being worn by the officiating clergy in celebrating the Holy Communion, and a mitre only of a peculiar national pattern, being assumed by the chief celebrant. It was Rome who contributed the mediæval millinery to two great national Churches, both equally distinguished for their primitive establishment and their maintenance of a sober, yet polished, standard of doctrine—the ancient churches of England and of Armenia. If the new society which has been just instituted for the purpose of examining and publishing Eastern liturgies, is capable of obtaining the translation of the eighth century Armenian office-books, preserved at Venice, the result will be some startling revelations for our unctuous Anglicans of the modern brand. It is to be noted that to this day the Armenian Missal invariably designates the altar by the word *Syeghan*, the everyday term for an ordinary “table”. The liturgical office-books of the Armenian Church are by no means numerous. There is the *Hakrmash-dots*, which comprises daily prayers and missal, there is an authorised and very ancient collection of

hymns and graduals, several old copies of which exist in the M.S. department of the British Museum; there are three series of Homilies for reading aloud in churches; and lastly should be mentioned the Ordinal and the *Kanun-sharh*, or book of church edicts, the latter most important and interesting to the ecclesiologist, as containing the proceedings and canons of councils distinctively Armenian. To these, of course must be added the grand Armenian version of the Holy Scriptures, called by La Croix "the Queen of all the Versions"—the work of Isaac the Great and Mesrob Mastoz. This translation, which included the apocryphal epistles to and from the Corinthians, represents the text of the Bible as received circa 400 A.D.

Certainly the most extensive department of Armenian literature is that which embraces the distinctively native works—the long range of the original productions of Armenian authors, reaching from the introduction of letters into the land down to the small company of men who are at the present day doing their best to make their thoughts and writings contributions to the general stock of the world's knowledge. Armenian writers have always been great in the chronicling of history, and in this way the early authors of this race of book-lovers have contributed much that has never been properly acknowledged, concerning the ancient annals of the civilised nations upon earth.

Selecting for mere mention a few from the army of chroniclers, I may name, first, Agathangelos, who so early as the year 360 A.D., wrote the annals of the reign of King Tiridates. In the fifth century, the *Vartabed* Yeghishe—better known to Europeans by the Latinized form of name "Eliseus"—composed a "History of the Persecutions of the Armenian Church by the Persians, and of the Wars of the Armenians against the Persians." Passing on to the thirteenth century, I find there exists a most valuable series of records of the "Invasions of the Tartars from the year 300 to 1264 A.D.," written by a contemporary of Ghenjis Khan, one Ghiraghos Kantzaghetzi, who flourished from 1230-1270. Both Klaproth and Brosset have translated parts of these important narratives, but the main portion remains unknown to scholars. Another similar and equally valuable work is a chronicle of the invasions of the Mongols by Maghakia Apoghah. Again, in the fourteenth century, Hethoum Badouch composed a "History of the Tartars," who, in his days, were the one great conquering race in the universe. Worthy to place beside these annals is the work of another fourteenth-century writer, Nyerses Patientz, a History of the Lives and Times of the Emperors of Rome. It would, doubtless,

prove worth the while of any future successor of Gibbon or Mommsen to acquire the Armenian language, that he might cull from the views and the records of this unexplored historian of the Roman Empire, who lived and wrote 550 years ago

Naturally, it would be out of place in a mere Review article to attempt anything approaching to an epitome of the indigenous literature of Armenia. The writer has only had the design of indicating some of the forms which it has assumed, and to afford to the scholar, whose literary appetite may be whetted by such hints, some inkling of the prey to be hunted down and dissected. Little further need be added. History, secular and ecclesiastical, with poetry and dialectics, make up the bygone literature of every nation of letters. It is only in very modern times that Armenian authors, in common with their contemporaries in other countries, have run into the by-paths of knowledge which in these latter days, under the name of "Science," have become the high and beaten roads of the larger body of book-makers. However, most scientific works in the language are mere translations of famous German, French, and English books. Still the gallant little land endeavours to keep towards the front. She even issues at Tiflis her own reviews and magazines. Mr. Stead, in a recent number of his "Review of Reviews" published a list of the contents of no fewer than three native Armenian periodicals.

But where are these relics of past industry and learning to be met with? All the leading libraries of Europe have been endowed with moderate collections of books and MSS in the language, and the majority of such possessions have been subjected to some sort of examination by competent scholars. In the British Museum, there seem to be about 52 Armenian MSS, in addition, of course, to a large series of printed works issued in recent years from modern Armenian presses in Russia and Turkey. The MSS are mostly copies of the four Gospels written in several characters and illuminated, together with a few ancient specimens of missals and hymn books. Two or three of the Gospel MSS are of value, as they were penned in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and are written on a curious thick cotton paper. Several Theological works are included in the British Museum collection; likewise a very ancient copy of a Commentary on the Psalms, dating from the twelfth century, and a Life of St. John the Evangelist, in a copy marked with an Armenian date, corresponding to the year 1307 of our era. A thirteenth-century copy of the Apocalypse, and Epistles includes an apochryphal epistle from the Corinthians to St. Paul, with the Apostle's letter in reply. At Oxford the Archives of the Bodleian

Library hold a goodly number of MSS rather more varied in character than those in London. They have been of late submitted to the critical scrutiny of Dr S Baronian of Manchester, who has already in the Press a full descriptive catalogue. Other European collections of Armenian treasures are to be found in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, in the San Lazaro Convent of Venice, where are 383 MSS in the Armenian Monastery, at Vienna, in the Vatican Library (13 MSS), at Lemberg Monastery in Galicia, and in the Lazarev Institute at Moscow. Besides these, several private collections are in existence, among which special mention may be made of that of M Emin at Moscow, that of Gospodin Khodobashey at St Petersburg and that of an Armenian gentleman residing at Cairo, referred to by Mr Conybeare.

But the principal hunting-ground for the antiquarian and the original investigator must be the country itself, although it is just possible that a few treasures lie hidden in our Indian libraries. All the larger, and some of the minor, monasteries in Armenia Proper can boast of book hoards, the contents of which deserve inspection. Many of these store-houses of bygone learning have never been visited by travellers or even by Armenians of any education. The central establishment of this kind, without doubt, is the Patriarchal Monastery of Echmi-adzin. There resides the head of the whole Armenian Orthodox Church, now, indeed, a venerable patriarch in the truest sense, being upwards of 90 years of age. Mr Conybeare, who visited the monastery in 1888, remarks "Vagharshapad, the Armenian village which has grown up round the monastery, is a poor place, consisting of mud-built houses. The chief building, after the monastery, is the college, a long copper-roofed stone edifice, in which are educated about 200 Armenian youths, who come from both Turkey and Russia. There is a fine library well stocked with books of reference." The writer adds, "that the monastic library contains some 4,000 manuscripts—a statement which is hardly to be reconciled with the estimate of 481 MSS. as given by M Brosset. At Erivan, with its enchanting views of Mount Ararat (18,800 feet above sea-level), is a private library, containing many unique works, the property of Mons Voskan Wohannesiantz. At Sanahin is the fine collection of over 100 MSS known as the library of Archbishop Sarghis. We mention these instances as the chief among many. At Tiflis, where there is a University, we find, of course, an extensive Armenian library, the contents of which are, however, mostly modern productions.

So far, this article has treated of the literary treasures known to exist, or likely to be discovered, set forth in the idiom and

characters proper to the land of Ararat. But of this neglected language itself we have as yet said nothing, though it is placed as the title of our article. Nevertheless, we hope we have taken decidedly the best course to whet the appetite of the possible student, by exposing to view the inside of the citadel, before the difficulties of ascent thereto are put in sight. We have shown in this way that the language is worth learning, that the literature to which it would yield access is one not without possible prizes, and is deserving to be ransacked and sifted by the antiquarian, the classical scholar and the theological student. But a few remarks must be added in reference to the main peculiarities of the language.

First, let it be premised, that the speech of Armenians of the present day, and the idiom used in modern publications, will be found by no means the same as the language of the classical works to which we have been chiefly referring. Ancient Armenian, as it is styled, was the medium in which standard treatises were composed, not only in olden and mediæval days, but even in quite modern times. Classical Armenian, accordingly, is the language to which the would-be student should begin by devoting himself, and then, if needful, he can pass to the modern representatives of the primitive idiom. The grammar of the old language is really complicated as compared with that of the dialects now in use, but the vocabularies of the ancient and modern speeches are much the same. Thus, in the declension of substantives in the classical grammar, we find ten sets of terminations, which form the ten different declensions, whereas in most of the modern dialects there is but one declension, one set of terminations being used for the inflexion of any substantive or adjective. Still, the difference between ancient and modern Armenian is hardly wider than that which is observable between classical and modern Greek.

However, at the best, the word-forms of the Armenian tongue must appear to the outsider as novel as they are uncouth. Philological scientists, in order to satisfy the rules of their artificial systems, can forge the most monstrous relationships betwixt languages, which, to the common-place observer, seem totally unallied. Accordingly, these ingenious gentlemen have found a nook for the untractable speech of Armenia, and label it as an offshoot of the Iranian branch of the Scythic family of languages. It is not for those acquainted with both the Armenian and Persian languages to justify this supposed connection between these tongues, they could hardly do this when, in construction and in all primitive forms, the two are radically antagonistic. The mutual loan of a

few words proves no ancestral relationship. To generalise, classify and reduce the delightful variety existing in every department of the world to monotonous unity, is the hobby of the age. But all the Caucasian languages have so far bewildered even our mountebank philologists. Now, take this Armenian tongue, as unrelated to the neighbouring tongues of Georgia and of Daghestan, and of all the valleys in Caucasia (each valley possessed of its own isolated idiom), as it is to the greater languages of Asia or Europe. If you subject it to inspection, what can you or any philologist make of such words as these—the common words of the language? You find *Aranod* morning, *Yeryegoh* evening, *Aryekagun* the sun, *Anterlu* the rain, *Yeghpahr* a brother, *Kohr* a sister, *Sronnkakk* the leg, *Kloukh* the head, *Adamounk* the teeth, and *Khakhatzotz* the stomach! Shall we look for Iranian affinities to these, which we have extracted only at random from the Armenian vocabulary? Rather, let us hope to discover their cognates in Gaelic, or in the speech of the Chippeway Indians. And here, moreover, may be added half-a-dozen of the more ordinary verbs—*Shrchil*, to walk, *Shunanyel*, to kill, *Woudyel*, to eat, *Ambyel*, to drink, *Dzadzgyel*, to cover, *Ajabaryel*, to hurry! Notwithstanding this unique vocabulary it must be admitted that stray Arian forms, such as, *Dal*, to give, and *Janachyel*, to know, do occur also, but they are manifestly refugees.

With regard to the scheme of verbal inflection, a couple of examples will be enough. Here is the future tense, active indicative, of a first conjugative verb *Sharzhyel* to move.

Sharzhyetzitz	I shall move	Sharzhyestzouk	We shall move
Sharzhyestzyes	Thou shall move	Sharzhyeschik	Ye shall move
Sharzhyestze	He shall move	Sharzhyestzyen	They shall move

The form of the substantive verb is simple certainly—

Yém.	I am	Yémk	We are
Yés	Thou art.	Ek	Ye are
E'	He is	Yén	They are

In the construction of sentences the Armenian language is very easy and straightforward, and the order of the words resembles that in modern European languages, the verb, for example being never, as in other Oriental tongues, relegated to the last place in a sentence.

So much of what has been now said relates to both the classical and the modern form of Armenian. A few remarks of a general character may be added concerning the modern speech. The idioms of the present day, however, have been shaped into dialects differing considerably the one from the other. So scattered during the last few centuries has been the Armenian race, that one can hardly describe the medium of speech amongst them as one

common language. Four leading dialects of modern Armenian may be differentiated. First stands the idiom spoken in the heart of the land of their origin, that in general use in the Russian province of Trans-Caucasus, often known as Ararat Armenian. This is the colloquial of Erivan, Echmiadzin and the eastern districts bordering the Caspian Sea. Next we have the dialect peculiar to Turkish Armenia, which is the most widely diffused of them all, as it is heard amongst the many thousand Armenians residing in Constantinople, as well as among the provincials of Asia Minor. At Tiflis, though the situation is in Trans-Caucasus, the Turkish form is said to predominate. A third variation in the language, and that a very distinctive one, is that which is used by Armenians north of the Caucasus, the colonies seated at Astrakhan, Nakhechevan, Kishlar, and in other centres much further within Russian territory. The fourth colloquial, much adulterated with Persian prevails among the unfortunate members of the race who inhabit Kurdistan. Whatever the dialect spoken, the better class priests seem to be equally conversant with the classical language, which in many respects remains the literary language everywhere. In the Churches, while the Liturgy and Holy Scriptures are recited and read in the old speech, one invariably hears the sermon preached in the vernacular. However, an Armenian of Constantinople would be in some difficulty to understand a preacher at Erivan, though the main dialectic peculiarities lie in idiosyncracies of pronunciation and local systems of terminology, and only slightly in vocabulary. As it would be beyond the scope of a Review article to introduce a discriminating survey of dialect, our subject forthwith reaches its fitting conclusion.

It may be added that those cruel antagonists of the Armenians—the Kûrds,—when they wish to write their own language, invariably make use of Armenian characters.

GRAHAM SANDBERG

ART II—THE REAL MAJOR GAHAGAN.

"SWEET are the uses of adversity," says Shakspeare. Had he written now-a-days, he might perhaps have said "Great are the uses of advertisement." No one who has the tenacity of purpose requisite for continuous self-assertion, seems now likely to experience the sweetness of the older uses. Messrs Apples derive a colossal fortune by describing their wares on the clouds of heaven, or in the bowels of the earth: their balms may be the most precious in the world, but why should we take their word for it? Bellman, the poet, handles the Press, or telephones his genius from the remote East. Little Fleabottom, the general practitioner, becomes the great Sir Truffle Fleabottom, the eminent nose doctor, by professing to found an infirmary for disorders of the ethmoid. Mrs Leo Hunter urges the chase through the jungles of Belgiavia, and captures the king of beasts. Everybody is taken at his own valuation, if he only makes the estimate duly known, and adds the cost of the proclamation to the price demanded of the credulous consumer. Even the *fin-de siècle* soldier shares in the profitable sport: and the age of iron ends in the age of brass.

Some inkling of what was coming was perceived in the middle of the century, when Thackeray recorded the *Tremendous Adventures of Major Gahagan*, who engraved his honours on his visiting cards, and informed the public of his conversations with Royalty and his feats in love and war. One turns with feelings of relief—not unmixed with surprise—to the real story out of which that squib was concocted, the story of a real Indian Major who did his work with calmness and reticence, waiting patiently for his opportunities, and content to live and die undecorated.

Like his fictitious representative, our hero was a tall and brave wielder of the sabre, who raised and commanded a body of Irregular "Horse." Like Gahagan, he bearded the truculent Holkar in his durbar-tent, and won the love of a dusky Princess of Ind. But with these circumstances the resemblance ends, for, while Thackeray's hero was a braggart and a swaggerer, our own Anglo-Indian Major was a modest, retiring gentleman, with an almost morbid hatred of self-assertion.

The main features of this officer's career have been recorded by Mr Manners Chichester, in an excellent article (WILLIAM LINNÆUS GARDNER) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XX. But some letters written by him at

the time of Lord Moira's Nepalese war having come into the possession of the present writer, it has been thought that extracts of general interest might be made to throw light upon a curious phase in the development of Anglo-Indian life and manners. The period is that of the fall of Emperor Napoleon, who, at one time, appeared to be preparing to renew the struggle for the Empire of India which had been so alarming in the second half of the eighteenth century. Possessed of Egypt, and completely dominant in the counsels of the Czar Paul, influential in Persia, and having warm sympathisers at the camp of Daolat Rao Sindhia, the mighty Corsican might, at the end of that century, well have seemed more likely to disturb the half-formed British power in India than when Bussy and Dupleix—with half-hearted support from the red-heeled minions of the *Cœil-de-Bœuf*—gave so much trouble fifty years before. How the peril was faced by Pitt and the illustrious brothers Wellesley, is matter of general history. By 1814 the peril had been so confronted as to have completely vanished, but there were many internal dangers, and many resolute efforts still awaiting the founders of that marvellous empire.

It was the Nepalese war, fought on an exhausted exchequer, and, mainly, with most incompetent generals, with the Sikhs gathering on the North, and the Pindaris, backed by the perfidious chief of the Mahiattas, on the South, that put the last stone upon that foundation. In a smaller way, too, this war is memorable for it gave to British India the whole line of the lower Himalaya, including the stations of Simla, the summer capital of India, and Naini Tal, the *villeggiatura* of the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

It is hardly too much to say that the termination of this enterprise, the peace with Nepal, which has never since been broken, and the acquisition of the land of sanitation and cradle of the now enormous Indian tea-industry, were the work of Gardner. The last Gurkha army, under its famous leader, Amar Sinha, was, no doubt, overcome by the skill and resolution of Sir David Ochterlony. But it was Gardner who conceived and executed the strategic operations which cut Amar Sinha off from his communications and sources of reinforcement, and thus compelled his surrender at Maláon, and left him next year impotent for the defence of Khatmandu.

The eve of the war found Gardner in his cantonment, near Etah, in the district of that name, commanding his squadrons of Irregular Horse (now represented by the 2nd Regiment of Bengal Cavalry), and occupying his leisure with the care of his estates and of his half native-family. But to explain his position, it will be necessary to go back to the time of the

French Revolution and the beginning of the great war with the new Republic

Born in 1771, son of an officer in the British army, and nephew to Lord Gardner, a distinguished Admiral, young Gardner entered the service in 1789, and became a Captain in the 30th Foot. In 1794 his regiment was in India, but he took part in the abortive expedition to Quiberon before proceeding to the East. Becoming soon weary of life in an Indian cantonment, he joined the service of Takuji Holkar, then engaged in a vain struggle against the superior skill and power of Sindhia, and his able general, the Count de Boigne. In 1798, Takuji died, bequeathing his projects to his illegitimate son, the famous Jeswant Rao, who was afterwards encountered, according to Thackeray, by the redoubtable Goliath, Gahagan.

Holkar made great efforts to overthrow the rival power Madhuji Sindhia had died in 1794, and his successor was not his equal, either in ability or judgment. Yet there were many other lions in the path, so that Jeswant Rao had considerable difficulty in establishing himself as head of the Holkar clan, and it was not till 1799 that the army, of which the "Regular" portion was under the command of a French officer of experience, the Chevalier du Drence, could be persuaded to put itself under his orders. Towards the end of that year he encountered Colonel Hessing, at the head of a force of which the nucleus consisted of a corps of eight disciplined battalions with twenty guns. The battle took place at Ujjain, in Malwa, and was a complete victory for Holkar. Having shaken Hessing's line with his artillery and outflanked them with clouds of horse, he fell upon the disordered ranks at the head of his heavy cavalry. Four-fifths of the infantry and most of the gunners were sabred where they stood, amongst the slain were a number of the European officers, of whom the rest were taken, with the exception of Colonel Hessing himself, who galloped off when he saw that all was lost, and saved himself by flight.*

This, moreover, was not the last success of the army to which Gardner belonged. Defeated, soon after, at Indore, Holkar lost his camp, his guns, and his capital, which last was most thoroughly sacked, with every circumstance of brutality, by the Mahatta General and his Pindaris. Stripped of everything, Holkar and his men for sometime subsisted by freebooting of the most unreserved description. Du Drence left him and took service with Sindhia, but the bulk of the trained infantry refused to follow the example of

* Hessing commanded for Sindhia at Agra, where he died in 1802. His tomb is a fine building of red sandstone in the Catholic cemetery there.

their commandant and remained faithful to Holkar, who moved about in Central India, avoiding a pitched battle, but plundering and devastating after the old Mahratta custom. On 25th October 1802, however, he was again brought to book near Puna, when he again obtained a decisive victory, though with the loss of one of his best officers, a gallant young adventurer, named Harding. The Peshwa fled, and Holkar became master of the capital.

He now joined the confederacy which Sindhia was organising against the British, but which was defeated by the prompt action and good fortune of the Marquess of Wellesley before Holkar had committed himself by overt hostility. What part Gardner would have taken, if ordered to act against the army of his country, in which he had once served, may be easily conjectured but the war came to a swift end. In the following year, therefore, Holkar was still in a position to open negotiations, of a friendly nature, with the British Generals, and Gardner, from his social standing and conspicuous ability, was selected as the emissary to the camp of General Lake in Hindustan. Gardner had, by this time, married a Muslem lady, daughter of the Nawab of Cambay, and he left his family under Holkar's protection, while he undertook this mission. The emissary was honest, but the proposals which he bore were thought insincere, and the negotiations came to nought, after protracted discussion.

When Gardner returned to his employer's camp, he dismounted at the door of the durbar-tent, where he found Holkar seated, probably much as described in the veracious narrative above referred to. The chief was on the carpet of honour at the end of the tent, sitting cross-legged, and surrounded by his civil and military officers in similar attitudes. Holkar was violently excited at Gardner's ill-success, but, as that was not Gardner's fault, he fell to insolent upbraiding on the delay that had occurred, concluding with these words —

'Had you not returned to-day, it was my intention to have thrown down the enclosure of your zenana.'

This was a studied provocation. Holkar was filled with hatred and suspicion of his British-born officers, three of whom he beheaded a few days later*. Gardner narrowly escaped a similar fate, invited, as it would have been, by his own hasty temper. Indignation at the double insult to his fidelity and to his family privacy overpowered the prudence which is seldom very strong in a European provoked by an Asiatic. "Drawing my sword," he afterwards related, 'I attempted to cut Holkar down, but was prevented by those

* Their names were Tod, Ryan, and Vickers, they were accused of corresponding with the British General.

about him; ere they had recovered from their amazement, I rushed from the tent, sprang upon my horse, and was soon beyond the reach of my pursuers." After this exploit, which recalls Major Gahagan in his most doughty mood, Gardner underwent a series of further wild adventures. In his flight, he fell into the power of Amrit Rao, a pretender to the office of Peshwa, or head of the Mahiatta confederacy, by whom he was commanded to bear arms against the British. On his refusal, he was tied hand and foot to a cot and threatened with death. Being afterwards unfastened and made over to a guard, he managed to escape from them by leaping into a river over a precipice fifty feet high. He swam down the stream, disguised himself as a grass-cutter, and, after other wanderings, reached the British camp. Lake gave him a kind reception and commissioned him to raise a body of light horsemen, for whose support he received an estate at Khasganj, near Etah. His wife was spared by Holkar, on account of her relationship to the Nawab of Cambay, and she made her way to him at Khasganj and was his faithful companion to the end, only surviving him a month. Their descendant, the last Lord Gardner, lived as a native, and died near Etah about 1885.

We must now return to the cantonment where Gardner was living in 1814, when Lord Moira, then Governor-General, was coming up the country to prepare for the war with Nepal, having also on his hands the prospect of a campaign against the united powers of the Peshwa and the Pindaris, who were devastating Central India. Gardner's cousin, the Hon. Edward Gardner, was then Assistant to the Delhi Resident,* and some of the Major's letters to him have come into the hands of the writer, as already mentioned, which afford a curious picture of Anglo-Indian life in that immediate past which is so much more remote from ordinary spheres of knowledge than the *salons* of old Paris, or the private life of Antony and Cleopatra. Yet, entirely past as that life is, it was seen by persons who may still be surviving, indeed, if any one wishes for further views of it, they can be found in a book published in London only forty years ago. Whether, if the historian of Major Gahagan had continued the narration of his hero's adventures after the relief of Futtighur, he would have drawn a similar picture, readers will determine for themselves.

The persons of the little drama unfolded in the letters are —

THE BEGAM Gardner's Muslem wife

BLUNT, WILLIAM, son of Sir C. Blunt, Baronet, born 1780, and, at the time of the letters, a sort of Chief Commissioner

* Afterwards the first British Administrator of Kamaun.

in the Upper Provinces. Spoken of by Gardner as "Sir Waverley Weathercock"

RICKETTS, MORDAUNT,* another Civilian, afterwards Resident at Lucknow

OCHTERLONY,† SIR DAVID, defended Delhi against Holkar,† 1804, Resident at the Court of Delhi, and afterwards the conqueror of the Gurkhas of Nepal. He returned to his post at Delhi after the conclusion of the war, and was there when Durjan Sal rebelled at Bhartpur. His views and conduct in that matter being disapproved by the feeble Government of Lord Amherst, though justified to the full by subsequent events, he resigned his appointment and soon after died at Meerut, where his monument is to be seen. There is a fine equestrian portrait of him in the palace at Sardhana, now the property of Lady Forester.

HEARSEY, CAPTAIN, commanded a body of sepoy in Kumaun, taken prisoner by the Gurkhas, and liberated during the final negotiations

CHAUNTRA (THE), a minister of the Chand Raja of Kumaun, dispossessed by the Gurkhas, his name was Harikh Deo Joshi. He warmly espoused the cause of the British when they invaded Kumaun, with 4,500 men and two six-pounder guns, under —

NICHOLLS, COLONEL, afterwards Sir Jasper Nicholls, and Commander-in-chief of the Bengal army. He took Almora, the capital of the province, 26th April 1826, and, having, with Gardner's assistance, succeeded in cutting off the Gurkha General, Amar Sinha, from his base in Nepal, led to the surrender of the enemy to Ochterlony and the subsequent termination of the war

BAM SAH, the Officer-Commanding the Gurkha troops in Kumaun, he became friendly to the British on perceiving the certainty of their success, and negotiated the surrender of the province with Gardner after the fall of Almora

The scene of the events unfolded in the letters changes from Rohilkhand to the Dehra Dun, and finally to the neighbourhood of Almora, the capital of Kumaun. A few words may be allowed in description of this province, now the summer-quarters of the Provincial Government, North-Western Provinces.

Kumaun, or Kumaon, is the name of a mass of hills in the sub-Himalaya range, lying between Nepal and the course of the Upper Ganges. Its area is 6,000 square miles, and

* Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the Picturesque By Fanny Parkes. Pelham Richardson 1850

† Holkar went mad, and died in restraint, 1811

the present population is about 500,000 souls, principally Hindus. It contains some of the highest peaks in the world, through which there are passes into Thibet, themselves much higher than any European mountains. These ranges run from west to east, gradually increasing in height as they approach Nepál, the rivers, which are numerous, flow eastward, until they finally meet the Ganges, the boundary on the Nepál side being the river Káli. The beds of these streams form the natural approaches to the Province. The country consists chiefly of steep ridges, parted only by narrow gorges and ravines, yet there are extensive plateaus here and there, and level uplands of considerable fertility, many of which are now covered with flourishing tea plantations.

The capital, Almora, is about 30 miles from the British station of Nainí Tal, where the heads of departments transact their business in summer, on the shores of the charming little lake. Almora stands on the west of a ridge, a little over five thousand feet above sea-level, and consists of a small native town clustered round the old Gurkha Fort, and bordered by the garden-houses of the European residents. The present population is about 7,000, chiefly Hindus.

Leaving, for the present, these delectable mountains, we turn to the plains below, where Colonel Gardner is preparing for a visit to Hardwár, and the Dun. Hardwár, where the Ganges breaks through into the plains, is the seat of a great annual pilgrimage, which has given rise to a fair, where, among other things, a vast number of horses may be found for sale. After the fair, the Colonel proposes to visit the beautiful Dun, then in the possession of the Gurkhas, in hopes of getting some fishing and shooting, if not prevented by the hourly-expected war. It was not, in fact, actually proclaimed for some months, but the Gurkhas had already committed outrages in British territory, and the ultimatum of the Government was on the eve of rejection by the Durbar at Khatmandu. We will now let the Colonel speak in extracts from the first few letters —

I — COLONEL GARDNER TO HON E GARDNER

16th Jan 1814

"MY DEAR EDWARD,

"Were I in England I could not hear seldomer than I now do from you. The Police Officer had laid plans for *taking you up* at Moradabad and carrying you off to Hardwár. I hope you mean to go to the fair, in which case I am deputed to request you will not make any other engagement, but join us. Blunt appears to be very unwell, and indeed, on this account, our trip to Shahjahanpur has been postponed. I think we shall reach Moradabad about the end

of February" (The fair is held about the end of March).
 ". . . The Begam and Alan arrived the day before yesterday, I am going to send them to the Doctor at Bareilly. We grow very lazy here, having nothing to do but" (illegible)
 "eat, drink, and play cards. Lots of ladies here, four spinsters,—one, a fine French girl would make a captive of you in no time. Pray write to me, and as soon as I am able, you shall be plagued with a very long letter. Till when, Believe me, etc"

2 —The same to the same

29th Jan

" Blunt, who is not the firmest man in the world, appears now resolved to return shortly to Fatehgarh, and there to embark on the river for Muzapuri, his reason being that he has great confidence in the Doctor there and that, if he should go to Hardwar, he would be obliged to go back to the confines of his jurisdiction through the hot winds, to be ready to meet Lord Moira" (the Governor General) "for which he has received an order. In his present state of health he thinks this would do him up. Should this keep, I will go to Bareilly and take you up to Moradabad and proceed (with you) to the fair. Ricketts has just escaped getting into a very serious scrape. About twenty years ago a Hindu pretended to dream that Bhowani (a Hindu goddess) appeared to him and said she would be manifest whenever sought in a particular spot in the town of Shahjahanpur. All the Hindus repaired with the dreamer to the indicated place, where, on digging, the goddess was found, in the shape of an uncouth idol. The dispute was referred to the Nawab of Lucknow (who was then the ruler of Rohilkhand) and he decided in favour of the circumcised, and sent 500 rupees towards building an *Imambara* (Muslim shrine) instead of a temple. The money was pocketed and the dispute settled. Mr. Ricketts has a Bengali Baboo with him who has a certain influence which he is not delicate about using. This idolator, feeling his power, was determined to use it in building the temple to Bhowani, but, as he knew it could not be done without bloodshed, he got over to his interest the sepoy's stationed with the Collector. These he instructed, and sent them to perform *Puja* (worship) on the 2nd day of the Moharram, where the image was found and where the Muslims had a *Tazia* (emblem of the martyr Hassan). Luckily the latter were too strong for the sepoy's, and no blood was spilt."

4 —(This is a letter *de Omnibus Rebus*. The writer is to go to the valley of the Sarju, or Ghagra, to shoot tigers, buffaloes, elephants, rhinoceros, etc, which swarm as thick as land-crabs in Jummoo," and then to "the entrance of the Sarju into

India, which Colebrooke says is the finest scene without exception" Mr Ricketts gives news of Edward's being appointed Magistrate of Shahjahanpore, which turned out untrue. The Begam and Alan are under Dr Fanthome's care at Bareilly, and the Colonel hears from another doctor, a Frenchman, that the Almighty is "*fatigué de faire la gloire de Bonaparte*" Lady Hood is expected to make a tour from Lucknow by Agra and Dehli to Hardwar, where the writer hopes to meet her)

5—(Mrs Ricketts has a hysteric fit, the moral of which (dated on Valentine's day) is "Don't marry, Edward, Edward don't marry." Blunt is so vacillating that the Colonel hopes they may part to-morrow. The "little French girl is going back to the Mauritius in despair, as she finds the English won't like her. She hopes to get a Russian Boyar. For I suppose you have heard that the Allies are going to divide amongst them all the French possessions, and Russia is to have the Isle of France and Bourbon." The rest is about buying the wines of a certain Colonel Bowie, deceased, and also a very staunch elephant.

6—The same to the same

Bareilly, 27th Feb

(News of the battle of Leipsic in the *Bombay Gazette* Troubles with "Sir Waverley" (Mr Blunt). The Begam suffering from asthma. "I wish to God that we were together, to indulge in a hearty laugh at the world and ourselves. God bless you! As soon as Boldero (a Civilian friend) comes in, I shall propose to start. I much fear that the Weathercock will detain him.")

7—The same

3rd March

Blunt got the fidgets a day or two ago, and sent off about 30 expresses in as many hours to call in Boldero, who has got his camels. Yesterday he told me, 'I cannot wait an instant longer, I must go to Calcutta, strike my tents. No camels? Then load up the elephants.' And this morning he is off *Dak* (post) for Fatehgarh. I asked, what order? 'Come along with me as far as Buxar!!!' '*Bhot Khub*,' says I aloud, and to myself, 'I am d—d if I do.' Now, my dear Edward, is this man as mad as a March-hare? So I will not, and am now waiting to see what Boldero says. He and I cannot be friends, for I am too old to play second fiddle to a crack-brain; if I am to play the fool, it must be on my own bottom." In short, to Hardwar the Colonel will go, and if Mr Blunt, to whom he is subordinate, resents it, he will give up his regiment. "If my holding the corps depends on his good or bad humour, they are welcome to take it."

8 — The same

8th March.

"Any letters 'by the 'Acorn?' By the time she grows to the 'Royal Oak' I shall expect some. I have just received a letter from the Commanding Officer here, with a report of one of my men having fallen in with a party of 40 [illegible] men whom he surrounded, killed one and severely wounded the sirdar"

9 — The same

[Date obscure]

(The Colonel has taken Edward's advice and sent a politic letter to Sir Waverley and is about to start for Moradabad. The Begam is better, she has had the present of "a sucking elephant" she has got into raptures, and its arrival will do her more good than all the *Pharmacopeia*")

10 The same

10th March

11 The same

15th March

[He purposes visiting the source of the Ganges in the Himalayas]

12 — The same

Kankhal, 16th April

(Nothing about the fair, which was over. "Do you know how wild elephants carry their young across the Ganges? Four of the largest form a bed for the calf with their trunks, and two others attend, down stream to pick him up, should he tumble off. Gospel. Enclosed you will find the beginning of a letter from the Begam to Sombre's Begam. It is all right and proper, anything may be added. The beginning is a gentle pill to dispel certain humours which have of late troubled her brain, and if sent through the Delhi Resident, will not fail of making a paragraph in the newspapers of the metropolis." They are to start for the Dun next day.)

13 — The same.

[This letter is dated "Gurudwara, 25th April," the place being the same now known as Dehra, the chief town of the Dun. It shows that the adventurous traveller was getting into a hornets nest. Not four miles off, was the strong fort of Kalanga, which was held by a Gurkha garrison, and, before the year ended, was to cost the British the honour of a regiment of foot and the life of the gallant Sir Rollo Gillespie, whose monument may be seen in St Paul's Cathedral. Gardner's small party was now in considerable danger, he had no means of defence but their sporting guns, and the Gurkhas had adopted a threatening attitude. By diplomatic treatment of the Sikh high priest ("the Bishop" as Gardner calls him), they managed to depart unmolested, and fell back on Saharanpur, where they were safe in British territory. The rest of this letter is devoted to a description of Rikh Kes and Tapoban, romantic places on the steep and rocky bank of the Ganges.]

On the 1st June the Colonel is only able to scrawl a few lines, by reason of severe illness, described, however, in his own cheery vein. He has got home to Khasganj, but how he did so is more than he can tell. "I have now a regular formed fever and ague of the most violent kind . . . I have learned to live without eating or sleeping, am very ill and very weak. If I get better, I shall be at Cawnpore on the 20th, if not, *tant pis*. I hope, by to-morrow or next day, to write to you more connected. I have 500 things to say. They are determined to keep you in the political line."

We must now resume the narrative form, as there are a number of letters for which space will not suffice. The Begam was at Aligarh when she heard of Gardner's illness, and made herself so ill by hurrying to his bedside that she too fell sick, and when the fever left him, he found she was lying in a state of the utmost danger at Khurja. On the 18th, however, he was sufficiently recovered to resume his pen and inform Edward that he "could drink a bottle of claret (by order) every day, and make a shift to hobble across the room without assistance." Blunt had returned, after all, but the state of his health would not allow him to visit Gardner. The Begam was brought round by bark and calomel, the heroic treatment of those days, "Oh Lord!" he concludes, "to-morrow I shall be 43 years old. what the d—l were we born for?" One is glad to find him adding that "Blunt and I are entirely *racommodus*."

Let us pass rapidly over the rest of the summer. There were relapses of the fever, and Edward paid a short visit to his cousins at Khâsganj. The Governor-General was coming up the country, determined, among other things, to put an end to the practice of inflicting corporal chastisement on native servants. A Mr Dodd was fined Rs 400, "by his Lordship's orders," and a civilian named King, in his alarm, opened veins in his arms and legs, and died in the high Roman fashion, sooner than give up "wopping his niggers," "some say it was to spite his creditors." Gardner is going "to burn his dog-whips."

The year wore on. The rains were late and the severe heat of the prolonged summer was unfavourable to Gardner's recovery. But he continued to write two and three times a week to his "dearest Edward," conveying domestic gossip, news of his friends (Blunt above all interesting him) and friendly reports of services as to wine, horses, hookah snakes, and tents. In October, Gardner went to Cawnpore by river to meet Lord Moira, who was coming up the country by the same way of travelling, intent upon visiting Lucknow, where, as afterwards appeared, he had important business. Blunt was in trouble,

his appointment was of the nature of what would now be called a "Commissionership," perhaps something more, of which he was in these days making over charge to an officer named Shakespear and Gardner's sympathetic spirit was much moved. With Lord Moira he had been acquainted in Europe many years before there is an obscure allusion to this, in a letter written on his return to Khâsganj after his visit to the Governor-General, where, referring to the Quiberon expedition of 1795 and its disastrous failure, Gardner thus writes —

"The business made a great stir at the time, but his Lordship was strenuously defended and the constant attendance I gave him at the time the strong expressions he then favoured me with, and the offer he made me to accompany him to La Vendée—he cannot have forgotten these things."

In the more than usual weakness of the gallant writer's grammar two things are still clear—Gardner could not have been present with Holkar's army till after 1795, as he was then in attendance on Lord Moira in Europe and he did not presume upon the acquaintance so formed "these things," he adds, "if remembered, might give me claims of patronage, *and therefore it was convenient to say nothing about them*" I never asked for patronage in my life" Not like Gahagan in this!

The Begam's health continued to cause anxiety. Gardner talks of her "complaining" and "wheezing," and laughs at her obstinacy about medicines, change of air, etc., but through all runs a genuine anxiety and constant thoughtful love, which the noble Muslim lady well repaid. Another cause of anxiety arose from the growing complications of public affairs. The Mahrattas were threatening in the Deccan, and their jackals, the Pindaris, were already stirring and ravaging. War with Nepal was proclaimed in November and opened disastrously; while it was quite possible that the Gurkha Durbar would be supported by the Chinese Empire, to which Nepal was tributary. There was little confidence felt in the Government, the finances were disorganised and so was the internal administration. The process of depressing the great native landholders, which was to be carried out in the North-Western Provinces in after years, was only in its first stage, causing discontent and alarm without bringing in profit to the State or prosperity to the tenants.

Gardner's knowledge of the country, his experience in affairs and the real earnestness of character which underlay his jovial manner, made him peculiarly sensitive to all these depressing influences. In November war had become a reality in the North. Colonel Carpenter entered the Dun, after forcing the Timli Pass, and the gallant Gillespie died, defeated by the petty fortress of Kalinga, or Nala-Pâni, in the same valley. Gardner's

eye at once fell upon Almora if the Gurkhas could fall back on Kamaun, they might out-general us ' we ought to shut the approaches to the hills which he had noticed in the spring (Tapoban and Rikhakes) we should, in a word, cut off their retreat and make up in science what we wanted in numbers

In the midst of these cares he is full of his fun —

" Stephen is too busy to write ! Reading *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* but lifts up his head to send his love, and observe that all the letters I write, are *from him* "

He continues to supply all the information about Kamaun and Almora that he can pick up Then Edward moves up towards the Dun Delhi being the head quarters of operations, it was natural that the Resident's Assistants should accompany military operations, not to interfere in professional details, but to close the hold of Government upon the country, and conciliate the people

Unwilling as Gardner is to ask for anything, his anxiety about his cousin's welfare, his desire to be giving him help, and his wish to obtain active employment in his country's service, begin to overpower his reserve " If they think I can be of use, though I have a great uneasiness at making the offer for fear of a negative *I should almost be ashamed to think they can possibly want me* * I shall anxiously await your advice " Hearsey, for one, is going , but Gardner cautions Edward against Hearsey's imprudence ' Guard against that, and he will be useful " Then, for a short time, Gardner gives way to alarm on Edward's account , fears he is running his head against a wall , conjures him not to enter Kamaun until a serious advantage has been gained elsewhere to redress the balance in men's minds affected by late failures " The point I feel anxious about is your future I wish I could be with you , not from the vanity of supposing that I could be of any use , from the ardent and natural desire to be *with you* As for active business, *on foot*, and amongst the mountains, my infirmities forbid me , but for lolling on a bed, folding-up your letters, and getting tiffin ready, you certainly cannot have my equal " To modern Anglo-Indians, who go up to more remote and rugged places than Almora, and who have three permanent cantonments in that Province alone, it will seem strange that one of Gardner's constant cares is about the nature and climate of the country " I know not," he says, " if you have noticed that the Muhamadans cut off the corner of the paper on which they write their letters " This practice, he thinks, is due to their remembering that there was a part

* *Italics*, on all but the last word, by the present Editor , the self effacement is noticeable

of India which their great^r rulers could never annex to the Empire in its palmyest days they might defeat the armies of the Highlanders and take their forts, hold the country they could not, guns could not be taken about in such a place, the soldiers would suffer in winter from lung disease, in summer from disordered livers, etc., etc. "Should we not succeed, our Government will have risked its existence for a handful of snow" Yet his anxiety to penetrate into these awful scenes and take part in their conquest, is only increased as he thinks of his beloved Edward toiling there alone. On 19th November he writes—"If you see any obstacle to asking for me, have I your permission to apply to be attached to you? . . . I should not hesitate a moment, if I did not think it would come with more weight from you." He professes his complete ignorance of "Almora-Kamaun," but is going to "consult Hodgson"—the well known Brian Hodgson,* still "the great authority on Nepal" (*Imperial Gazetteer*, X, 274)

In the midst of this excitement comes intelligence that "Blunt, in consequence of Shakespear's measures, has forfeited his passage-money (Rs 6000) and is coming up *Dak*" This is not only a pleasure to Gardner, from feelings of old friendship, but a relief from serious personal wrong. For some unexplained reason Shakespear was inimical to Gardner, on public grounds no less than in a private character. The gallant writer still doubts whether it will be worth while to occupy any of the territory of the Nepalese, except the Dun, which was rented by them—he says—for Rs 20,000 a year inclusive of the forest-produce (The Dun now yields nearly fifteen times that amount). The more he thinks of the attempt upon Kamaun, the more convinced he is of the temerity of it, "even had we no other enemies, but in our present situation, 'tis putting all on one throw of the dice against a stake of no value at all." This was on the 21st November, yet before closing his letter all his views change. P S It appears that your army, when you get it, will score as a false attack if we are otherwise successful. At all events, it will help to divide their force and distract them, while it will prevent reinforcements going to Amar Sinha" (then campaigning against General Ochterlony beyond Simla), "on mature consideration this is my idea of the business, and for this I sit down to write to you" (*q d* this postscript). Such is the vacillation of a resolute mind, and such are the conditions in which second thoughts are best. For the words last quoted contained a strategic inspiration in

Still living (1890)

embryo. Indeed, the adoption of the plan which we see taking birth in this letter of the 21st, ultimately caused the surrender of Amar Sinha, who became, by Gardner's strategy, completely isolated, and this led to the termination of the war and to a friendship with the Gurkha Durbar which has never wavered since, and which bore substantial fruit in 1857, when they sent troops to aid the Government in its utmost need.

A week later Edward is ready to start, and this is the *viaticum*. "I imagine you ought to have a heavy head, strong legs, nimble heels, invulnerable armour, and a lively faith in God's mercy, for without all these your situation—on the first view of it—appears most precarious." But the other columns ought to prosper, and then all will prosper. "As long as we can carry guns with us, everything will go on well." But, in any case, "I can't bear the idea of being idle when I could be of use. I want to be with you. D—n their money! I'd serve for nothing a day, and find myself, rather than be a piece of useless lumber." By the 8th December, however, he had apparently been, at last, ordered to advance into Kamaun with Edward, and his letters cease for five months, during which his plan was carried out with complete success. At the end of January 1815 the Province was invaded by a compact force of sepoy with some light field-pieces. True to Gardner's view of his character, the brave but injudicious Hearsey was cut off and captured. But the enemy persuaded themselves that he was a Frenchman and could procure them foreign aid, so they treated him well, keeping him in comfortable and honourable arrest in the fort of Almora. Harakh Deo Joshi, the *Chauntra*, or minister, of the last representative of the Rajas dispossessed by the Nepalese, warmly espoused the British side, and was in constant communication with Gardner. Almora was taken by Colonel Nicholls, 26th April, after a brisk cannonade, Gardner was deputed to hold a conference with Bam Sah, the Gurkha General, and a convention was concluded, by virtue of which the Gurkhas surrendered Hearsey, gave up all their fortified places, and departed to Nepal with carriage and supplies provided by the victors. Gardner remained for some time in and about Almora with his levies, cutting off the army of Amar Sinha from all communication with his base, and from all power of obtaining reinforcements. Ochterlony was thus enabled to drive him from one fastness to another, till at last the brave old man was constrained, by his own officers, to come to terms.

Our little episode of Indian History might end here. Thanks to his own resolution and two millions of money which he raised at Lucknow, Lord Moira met the Mahrattas and Pindaris with even more immediate success, and, being fortunate

in the absence of telegraphs and other rapid communication with London, finally consolidated the Company's Indian possessions. For this service he was created a Marquess; but the self-reliance which he had shown, gave great offence in Leadenhall Street. He had, in defiance of the known policy of his masters, fought twenty-eight general actions, captured a hundred and twenty forts, and made his country supreme throughout an entire region as extensive as Europe, and he fell before pecuniary trouble, dying at Baiæ on the Campanian shore, in something not much removed from a destitute old age (28th November 1826).

A few more words will be enough for the subsequent fortunes of William Gardner. He continued to command his regiment—now the 2nd Bengal Cavalry—and served with distinction as a "local Lieutenant-Colonel," in Rajputana. In 1822 he obtained a Commission in his old service—the British army—and the Commission was, gracefully enough, made to date from 25th September 1803, when he left Holkar. He served in Central India in 1821, and in Aracan in 1825, returning for good to Khasganj in 1827. About 1830, he was visited at Khasganj, by "Fanny Parker," the wife of a Bengal Civilian, who published her recollections of India in 1850, under the somewhat inappropriate title of "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque." Mrs Parker was by no means a pilgrim (or '*Haji*,' as she still more affectedly says in some places), and her wanderings were mostly in unpicturesque localities and concerned with anything rather than scenery. Accounts of the family (Archer) from which she was descended, descriptions of native *Zenanas* and of field sports interspersed with more or less inaccurate accounts of Mughal history and architecture, the whole illustrated by sketches, from the author's own pencil, of buildings, plants, animals, and heathen idols, such, and such-like, is the *farrago libelli*. Nevertheless, the treatment is bright and original, the work of a clever and sympathetic lady, and not the least valuable part is that which deals with Gardner and his curious story and his family life.

Gardner's wife, "the old Begam," was a lady of distinction who lived the usual *Zenana*-life surrounded by younger ladies, princesses of Delhi and other local illustrations. It was the impression of Mrs Parker that these secluded ladies led rather dull lives, occasionally varied by acute fits of quarrelling. She witnessed the wedding of one of the girls to a scion of the Imperial House of Delhi, and she gives an account of the ceremonies, which included two customs, evidently, survivals from the old desert-life of the Mughals. One was, that the bridegroom had to come to the house and carry off the bride with a show of force. This was explained by the Colonel. "It is

an old Tartar custom," he observed, "for the bridegroom to fight for his bride, and carry her away *vi et armis*, this is still retained" The Pilgrim saw the scene, and relates how the prince came at night, with an armed retinue, and was refused admittance at the gateway of the outer courtyard. Nevertheless, he carried off the young lady after a siege and a sham fight. "The Begam," adds she, "would not omit a Timurian custom for the world." The other singularity—at first sight not very intelligible—was that the husband, after getting his wife and carrying her home, bade her put her foot through the opening of the litter, and touched her great toe with the blood of a goat which he slaughtered for the purpose. The practice is said to be peculiar to the House of Tamerlane.

* Anyhow, the Begam would not allow any "old Timurian" customs to drop, and we may partly imagine the effect of such conditions of life upon a man who had been formed in youth as an aristocratic British Officer. In person, Gardner was tall and handsome, a mighty horseman and fond of sport. He had been partly educated in France, too, and had a turn for reading, history, blue books, and even scientific works amused him; he was a bit of a mathematician, and could survey and make maps. But his chief talent appears to have been a power of suiting himself to strange conditions. The result was that—so far as one family went—a new species of the human race was formed, the Anglo-Mughal. One of Gardner's sons married a grand-daughter of the Emperor Sháh Alam, and the connection with the House of Delhi continued to be maintained, so that the deceased peer—Gardner's grandson—was a complete Asiatic, as to language, dress, and habits, though related to several noble houses in the British peerage.*

At last came the end of so many experiences in the shape of a peaceful death. Gardner died in his bed, 29th July 1835, followed—a few weeks later—by his faithful Begam. It was about this time, that his imaginary antitype was renewing his youth in the service of Don Carlos, another point of hopeless difference between him and the real Gahagan. To be sure Gardner was not an author, but he served his king in an unpretentious way, and, perhaps, his life was not less useful than if he had spent it with newspaper reporters in Spain, or in leaving decorated pasteboard at the London houses of the nobility (whom Heaven preserve).

* In the last edition of Burke we are informed that "the peerage is dormant, though an heir evidently exists," a curious instance of a stream of noble British blood sinking into the sands of Asia.

ART. XI.—GOSSIP ABOUT PETER THE GREAT.

THE only principle which has guided me in selecting these stories about Peter the Great, is, that they shall be interesting, picturesque, and, if possible, new. Exaggerations they contain, I have no doubt, and flat fiction in some cases, perhaps, but still, at the end, I hope that, taken all together, the picture they will give of one of the most extraordinary personalities in history, will be a true one, and will faithfully represent the man and monarch as he was.

Prince Golitzin tells a curious story about Peter's birth, which I have included, as, though not directly bearing on my subject, it gives a picture of the Russian Court at the time, and a glimpse of the world into which Peter the Great was born.

Peter the Great's father, Tsar Alexei, says Prince Golitzin, delighted to honour his Chancellor Matveiev, and, contrary to the custom of preceding Tsars, used to visit him at his own house, especially after his first wife's death.

Once, calling on his favourite, he found the table so neatly and tastefully spread, that he said "Your table is set so prettily, that I am tempted to stay to dinner with you, only you must treat me as an ordinary guest, and not let me give you any trouble."

Matveiev prayed the Tsar to stay, and his wife and son soon appeared, followed by a young lady.

When dinner was served, the Tsar looking round at the company, said to Matveiev, "I always thought that you had only a son, I see now that you have a daughter, too!"

"In truth, your Majesty," replied the master of the house, "I have only a son. This young lady is not my daughter, she is the child of Kyril Nariskin, one of my friends, who lives in the country, my wife has taken her, to give her a good education, and a future."

"God will reward your good work," said Alexei.

After supper, when the Tsar was alone with the master of the house, he reverted again to Kyril Nariskin's daughter, and said "She is a pretty girl, and seems to have a good heart. As she is old enough for marriage, you ought to find her a husband."

"Your Majesty judges her truly," replied Matveiev, "we love her for her good and beautiful nature, still it will be difficult to find her a husband, for she has no fortune, and the dowry I can give her will be necessarily small."

"Then," said the Tsar, "you must find her a husband rich enough to marry her for her good qualities alone."

"That will be difficult, indeed, your Majesty!" replied Matveiev,

"Not so difficult as it seems, perhaps," replied the Tsar, "well, think the matter over, and I too will think of it."

A few days afterwards, visiting his Chancellor's house again, the Tsar referred to the subject of their previous conversation, and asked Matveiev "Have you considered the matter we spoke of on my last visit?"

"Often, your Majesty," replied the Chancellor, "but I have met with no success up to the present"

"Very good," said the Tsar, "I think, though, that I have solved the matter, I know a husband for her, an honest, good fellow, who is well enough in himself, and is rich enough to take a wife without a dowry, and still more, he knows the lady already he loves her, and is anxious to marry her Still more, she knows him, and, though he has made no sign of his affection hitherto, still, I don't think she is likely to refuse him"

"In that case, I beg your Majesty to tell me his name Perhaps, I know him, too, and then I could make arrangements more easily"

"But," objected the Tsar, "I have told you that he is an honest fellow, and can make her happy what more do you wish? You have only to ask the lady whether she will consent to my choice"

"Since that is your Majesty's wish," replied Matveiev, "I can assure your Majesty that she will agree to your Majesty's choice Still, to make the matter more certain, I must know the proposed husband's name"

"Well," said the Tsar, "since you wish to know his name, it is I myself!"

Matveiev, at these words, throwing himself at the Tsar's feet, implored him "For the love of God, your Majesty! reflect before carrying out your proposal You do not know how many enemies I have amongst your nobility, who envy me all the benefits you have loaded me with, and they will believe I have led your Majesty into this marriage, to make sure of your Majesty's future favours At least, spare me the danger of introducing the matter, and follow the old customs of the country Summon all the most noble maidens to your Court, and let Kyril's daughter, Natalia, come among them Choose her out, and then your Majesty's purpose will be fulfilled, and I shall be shielded from the hatred and envy of the nobles."

"Very just and reasonable!" replied the Tsar "I shall follow your advice, and act as you say"

Sixty noble maidens, Natalia amongst them, were summoned to the Court of Moscow, on September 14th, 1670, and the Tsar's choice fell upon Natalia. Of this happy marriage

was born, on May 30th, 1672, a Prince, to whom was given the name of Peter :

The young Prince's horoscope was drawn out by two monks—Simeon Polotski and Dmitri Rostorski,—who watched the stars all night and occupied themselves with foretelling futurity. They saw that, when the young Prince was born, a bright star burst out beside the planet Mars. They regarded the star intently, and, from its appearance, forecast thus the horoscope of the young Prince —

"This Prince," they said, "will mount upon the throne, and none of his fathers will be counted his equal, for the greatness and glory of his deeds. His fame will grow from day to day, the world will be astonished at him, and, when he becomes a great conqueror, many shall fall beneath his sword. He will subdue his jealous neighbours, and achieve so many and glorious actions as all his forefathers together have not achieved. He will visit many lands, both near and far. His own subjects will thwart him, but, in the end, he will carry his objects, after many revolts, and will make himself a name by land and sea. He will punish the wicked, reward the just, sustain religion, and undertake many hazardous enterprises. All this have we seen in his star as in a mirror, and we make over this horoscope to your Majesty under our hands and signatures, that it may have the more faith and credit."

Ten years after, on Tsar Alexei's and his son Feodor's death, Peter was left co-monarch with his half-brother Ivan, Ivan's elder sister, Sophia, ruling as regent. To commemorate their triple rule, coins were struck, with the heads of Ivan and Peter on the one side, and Sophia on the other.

Young Tsar Peter's first achievement was to found a little regiment, with himself as drummer-boy—a regiment which was, and is, the most famous in the Russian army. Peter's military mentor was a Genoese, M. Le Fort, who, besides teaching his pupil how to beat the recall for his toy-regiment, also, much to Peter's displeasure, insisted on initiating him into the pleasures of cold water, and teaching him to swim. It must not be supposed that Peter's early dislike to cold water was racial. It had really quite another cause. When he was a baby, his mother had taken him across a ferry in a storm, and the terror of the wind and waves stamped itself so deep on Peter's mind, that it was years before he could look upon a river or a lake.

Le Fort hardened him by degrees, making him cross rivulets when out hunting, and taking him to the Ismailov garden, where he saw the boys diving and swimming in the ponds. At first, Peter would not even look at them, but at last he went so far as to join in their aquatic delights. By the time he had reached his twenty fifth year, he was left

absolute monarch by the death of his brother Ivan, and the rebellion and imprisonment of the Regent, Princess Sophia. Peter had amused himself during these years by warring with the Turks, holding miniature naval reviews, sending embassies to Europe, and patching-up old boats.

In 1697 he determined to explore the civilized world under the guise of an ambassador to the European States, and set off from Moscow, through Livonia towards, Riga, under the name of Peter Mikhailof and the assumed title of Grand Commander.

He and his suite, all their way through Livonia, had created a famine in the land. At every stage they consumed three hundred pounds of bread, thirty barrels of beer, thirty jars of brandy, forty pounds of salt, an ox, six sheep, thirty chickens, and vast quantities of fish. [It seems curious—a barrel of beer and a jar of brandy to every chicken—but so says the chronicler, and we must believe him.]

He also records that, in spite of all the profusion, the officers of the staff grumbled all the way through Livonia.

On March 31st the embassy arrived at Riga. It was the first time Peter had seen a town fortified according to European science. He asked the Governor, Von Halberg, to show him the fort and explain its plan, a request which Von Holberg, not perhaps unnaturally, refused.

Peter was offended by this refusal, and promised to avenge himself by investigating the fort as its conqueror, a scheme he afterwards carried out. Naturally, after this the embassy did not linger long in Riga, setting out a few days later for Mittau, *en route* for Konigsberg, the capital of the future Frederick I, king of Prussia, then elector of Brandenburg. At Konigsberg, they had a grand reception by the German Court. Three squadrons of the Guard, on white, black and brown chargers, came out to meet them, preceded by trumpeters and sackbut and psaltery players, then came a company of infantry with gilded halberds. A detachment of cavalry and lancers, with silver axes, followed. Amongst Peter's staff were six Kalmucks in Asiatic costume, armed with bows and arrows, forming a strange contrast to the splendidly armed soldiers of Germany. During his stay at Konigsberg, Peter used to dress-up as a sailor, and go boating on the river in a little skiff, which he managed himself. One day, in the street, the young Tsar met a great German lady who wore an enamelled gold watch, a miracle of skill quite unknown to the Muscovite Prince. Although he had never seen her before, he at once stopped her in the street, and pulling out her watch took it off the chain, and, opening it, examined it for several minutes, in perfect silence. Then, restoring it to the terrified

dame, he bowed low to her and departed, still in silence, brooding over what he had seen :

At Königsberg, also, when slightly elevated after dinner, he wanted to fight a duel with Le Fort, his best friend and the counsellor of all his reforms. One of his courtiers, however, caught him round the arms, and held him till his anger cooled.

Day after day the Tsar wandered through the city, peering into workshops, and questioning, with inquisitorial tenacity, the craftsmen, mechanics and artisans of the town. All the wood-turner shops were visited, till at last a friendly turner taught him to turn amber mouth pieces for pipes, and the imperial curiosity was satisfied.

They had fireworks, too, at Königsberg, with Russo-Turkish battle-pieces and Russian double eagles with triple crowns. At dinner with the Elector, one day, the Tsar's wrath was raised to boiling point by an unlucky lackey who broke a beautiful Japanese dish. Peter at once sprang on the offender with a sabre, and would have decapitated him for his clumsiness, had not the Elector forcibly intervened.

The embassy lingered a little longer in Germany, but Peter was impatient to reach Holland, where he hoped to learn ship-building and navigation, and lay the basis of Russian trade and of a Russian fleet.

He chose Zaandam as his head-quarters in Holland, and arrived there in August in a little boat which he himself had navigated down the Rhine.

Zaandam was then, as now, a pretty little Dutch town, half-a-dozen miles to the north-east of Amsterdam. Canals cut the city up into little islands—canals across the streets, canals in the gardens, canals round private houses, canals everywhere. The city lies in a half circle round the great central canal-basin, whose busy wharves were the centre of Zaandam's commercial wealth.

All along the main canal, for six miles and more, a formidable army of windmills—windmills in tens, windmills in scores, windmills in hundreds—waved their white arms in the air above their red and green painted wooden roofs. A thousand or so wooden-houses, mostly one storey high, likewise painted red and green, made up the city of Zaandam when Peter the Great arrived. Doubtless then, as now, the horizon was made hideous by rows of young, trim poplars, looking like bottle-brushes stuck up to dry more monotonous even, because more alike, than the rows of palms in Lower Bengal.

Doubtless then, as now, in Zaandam, the *Vrauen* of the city wore the quaint, stiff national head-dress, of black silk and white satin, with diamonds, gauze, and lace, and a circlet of gold filigree around the brows. Doubtless then, as now,

the little milk carts of the city were drawn by great melancholy dogs, with a world-weary sadness in their eyes, and its hundred canals were spanned by steep little bridges of wood, looking as if they were only for ornament, but whose real use is to leave room for the barges to pass below. Doubtless, the streets, the bridges, too, the wharves, the barges, the houses, the windmills, the dogs and the milk-carts, were all obstinately, persistently, painfully clean, so that one was afraid to step in the streets of Zaandam for fear of offending and soiling their superhuman purity.

By good luck, as Peter and his staff anchored by the Zaandam wharf, they saw on the quay a sturdy Hollander, one Gerrit Kist, who had worked for his Majesty sometime in Moscow.

Peter called him, confided to him his plans, and hired of him a hut of two rooms only, and built of rough-hewn logs, where the Tsar of all the Russias dwelt for the rest of his stay in spotless Zaandam. In the hut, at the time, lived an old Dutchwoman, whose rights of tenancy were bought out by the monarch for the magnificent sum of seven florins, and so Peter the Great made a home for himself in the place.

To return to the quay. The Tsar leapt ashore, in red shirt and canvas trousers, and, mooring his skiff, with his suite, betook himself to the inn, and gave himself out as a workman come to seek work at Zaandam. The white hands and the well-filled purses of his suite made this incredible, however, even to the trusting people of the town. Next day, Peter bought a carpenter's outfit from the widow Oonees on the Upper Dyke, and went to work in good earnest, still with the name of Peter Mikhailof. He joined a boat builder's gang, obeyed orders like the rest, pestered the gang-master with questions, and made his first step in the language by finding out the Dutch for *why*? His gang-master's name was Lynst Teenwiszoon Rogge, and he deserves to go down to posterity as the godfather of the Russian Navy. The day following, he paid a call on Vrau Hitmans, whose son, Thomas, had worked for him in Moscow. The worthy Vrau, says the chronicler, received him cordially, as a friend of her son, and made him drink a quarter-pint of gin, which was all that, in her poverty, she could afford to offer him.

On quitting the Vrau, he made his way to the house of Vrau Antje Meetje, also the wife of one of his Dutch workmen in Moscow, and gave her the news of her good man, with whom, he said, he had worked in the dockyards of the Tsar. He met, a little later, a certain Van Couwenhoven, who saw through his disguise, and through whom all Zaandam soon learnt the identity of their illustrious visitor. Peter, however, had come

to Zaandam with serious aims, and was not to be put off by recognition, or the unwillingness of his suite

He ordered workmen's clothes for the whole party, and, on the Tuesday following, bought from the builder Harmenszoon a two-oared boat, for which, after long bargaining, he paid the sum of 40 florins and a pot of beer, which they drank together like good comrades at a beer-house near the *overtoom*. Next day, he visited widow Willemszoon Musch, whose husband had served him in Russia, and shared her humble dinner in his capacity of her husband's former friend Peterbaas, as the Tsar got himself called by his Dutch friends, soon satisfied his curiosity about carpentry, and turned his attention towards the mills and factories of oil, paper, ropes, compasses, sextants, telescopes and so on.

"Let me see" and "Explain," were his favourite words, and he never left a factory until he had, in some sort, learned the art or trade there practised. His quickness astonished his teachers, and his generosity delighted them, for he never omitted to bestow a *rixdal* (double florin) on the workman whose labour he had interrupted. A day or two later, a letter from a Dutchman in Russia to his father in Zaandam, announcing the departure of the Muscovite embassy and the Tsar's incognito, let the cat out of the bag. "You can recognise him," he wrote, "by his big stature, and by a convulsive trick he has of moving his right arm and head, and by a scar pretty visible on his right cheek." The letter was read aloud in the barber's shop, and just as it ended, the Tsar himself happened to come in. "Our barber," says the chronicler, "as unable to hold his tongue as the barber of king Midas—for indeed all barbers are talkative folk—discovered, on the Tsar, the signs and traces mentioned in the letter, and as a barber can never remain silent, the news that one of the newly arrived strangers was the Emperor of Russia, spread like wildfire through the city." All the world ran to the houses of honest Gerrit Kist and Van Couwenhoven, to ask if the news were true. Mrs Kist—whose maiden name was Miss Neeļ Macks—came to her husband and said, "Gerrit! I can't stand-by any longer and hear you telling lies. It is true, neighbours, Gerrit has deceived you, and the stranger is his Majesty the Emperor of Russia." A day later the Tsar was taking a walk about the dam towards the Zuiddijk, having armed himself with a bag of plums, which he ate as he sauntered along. Soon some children gathered round him, a school, perhaps, and to the pretty ones he gave plums, but to the ugly ones he gave none, and the latter were very wroth and pelted the stranger with mud, so that he fled and hid in the inn of the "Three Swans."

The Governors of the city heard of it, and published a proclamation, forbidding all the children of Zaandam to eat the plums, or to pelt mud at the "illustrious stranger," who was domiciled in their midst, and Peter's incognito was at an end. Consideration and invitations flowed in upon the Tsar. The Burgomaster Joor, and the wealthy Nicholas Arendszoon Bloem sent word by the interpreters to invite their master to sup with them and eat fish prepared after the manner of the Dutch, and the worthy Nicholas Melkpot, member of the Corporation and Doctor of Medicine, came to the hut to pay respects to the Royal Guest.

Then the merchant, Meijneit Arendszoon Bloem, came to Peter and offered him his house in lieu of the wretched hut, and gained favour with the Tsar, as did Cornelis Calf, a worthy man of Zaandam.

C T JOHNSTON, C S

(To be continued)

ART. IV.—VITAL STATISTICS OF INDIA.

With the relative Prime Cost of Life Assurance in the Dependency.

THOSE of our readers who have a distaste for figures, had better skip this article, and pass on to something which they may deem more attractive. The subject is of great national importance, as a social, political, and economic problem, but it is wholly impossible to approach it, without the introduction of tabular matter. We shall, however, keep the latter within as moderate limits as possible.

In the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, the *Journals of the Institute of Actuaries*, the *Royal Statistical Society* and elsewhere, the present writer has had occasion to bring the matter under observation. In January 1877, and December 1888 also, papers were read before the East India Association on the subject. In the last mentioned case, there were four or five sections of the narrative omitted, a pledge being given that they would be made public later on, and we now proceed with the utmost brevity to fulfil that engagement. Since December 1888, certain important information has reached the writer affecting the longevity of the natives of India, and this will be embodied in the present article. The supreme importance of the subject we have said cannot be exaggerated. The first question, of course, which every Englishman contemplating an Indian career, asks himself, is the chance of his surviving his 20, 30, or 40 years of service. the climatic risk to life, in fact, in India, as compared with Europe, Australasia, the Canadian Dominion, or elsewhere. It is also of imperial importance, if we can show that the heavy drain on the manhood of the United Kingdom for the maintenance of our Indian Empire, is being gradually reduced, by reason of the steadily increasing longevity of Europeans in the Dependency. There are great differences of opinion on the subject, one party going so far as to contend that Englishmen run as little risk in India as they do in England, while the other affirms that they run treble the risk, or, if not that, certainly double the risk, or, if not that, certainly a risk equal to half as much again, as they would in those climates supposed to be better adapted to Europeans. Happily the truth admits of absolute demonstration. Those gigantic beneficent Institutions, the Indian Service Funds, have at various times had to summon the professional assistance of eminent Actuaries of this country to report on their affairs, and the data thus incidentally accumulated are most comprehensive, and of an absolutely trustworthy character. There are, indeed, few scientific problems on which a brighter light has been thrown, than on those arising out of Anglo-Indian Vital Statistics.

The following is a *résumé* of the more important contributions to the subject, which have appeared up to the present time —

1855.—These are fully detailed up to last year, in an article by the author of this Paper in the *Calcutta Review* for March 1855, and which is reproduced verbatim in the *Journal of the Institute of Actuaries* for October of that year

1871—These are fully detailed for the period 1855 to 1871 on page 11 of the June (1874) number of the *Journal of the East India Association*

And the following is a list of documents affording further information on the subject which have appeared during the period 1871 to 1887, so far as the writer has been able to ascertain —

(b) 1874—"On the Rate of Mortality among Residents in India being subscribers to the Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund" between 1837-1872, by A J Finlaison, C B (*Journal of the Institute of Actuaries*, April 1874)

(c) 1875—"On the value of European Life in India in its Social, Political, and Economic Aspects," by F J. Mouat, M D, F R C S (*Report of the British Association* for that year)

(d) 1876—"On the additional premium required for residence in Foreign Climates," by James Meikle F F A and F I A, published in the *Assurance Magazine*, Vol XIX

(e) 1876—"Note on the Mortality among Europeans resident in India," by T B S (presumably Mr Sprague, late President, Institute of Actuaries), published in the *Assurance Magazine*, Vol XIX

(f) 1878—"Vital Statistics of India" [European Army], by J L Byden, M D, Surgeon Major, attached to the Sanitary Commissioners with the Government of India Calcutta, 1878

(g) 1881—"The Census of India Rate of Mortality and Duration of Life," Vol I London Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883

(h) 1885—"On the Rates of Mortality among Natives of India," as deduced from the recent Census Returns, by G F Hardy, F R S S (*Journal of the Institute of Actuaries*, No CXXXVIII)

(i) 1886—"The Annual Reports on Sanitary Measures in India," 1868-1886 London Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887

(k) 1888—"The Public Health of India," by Mr Justice Cunningham, of the High Court of Judicature, Bengal, read before the Society of Arts on February 27th of last year.

(l) 1890. Report of Mr James Meikle, F F A and F I A, on the Oriental Life Insurance Company of Bombay. Bombay, Education Society's Press 1890

It will be convenient to exhibit the results of the enquiry to June 1874, and this is done by the following table —

VITAL STATISTICS OF INDIA

47

Mortality per Cent per Annum amongst various Classes

Age	Untoventanated Service Family Pension Fund		Bengal Civil Service		Bengal Military			Madras Military (Madras Fund)		European Non commissioned Officers and Men in India Dr Farr, 1847 to 1856	Assured Lives.		Retired Officers of the Indian Army	Eng-lish Life Table Males	Age.
	The Whole of the Subscribers 1837 57 Tail	Eura sian Subscribers only 1837 57 Tail	Davies 1780 to 1838	† Nelson 1790 to 1842	• Wool house 1760 to 1837	• Davie 1760 to 1837	§ Nerson 1800 47	† Davies 1808 to 1840	§ S Brown, 1808 to 1857		India Experience of Oriental and Laudable Insurance Co's Francis, 1815 47	England Committee of Actuaries			
20	•	•	1 18	1 18	2 66	2 64	2 23	2 19	3 26	5 64	2 47	73	•	92	20
25	1 61	1 12	1 54	1 54	2 73	2 72	2 45	2 34	3 16	4 88	2 72	78	1 10	99	25
30	1 40	1 13	1 69	1 69	2 91	2 89	2 75	2 62	3 20	4 96	3 04	84	1 17	96	30
35	1 42	1 35	1 87	1 87	3 16	3 13	2 90	2 63	2 94	5 14	3 53	93	1 29	1 24	35
40	2 81	2 99	2 09	2 16	3 44	3 43	2 89	2 55	2 80	6 16	4 21	1 04	1 47	1 21	40
45	2 78	2 69	2 40	2 69	3 81	3 82	3 45	2 92	2 68	5 74	4 86	1 22	1 77	1 70	45
50	4 63	4 46	2 84	2 61	4 26	4 26	3 39	2 23	2 75	5 61	5 46	1 59	2 23	1 85	50
55	•	•	3 35	2 56	4 92	4 84	3 83	2 54	3 06	5 47	5 90	2 17	2 86	2 86	55
60	•	•	4 02	3 26	5 92	5 52	3 96	3 03	2 75	5 46	6 47	3 03	3 66	3 40	60

* Dodwell and Miles list † Ram Chunda Doss list ‡ Colonel de Havilland's data § Patrunage Book of India House
 ¶ Report of the Commissioners on the Sanitary State of the Army in India. ¶ Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol I, page 279, &c.

This table fully explains itself. The general result is, that the value of European life in India has improved and is improving, and that this amelioration appears likely to continue. None the less, comparing the death rate in the Bengal Civil Service, certainly the most select class in all India, with what obtains at home, we find that per 10,000 annually these are —

Age	Home	India
25	99	154
35	124	187
45	170	269
55	286	256

At 55, the mortality actually appears to be less than amongst the male population of England and Wales.

Passing on to consider the experience applicable to the period 1857-90, which includes the abnormal casualties by the Indian Mutiny, we have first, the paper (b) by Mr Finlaison of the National Debt Office, read before the Institute of Actuaries.

The male subscribers to the Fund numbered 1,964, their wives and widows 1,765, their sons 1,492, and the unmarried daughters 2,031. The lives under observation were of the most heterogeneous character, as may be inferred from their names, comprising according to General Hannington—a most excellent authority, who spoke in the discussion—Hindoes, Armenians, British, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish, or the descendants of such, but no attempt seems to have been made by the author of the paper, to discriminate between Europeans and Eurasians, by which latter, as is well-known, the ranks of the Fund are very largely recruited, and who are coloured persons of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, or the descendants of such. Probably about two-thirds, we are told, are permanently resident in India. The lives observed were resident in the Presidency of Fort William, which is held to include all the Indian Provinces, other than those under the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and the male subscribers were only admitted after passing a strict medical examination, about 25 per cent being, we are told, refused.

The following table indicates the mortality per cent. per annum amongst the male subscribers, their wives and widows —

Age	Male Subscribers	Wives and Widows.
20—29	1 00	1 86
30—39	1 69	1 91
40—49	2 52	2 04
50—59	4 05	1 77
60—69	8 48	4 04
70—79	14 08	.

Up to 39, the mortality is lower than amongst the Covenanted Civil Servants according to Mr Samuel Brown, late President of the Institute of Actuaries, a most experienced and competent authority, but, after 40, it is considerably in excess. As to the wives and widows, the death-rate is throughout in excess of that applicable to European Civil and Military Servants, according to the same authority. At ages 2, 3 and 4 the European children die faster than those of the Uncovenanted, but the sons of the latter throughout, up to 19, appear to be better lives.

These figures may be compared with the results of an enquiry into the same Fund by the writer of this article, which are given in columns 2 and 3 of the table on page 47.

The question of race is of the very essence of Mr Finlaison's enquiry. The great bulk of the lives appear to be indigenous.

We have not seen Dr Mouat's paper (c), but an abstract is given on page 207 of the Transactions of the British Association for 1875. The worthy Doctor, as is well-known, contends, that selected Europeans resident in India, are insurable at rates similar to those applicable to Englishmen in England, but he stands absolutely alone in that contention, no less than 25 different eminent authorities, numbering six ex-Presidents of the Institute of Actuaries, and two ex-Presidents of the Royal Statistical Society having recorded a contrary opinion. This particular point is very fully treated in the papers of 1874 and 1888, read before the East India Association, and the resulting discussions, which are fully reported in the Journals of the Association.

Mr. Meikle is the *Doyen* of British Actuaries, and his paper (d) is entitled to every consideration. His figures are applicable to lives in the Presidency of Bombay, European and Native, during the years 1865-1873, as obtained from the

Reports of the Health officer and the Censuses, with the following results :—

Years	Deaths per 1,000.	
	Bombay	England
1865	23 1	23 2
1867	12 3	21 7
1869	20 5	22 3
1871	19 7	22 6
1873	17 9	

Mr Meikle no doubt utilized the figures as he found them, but it is clear that his data must have been faulty. Why should the deaths in Bombay be about one-half what they were in England in 1873? Again the ratios for Bombay are not reproduced with anything like similarity from year to year, as is the case with like ratios for England, but, on the contrary, exhibit all sorts of eccentricities. We have not the text of the paper before us at the moment, but it is clear that the results cannot influence the present discussion.

Mr Sprague's paper (e) has reference to 90 insured lives during a period of 18 years, presumably 1857-75, and the results, so far as they go, may of course be absolutely relied on. The lives are continued under observation, not only during residence in India, but also after retirement to Europe or elsewhere, a very important point for Insurance Offices. Without quoting the tables, the following general conclusions are arrived at—(1), the figures are too limited to admit of absolute deductions, (2), but they indicate the line which future investigations on the subject ought to take. (3) Thus, the lives should continue under observation after retirement from India. (4) The figures support the view that the mortality during the first nine years was much in excess of what it was during the second nine years, and that hence there is a distinct tendency towards improvement of late years.

We have carefully gone through Dr Bryden's bulky volumes (f), but although there is much that is interesting therein, there is little bearing on the point immediately under discussion. The figures, having reference to the rank and file of the European and Native Armies of India, can hardly be accepted as a guide to the required assurance premiums for the whole European population of India.

The average strength of the European Army in India during the five years ended 1876, was 58,198

The following is the annual death-rate per 1,000 of strength for the five years 1871-75 of the European Army in India, in relation to age, the deaths during the voyage home and after arrival at Netley, being charged to India —

Under 25	11 62
25 to 29	15 02
30 and upwards	25 28

Of the three Presidencies, Bombay is the healthiest, then follows Madras, and lastly Bengal, the difference being especially against the latter up to the age of 29

The following is the annual death-rate per 1,000 of strength of the European Army in India —

1864-1869	23 56
1871-1875	16 92

The following is the average annual death-rate, discriminating the Presidencies, for the five years 1871-75 of the European Army in India, per 1,000 of strength, in

Bombay	15 20
Madras	17 02
Bengal	18 50

For the five years ending 1876, it is given as —

Bombay	11 57
Bengal	13 13
Madras	13 70

It will be seen that these figures compare very favourably with similar figures applicable to Europeans in India, elsewhere in this paper, and justify to a considerable extent Dr Mouat's conclusions. The reasons appear to be chiefly (1) That the average age of the lives under observation is very low, only 2 per cent of the whole strength of the Army being over 40 (2) That the utmost facility is given for invaliding to Europe. Thus taking the period 1871-75, more than 15½ per cent were invalided during that time, all the sickly men being weeded out and sent home from year to year (3) That a large proportion of the Army now obtains comparative immunity from risk, by removal, during the hot season especially, from the plains to a hill climate.

The annual death-rate per 1,000 of strength among the women of the European Regiments in India for the five years 1871-75 was 25 20, and among the children 71 43, of which latter, about a clear half die before attaining the age of one year.

During the period 1864-75, of the deaths amongst European soldiers, 69 per cent were from fevers, dysentery, and hepatitis.

The conditions peculiar to women, and circumstances inseparable from a compulsory residence in India, seem to determine in

their case a death-rate much above that normal for the men. During the period 1860-69, the deaths amongst the women were 43.28 per 1,000, of which more than one-half were from cholera, dysentery, and fevers. In the period 1871-75, it was 25.20 per 1,000, cholera had almost disappeared comparatively, about one-half of the deaths being still, however, from fever, dysentery, and cholera.

As to the children, on the experience of the period 1860-75, diarrhoea, convulsions, and dentition appear to carry off a clear half of them.

The period of the year in Bengal which is healthiest for Europeans, is most fatal to the Natives. The following is curious, indicating the mortality during the hot and cold months —

HOT MONTHS		COLD MONTHS	
European Army of Bengal, 1860-69	Native Army of Bengal, 1864-73	European Army of Bengal, 1860-69	Native Army of Bengal, 1864-73
62.4	37.4	37.6	62.6

The hot months are from May to October, and the so-called cold months from November to April inclusive.

The death-rates per 1,000 during the 10 years 1867-76 in the Native Army of Bengal, are returned as varying from 20.41 in 1869 to 13.50 in 1874, a peculiar feature being that 20 per cent of the Native mortality is from respiratory diseases, against 5 per cent amongst Europeans.

In the Jails of the Bengal Presidency, the average death-rate per 1,000 during the 9 years 1859-67 was 29.48, and during the 9 years 1868-76, 15.62.

We give these figures as they are obtained from the Reports, but there are many points which seem to require explanation. No details are given in the Reports as to who prepares and forwards the returns.

In the census of British India taken in 1881, (*g*) above, natives and persons belonging to other nationalities, so far as death-rate is concerned, are not discriminated.

The population of British India was in millions roughly as follows —

Hindoos	188	Millions
Mahomedans	50	do.
Aboriginals	6½	do.
Buddhists	3½	do.
Christians [nearly]	2	do.

There were also 85,397 Parsees. The English-speaking non-Native population is given at 203,558, including Eurasians. The adult British-born males were 77,173, of whom 55,800 were

In the Army Thus, as compared with the huge Native population, the number of Europeans is so small as hardly to affect the results as to the whole population After exhausting the enquiry, therefore, as to Europeans, we shall deal with Natives under a separate and distinct head

Mr Hardy's paper (*h*) also has reference exclusively to Natives, and we shall treat it under that head in the same way

We have had the whole of the Annual Reports on Sanitary Measures in India (*i*) before us, and have examined more especially that last issued, comprising also "Miscellaneous Information up to June 1887," contained in Vol XIX The mortality amongst the general population all over India is given, as in 1884, at 26.44, and, as in 1885, at 26.12 The deaths per 1,000 per annum amongst the European troops in India, are given as follows —

Period	Mortality per 1,000 of strength
1878-79	19.34
1878	21.46
1879	24.28*
1880	24.85†
1881	16.86
1882	12.07
1883	10.88
1884	12.56
1885	14.55‡

The deaths per 1,000 in the Native Army of India were in 1884, 10.50, and in 1885, 13.67 ‡

Mr Justice Cunningham's paper (*k*) we have not seen, but there is an abstract of it in the *Daily News*, of 28th February 1888, which goes into the matter in very general terms, and from which we do not deem it necessary to quote

Finally we come to (*l*) Mr Meikle's Report on the Oriental Insurance Company of Bombay, for the triennium ending 31st December 1888

This Company was established in Bombay in 1874, with a Capital paid up of £10,000, subsequently increased to £15,000 its speciality being the insurance of Native and European lives at a rate of premium applicable to European lives in India It was the first Company to assure Natives to any large extent The enterprise seems hitherto to have answered fairly well

* Excluding troops serving in Afghanistan

† Excluding troops on active service in Burmah

‡ Including troops on service in Egypt, but excluding those on active service in Burmah

As at 31st December 1889, the Funds were £413,250, the Premium Income £116,255, and interest £15,567, Sundries £201 or a total of £132,023,* while the New Premiums in 1889 were actually £20,507, the Expenses of Management being £17,094. The total Policies in force were for £2,722,190. Those of our readers who are familiar with such enterprises, will certainly recognise these as very considerable results.

But the important matter for present purposes, is as to the mortality of the Members. In the Report there is no Valuation Schedule similar to that required under our Act, nor does the Actuary give us any clue to the nationality of the Members, or the table of mortality used in his valuation. In a speech made by the Manager of the Company at the Meeting, he is reported to have said "I attribute the present position of our business chiefly to the intelligent appreciation by the Native population of our system of Life Assurance." Then we find from the Indian Press † that during 1881, of the 966 Life Insurance proposals made to the Company, only 355 for £144,650 were from Europeans and Eurasians, and 611 for £203,978 were from Natives. Thus roughly two-thirds of the applicants were Natives, while the proportion of European to Native Assurance was as 3 to 4.

To all intents and purposes the Company is more likely to attract Natives than Europeans, and hence the mortality of the latter is a very curious and interesting problem. Financially the result of the valuation, which was what is known as a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent "nett" ‡ one, was satisfactory, a surplus of £18,000 having been assumed.

But independently of these Reports, we have elsewhere obtained absolutely trustworthy information as to the mortality amongst the insurants of this Company, to the effect that, as to Europeans, it is equal to 50 per cent in excess of what is known as our "H M," or Healthy Males' Table, the most perfect known to Actuaries, and as to Natives, it is actually only equal to that under this "H M" Table. The Policies in force at the end of 1889, were in number 9,501, quite sufficient as to lives for a very respectable average.

* Here and elsewhere throughout this article the rupee, both as to premiums and sums insured, is, as is usual in such cases, taken at the normal rate of 2s sterling. At the moment the rate of Exchange, London or Calcutta, is about 1s 5d per rupee.

† Calcutta, *Englishman*, 16th May 1882.

‡ The "nett" "pure," or "normal" premium, as it is indiscriminately called in insurance phraseology, is the result obtained from the fundamental data of interest and mortality, without reference to any addition, or "loading," to cover charges of Management.

Collecting all these figures applicable to the period 1871-1890, and excluding Native lives, we have the following results placed so far as practicable in juxtaposition -

Vality per cent per annum a igst varron Classes
1871-1890

Age	S BROWN		A T FINLAISON		HARDY		T E YOUNG	DR FARR	Age	
	13 years end ed 1863	Of whom killed in Mutiny	Unconvenanted Service Family Pension Fund 1837-1872	Male Subscribers	Wives and Widows	Barbadoes	West Indies	"Albert" assured Lives in India	English Life Table Males 1841	
	(s)	(t)		(u)	(v)	(w)	(x)	(y)	(z)	
20	107	61				84	105		92	20
25	180	69			186			135	99	25
30	151	44		11		143			96	30
35	188	55			191		160	176	124	35
40	108	32		169		184			121	40
45	216	23		252	204		232		170	45
50	246	16				317			185	50
55	207			485	177		355		286	55
60	426								340	60

Columns (*s*) and (*t*) have reference to a paper (*a*) by Mr Samuel Brown, late President of the Institute of Actuaries, read before the British Association at Bath in 1864. Columns (*w*), (*x*) and (*y*) were elicited in the discussion on Mr Finlaison's paper, of which results in columns (*u*) and (*v*) These latter results, it must be mentioned, have reference to the decade ending at the previous age thus at age 30, the figures cover the ages 20 to 29 inclusive, and so on As to the "Albert Assured lives," column (*y*), these are the results of Assurances continued after fresh medical examination and at increased rates in the Commercial Union, on the failure of the former Company Mr Young, the Actuary of the Commercial Union, says "The comparison runs in about the same manner to the end of the table"*

It will be seen, then, that there is not much to disturb the conclusions covered by the Statistics for the period 1858 to 1871, of which a Synopsis has been given

The Report on the Census of India is a remarkable document To all who have been in that marvellous Dependency, there are certain Chapters, as, for instance, that on "Caste," which tend to bring the whole scene again vividly before the mind's eye Every body remembers a famous passage in *Macaulay's Essays*, where he says of Edmund Burke, that, although the latter had never been in India, his mind and fertile imagination enabled him to draw a more accurate and picturesque image of life in the cities and towns of that Dependency, than many whose home it had been for a lifetime But for a most graphic and absolutely faithful picture of bazaar life in a Great Indian city, we commend our readers to a passage in Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, commencing

" The painted streets alive with hum of noon,
The traders cross-legged 'mid their spice and grain,
The buyers with their money in the cloth,
The war of words to cheapen this or that
The shout to clear the road "

and so on. we wish we had room for the whole passage. There is something pathetic, too, in the inexorable figures applicable to the British sojourners Here are some 60,000 or 70,000 lads from the high-ways and bye-ways of England, and the hills and glens of Scotland, encamped in the midst of this stupendous population, between whom and themselves there is a great gulf fixed, wide as the poles asunder, in all that relates to social habits and religion But we must pass on to the matter immediately in hand.

* Discussion Institute of Actuaries 26th March 1888.

The following table indicates the mortality per cent. per annum amongst the Natives of India —

Age	Males	Females
20—24	1 91	2 21
25—29	2 07	2 31
30—34	2 26	2 41
35—39	2 48	2 52
40—44	2 81	2 67
45—49	3 28	2 93
50—54	4 03	3 43
55—59	4 80	4 44
60—64	6 72	6 25
65—69	9 90	9 15
70—74	14 20	13 50
75—79	21 00	20 50

and the following table indicates the "expectation of life," or mean after lifetime, applicable to every tenth year of age amongst the natives of India, as compared with similar results for England —.

Age.	India Combined Provinces		England English Life Table		Age
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
0	23 67	25 58	39 91	41 85	0
10	34 00	33 42	47 05	47 67	10
20	28 55	28 44	39 48	40 29	20
30	23 80	24 48	32 76	33 81	30
40	14 90	20 03	26 06	27 34	40
50	13 93	14 96	19 54	20 75	50
60	9 25	9 79	13 53	14 34	60
70	5 44	5 63	8 45	9 02	70
80	2 87	2 88	4 93	5 26	80
90	1 00	91	2 84	3 01	90

Throughout the table, with certain trifling exceptions, the expectation of the female exceeds that of the male, just as it does in England, but the superiority of English life continues very manifest from birth to the extremity of life. This disparity, no doubt, arises largely from the extraordinary infantile mortality in India. At birth, in England, the "expectation" of a male is 39 $\frac{9}{10}$ years and a female 41 $\frac{8}{10}$, while in India it is only 23 $\frac{7}{10}$ and 25 $\frac{6}{10}$ respectively.

The following table shows the difference between the mortality of Europeans generally and the mortality of Natives of India. The table has reference to males only, the column applicable to England being according to Dr Farr's observations, 1841.

Age	Mortality per cent . per annum.		Age
	India	England Farr, 1841.	
20	1 85	'92	20
30	2 18	96	30
40	2 66	1 21	40
50	3 66	1 85	50
60	6 12	3 40	60
70	12 18	7 34	70

The mortality in India then is manifestly greatly in excess of what it is in Europe. Roughly, at ages 20 to 70, it is about double, and at the earlier ages very much more than double. The causes are chiefly, in all probability, the comparatively imperfect sanitary conditions obtaining in India, and the hereditary deficiency of stamina in the poorer classes of many Native races, arising in the main, no doubt, from a traditionally scanty and inferior supply of food.

It is to be observed that the expression "males" in the Census Report "includes all kinds and degrees of Natives" from the savage hill tribes, with their stone weapons for the purpose of warfare and the chase, to the cultivated Hindu or Mahomedan gentleman, who has taken his degree of M A at one of our great universities. These are the two extremes of the social scale in India, and we apprehend that there is no approach to any such disparity of condition in England, nor indeed, in any country of Europe. Thus, while the lives

of Natives of India are manifestly uninsurable in the mass at European, or, indeed, any other rates, we have the highest testimony to the fact that *selected* Native gentlemen, such as those comprising the heads of departments in the Government, in Commerce and in Law—Natives, in a word, who have “a local habitation and a name” can be insured at premiums not in excess of those applicable to Englishmen in India

Passing on to consider the premiums for life insurance in India, by the kindness of a correspondent in Calcutta, the writer is able to supply the following list of Offices working in the Dependency —

Office	Established	Life, Fire, or Marine	Mutual or Proprietary	Represented in India	Head Office
Alliance	1824	L F	P	A	London
Church of England	1840	L F	P	A	Do
City of Glasgow	1838	L	P	A	Glasgow
Commercial Union	1861	L F M	P	B B	London
Imperial	1820	L	P	A	Do
Liverpool & London & Globe	1836	L F	P	A	Do
London & Lancashire	1862	L	P	B B	Do
New York	1845	L	M	A	New York
North British & Mercantile	1823	L F	P	B B	Edinburgh
Northern	1836	L F	P	A	Aberdeen
Oriental	1874	L	P	B B	Bombay
Positive	1870	L	P	B B	London
Provident	1806	L	P	A	Do
Queen	1857	L F	P	B B	Liverpool
Royal	1845	L	P	A	Do
Scottish Imperial	1865	L	P	A	Glasgow
Standard	1825	L	P	B B	Edinburgh
Sun Life of India	1890	L	P	B B	London
Universal	1834	L	P	B B	London

The letters in the fifth column indicate whether the office has a Branch Board in India, or is merely represented by Agencies. The number of those Offices which really do any business may be counted on the fingers of one hand, but we have considered it desirable to include every Company, which is in any way represented.

The following table shows what is now charged on the non-profit scale for a whole-life assurance, so far as we have been able to obtain the particulars. We must refer our readers to works on assurance for an explanation of what is meant by “without-profit” rates of premium for insurance. This expression, in a word, has reference to the prime cost of such assurance, and is, therefore, for our immediate purpose, the fairest standard of comparison, as between one Office and another —

Synopsis of the Life Assurance Premiums for Europe and India, corrected to the latest Dates
ANNUAL NON-PROFIT PREMIUMS IN £ s. d. TO INSURE £100 OR RS. 1,000 THE RUPEE BEING TAKEN AT TWO SHILLINGS STERLING BOTH FOR PREMIUMS AND SUM ASSURED.

	Church of England (a)				Commercial Union (b)				London & Lancashire (c)				North British & Mercantile (d)				Oriental (e)			
	Europe.		India		Europe.		India		Europe.		India		Europe.		India		Europe.		India	
	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military
20	2 1 8	3 10 7	2 14 0	3 5 0	1 12 10	2 0 0	2 12 5	3 2 5	1 12 11	2 15 0	3 5 0	1 12 11	2 15 0	3 5 0	1 13 5	2 14 0	2 13 0	3 3 0	2 14 0	3 3 0
25	2 8 7	3 4 0	1 18 5	3 0 0	2 2 11	3 10 0	2 12 5	3 2 5	1 17 6	2 12 5	3 0 0	1 17 6	2 12 5	3 0 0	1 17 6	2 13 5	2 10 5	3 6 7	1 17 6	2 13 5
30	2 17 9	3 11 4	2 9 6	3 17 6	2 2 11	3 17 6	2 16 2	3 10 0	2 3 0	2 16 2	3 10 0	2 3 0	2 16 2	3 10 0	2 3 0	2 16 2	3 10 0	3 12 0	2 3 0	3 12 0
35	2 9 8	4 0 7	2 9 6	4 5 0	2 17 2	4 5 0	3 2 2	3 18 2	2 9 2	3 2 2	4 5 0	2 9 2	3 2 2	4 5 0	2 9 2	3 12 0	3 17 5	4 4 6	2 9 2	3 17 5
40	4 4 10	4 12 0	3 6 0	4 15 0	3 19 8	4 15 0	4 2 0	4 12 0	3 6 5	4 2 0	4 15 0	3 6 5	4 2 0	4 15 0	3 6 5	4 11 0	4 12 5	5 1 0	3 6 5	4 12 5
45	5 3 3	5 6 4	3 18 9	5 1 0	5 0 0	5 1 0	5 15 4	6 5 4	5 0 0	5 15 4	6 5 4	5 0 0	5 15 4	6 5 4	5 0 0	5 6 2	5 9 10	6 7 10	5 0 0	5 9 10
50	6 3 6	6 5 10	4 18 0	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 9 5	7 13 6	8 1 0	6 7 5	7 13 6
55	7 2 5	7 16 0	6 4 4	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	7 2 0	6 7 5	8 1 0	8 1 0	9 10 10	8 1 0	9 10 10
60																				

(a) No statement in prospectus, but presumption is that these are non profit rates.

(b) Indian Civil rates cover as a rule, residence in any part of the world. Military rates cover active service in any part of the world 15 per cent. extra on premium, for Native lives

(c) Military rates, covering all risks, are one half per cent. on sum assured higher than the Civil rates. Natives taken at Rupees 5 per 1,000 in excess of above

(d) These Military rates cover war and climate risk in any part of the world. Adds 5 years to age for Native lives

(e) These rates are also applicable to in urance of Native lives as Hindoos and Mahomedans also to Parsees and Eurasians

	Positive (f)				Queen (g)				Standard (h)				Universal (i)			
	Europe.		India.		Europe.		India.		Europe.		India.		Europe.		India.	
	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military	Civil	Military
20	1 13 0	2 16 10	2 18 10	3 4 0	2 11 2	3 7 11	2 11 2	3 7 11	2 11 4	3 1 4	2 11 4	3 1 4	1 14 10	2 12 0	2 12 0	3 2 0
25	1 17 5	3 4 0	3 4 0	3 10 5	2 14 8	3 11 8	2 14 8	3 11 8	2 16 6	3 6 6	2 16 6	3 6 6	1 19 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 10 0
30	2 9 11	3 10 4	3 10 4	4 5 11	2 19 5	3 15 2	2 19 5	3 15 2	3 4 4	3 14 4	3 4 4	3 14 4	2 4 0	3 4 0	3 4 0	3 14 0
35	2 9 10	3 18 1	3 18 1	4 5 11	3 5 5	3 18 9	3 5 5	3 18 9	3 12 3	4 2 3	3 12 3	4 2 3	2 0 6	3 12 0	3 12 0	4 2 0
40	3 18 10	4 7 9	4 7 9	5 9 9	3 12 4	4 3 9	3 12 4	4 3 9	4 3 0	4 13 0	4 3 0	4 13 0	2 10 9	4 2 0	4 2 0	4 12 0
45	3 10 5	4 19 9	4 19 9	5 9 9	4 0 11	4 10 9	4 0 11	4 10 9	4 16 8	5 6 5	4 16 8	5 6 5	3 5 0	4 10 0	4 10 0	5 0 0
50	4 6 0	5 15 2	5 15 2	7 8 7	4 23 5	5 1 2	4 23 5	5 1 2	5 18 0	6 8 0	5 18 0	6 8 0	3 17 0	5 2 0	5 2 0	5 12 0
55	5 6 4	6 15 1	6 15 1	7 8 7	5 11 2	5 16 10	5 11 2	5 16 10					4 15 3	6 4 0	6 4 0	6 14 0
60	6 14 4	7 16 11	7 16 11	10 18 11									5 19 11	7 18 0	7 18 0	8 8 0

(f) Rates are applicable to Europeans only. Naval and Military lives are 10 per cent. higher than the Civil rates. These are profit rates, non profit not given 10 per cent. extra on premium for Native lives.

(g) Military rates cover active service in any part of the world.

(h) Europeans born and reared in India females, 'and certain' others are charged special extras. See Prospectus or Military rates. 10 per cent. added as above for Native lives.

(i) Indian Military rates cover active service in India and elsewhere. Adds 5 years to age for Native lives.

These, as we have said, are the "non profit rates" What are called the "with-profit rates" are simply Premiums in excess of the estimated prime cost, that excess being returnable to policy-holders in the proportion of 75, 80, 90, or 95 per cent, as the case may be, of the whole profits realized at intervals, varying from one to seven years. These "with-profit rates," eventually, in many cases, offer possibly a better bargain to policy-holders than the "non profit rates," but that enquiry is too complicated to be undertaken here, and might lead to endless controversy with the different Offices interested. We have preferred to quote the non-profit scale, as being sufficiently fair to all concerned, and for every immediate practical purpose.

The following table is a condensation of the preceding, so as to bring the points into closer relation, but we warn our readers, that they must not come to any definite conclusion as to the merits of any particular Office, without reading the Prospectus and Form of Policy proposed to be issued. The matter, even as we have endeavoured to simplify it, is a good deal more complicated than at first sight appears —

Life Assurance Premiums for India corrected to the latest dates
Mean of the Civil and Military Annual Rates for Assurance of £100, or
Rs 1000, without participation in Profits

Ages											
25			35			45			55		
£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	d	s
3	4	5	3	17	0	4	17	0	6	9	11
3	5	0	4	0	0	5	1	0	6	17	0
2	17	5	3	7	2	4	7	0	6	0	4
3	5	0	4	0	0	5	1	0	6	17	0
3	3	0	3	14	8	4	13	7	6	6	0
3	7	2	4	2	0	5	4	9	7	1	10
3	3	2	3	12	1	4	5	10	5	14	0
3	1	6	3	17	3	5	1	8			
3	5	0	3	17	0	4	15	0	6	9	0

Those of our readers or their friends, who contemplate an Indian career, and propose to insure their lives, should consult the three preceding tables, which taken in connexion with the corresponding prospectuses, may be considered as quite exhaustive on the subject, so far as non-profit whole-life premiums

are concerned. The rates also in certain cases apply to Native gentlemen as well as Europeans. On retiring to Europe, insurants, (it must be borne in mind,) are placed on the European rate applicable to the age at which the policy was effected. Hence, a critical study of the European rates and conditions of assurance, is of as much importance as an examination of the terms applicable to India,

We have only to add, that we have no interest in any particular Office, either as Director, Shareholder, Policy-holder, or otherwise.

Behold then the conclusion of the above matter —

The results as to European mortality in India, where not obtained by trained actuarial experts, are to be received with great reserve.

The *dictum* that assured lives of Europeans residing in that country, are subject roughly to a death-rate, 50 per cent. all round in excess of the "H M" results, is near the truth.

Thus, taking the Office whose terms for assurance are lowest, the average premiums at ages 25 to 55 inclusive, are 55 per cent. in excess of those for England.

In the absence of the figures in detail, no Office as yet insures even "selected" Natives of India at similar rates to those applicable to Englishmen in England. The Offices have been looking forward with great interest to the results shewn in this year's census of India, and propose continuing their investigations later on.

ART V.—JOURNEY OF PADRE MANUEL GODINHO
S & FROM INDIA TO PORTUGAL, IN THE
YEAR 1663, BY WAY OF MESOPOTAMIA

IF we had a Hakluyt Society in India, the whole of Padre Godinho's journey from India, through the Persian Gulf, to Bosrah, thence through Mesopotamia to the Port of Alexandria, by the Mediterranean to Marseilles, and from France to Portugal, might be published. Such, however, not being the case, I avail myself of the hospitality of the *Calcutta Review* to present the most interesting portions of the narrative to its readers.

^ This Jesuit father was sent by the Viceroy of Portuguese India to the Court of Portugal, probably on a political mission, to inform it of the losses incurred by the Crown, by land and sea, and in commercial affairs, in consequence of the encroachments, in Asia, of other European nations, chiefly the English and the Hollanders, though he abstains from alluding to the objects of his mission. He left India in December 1662, and arrived, at the end of October 1663, at the Court of Portugal, where he must have met with a very favourable reception, since he afterwards left the Society of Jesus and became a secular priest. Secularisations being even less frequent among Jesuits, than among other religious orders, and more disliked by them, Padre Godinho must have obtained permission to leave the Society in Rome, through the intercession of the Court of Portugal.

/ When Padre Godinho left India he was greatly impressed with the diminution of the Portuguese territories, and he compares the Portuguese power in Asia to the four stages of human life,—namely, infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. Its infancy began with the discovery of India by D. Vasco da Gama, during the reign of the King D. Manuel, and lasted 24 years, till that monarch's death. During the reign of D. Manuel, Goa and Malacca were taken from the Moslems, the forts of Ormuz, Cochín, Calicut, Maldiva, Socotra, Angediva, Quilon, Colombo, Chaul, Païem, Ternate, Cranganore and Sofala were built, and the kings of Ormuz, of Tidore, of Ceylon, of the Maldives, of Melinde, of Zanzibar, &c, became tributary, whilst others sought peace and desired to trade with the Portuguese.

The youth of Portuguese India extended through the 35 years of the reign of D João III, during which it grew and expanded. Towns were founded and establishments set up in the territories of friendly kings who ceded sites for them, or in such as were conquered by arms. Among these were, on the Coromandel Coast, the city of St Thomé, or Meliapore, of Negapatam and of Jafnapatam, the capital of a kingdom, which belonged for many years to the Portuguese, in the Island of Ceylon, the towns and forts of Galle, Negumbo, Baticola and Trinquinale, and, on the northern coast, the towns of Bassein and Damaon, with many villages along the whole coast of Cambay, which still belonged to Portugal. The forts of Diu, of Chale in Malabar, and of Maçao in China, were built. Victories were as numerous as the battles fought, and the latter as many as the days of the year. By sea and by land the Portuguese alternately conquered the Zamorin, the king of Bantam, the Sultan Bahadur of Cambay, the kings of Acheen, Mangalore, and many others.

The age of perfect manhood was reached in the reign of D Sebastião, and lasted from 1561 till 1600. At that time the tendency of the Portuguese was already rather to conserve old, than to make new, conquests. Nevertheless, a fort was built at Mombassa, to ensure the possession of that country, three in the Canara province, *viz* Mangalore, Barielore and Onore, one at Sirião in Pegu, with the forts of Sena and Jete on the rivers of Cuama, and the town of Golim in Bengal. The Portuguese fought valiantly to defend their possessions against their enemies, who attacked them with powerful armies. Adil Khan, of Bijapur, assaulted Goa, and the Nizam of Chaul, the Zamorin of Chale, and the king of Acheen besieged Malacca, but all these attacks were repulsed. This epoch of Portuguese India is considered to have been the most flourishing, because, after conquering or pacifying its foes, the State enjoyed all the blessings of peace. The ships of the Portuguese now sailed with safety in every sea, being no longer exposed to attack by the Moslems as formerly, as they had secured the command of the principal sea routes, partly by building forts on shore, but chiefly by their fleets. Rich fleets arrived from Japan laden with silver, from China they brought gold, silks and musk, from the Moluccas cloves, from Sunda spices and nutmegs, from Bengal all kinds of costly cloths, from Pegu valuable rubies, from Ceylon cinnamon, from Masulipatam diamonds, from Manar pearls and seed-pearls, from Acheen benzoin, from the Maldives amber, from Jafnapatam elephants, from Cochin raw hides, from Malabar pepper and ginger, from Canara provisions, from Solor wood, from Borneo camphor, from Madura saltpetre, from Cambay indigo and cloths, linsey

from Chaul, incense from Caxem, horses from Arabia, carpets from Persia, with all kinds of silks, aloes from Socotra, gold from Sofala, ivory, ebony and amber from Mozambique, and from Ormuz, Diu and Malacca great sums of money, paid as duties by ships navigating in those regions. In fine, there was nothing of value in the whole coast which did not reach the Portuguese dominions, by way either of commerce, or of tribute. With the year 1600 commenced the decline of the Portuguese dominions. Henceforth they lost strength, and became gradually so weak that their bravery and greatness in the past were known only from chronicles and from the ruins they had left. During these 64 years of her old age and decay, Portugal no longer possessed the fleets which had hitherto commanded the seas, her soldiers had lost their bravery, her captains their prudence, her enterprizes their success, and her ministers their zeal. The various Powers which deprived Portugal of her territories were the following — The Hollanders first took the fort of Amboina, and then the forts of Ternate and of Tidore in the Molucca Islands, then Malacca on the east coast of Juntana, with Galle, Trinquinale, Baticola, Negumbo, Calacattie and Colombo, the fort of Jafnapatam, with all the surrounding country, the islet of Manar, near the island of Ceylon, celebrated for its pearl fishery, the captaincy of Tuticoin, the town of Negapatam, the forts of Quilon, Cranganore and Cannanore, and the city of Cochin. If peace had not been concluded, the Hollanders would have made even more conquests.

The English, although they had not deprived the Portuguese of so many places as the Hollanders, were the first European nation who attacked them in India, and, by aiding the Persians to conquer Ormuz, they prepared the way for the losses which followed. Of the kings of India there were but few who, on perceiving the decline of the Portuguese power, remained friendly, or did not begin hostilities by ejecting the Portuguese from their territories and occupying their forts, more by starving their garrisons than by force of arms. Thus the king of Arracan took possession of the fort of Sirião in Pegu, the Grand Moghal of the town of Golim in Bengal, the king of Persia of Ormuz, the king of Golconda of the town of Meliapore, &c, St. Thomé, Sivapa Nayik of the forts of Mangalore, Barielore, Onore and Cambolim in the Canara country, the Imam of Arabia Felix of the town of Maskat, with the whole coast from Ras-ul-Hadd to Cape Mussendon, which is 87 leagues in extent, and contained six Portuguese forts, namely, Coriat, Datara, Soar, Corfassao, Libidia and Dobi. Other kings compelled the Portuguese to dismantle and evacuate the forts they possessed in their territories, as, for

instance, those of Chale and Calicut in the Malabar country. Some forts were abandoned on account of the trouble of maintaining them, such as Socotra and Angediva, the forts of Sibo, Borea, Quelba and Mada in Arabia, of Vairevene in Sind, of Quiloa in Africa, and of Paem in Sumatra.

Padre Godinho, no doubt, started from the seat of Government, though he regards Bassein as the place from which he began his travels.

Beginning of the journey This locality which is at present in ruins and only a village, sometimes visited by excursionists from Bombay, was then a large city and the capital of Western India. The city of Bassein was surrounded by thick and high walls, with eleven bastions, and a broad fosse. It possessed not only noble edifices, but also noble families, there not being an illustrious house in Portugal of which some descendants could not be found there. Enamoured with the beautiful situation and the salubrious climate, the best fidalgos of India married there, to enjoy the large incomes they derived from the villages which the king had bestowed upon them for their services, and then estates were inherited by their offspring. There were 300 Portuguese and 400 native Christian families, besides many Hindus and Moslems, not to mention the surrounding district, which furnished 5 000 armed men. Within the walls there were four convents, belonging to the Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits respectively, also two Parish churches, one the Cathedral, and another, with four beneficed clergymen, and various churches outside the walls. In its secular affairs the city was governed by a Captain, who had under him twelve others, commanding the garrisons of the forts and trenches which defended the estates and islands in the district of Bassein. In spiritual matters, it was governed by a Vigario da Vara, in judicial affairs by an Ouvidor with the same extent of jurisdiction as the Captain. The revenues were administered by a Fcitor, whom the king appointed. All these offices, excepting that of the Vigario da Vara, were triennial.

The environs of Bassein, and the neighbouring estates, were full of tanks and plantations stocked with all kinds of Indian fruits, in which this city excelled all the other northern localities, as it did also in the great quantity of cane sugar produced and sold to foreigners. Rice was equally abundant, constituting the ordinary food in those parts, and was exported from Bassein in all directions. Wheat was not produced in the territory, but a great deal of it arrived from the country of the Moslems, who brought it in caravans consisting of from 10 to 20,000 bullocks, reloading them with salt, which they took back. There was also great abundance of timber, which arrived by water, and, for this reason, all the fustas of the oar-fleets maintained in

India were built in the Bassein river Very beautiful and strong galleys, galeots and patachos were constructed of teak-wood, the superintendents being Portuguese and the workmen natives

In consequence of the disastrous wars with the Hollanders, not a single vessel could be found in any Journey to Surat for of the Portuguese harbours in which to embarkation embark for Persia On the other hand, the Arabs, the masters of the straits, had intimidated the merchants, whom experience had taught that, if they escaped from the Hollanders in the Indian Ocean, they were in danger of falling into the hands of the Arabs either in the Red Sea, or in the Persian Gulf Accordingly Padre Godinho, who desired to sail to Persia, was under the necessity of looking for a ship in Surat, which was a Moghal port He left Bassein on the 15th December 1662 and, passing, in his northward journey, through a few villages along the coast still belonging to the Portuguese, he reached Damaon which he found surrounded by walls 30 feet high and 20 thick, with ten strong bastions and about forty cannons and other pieces of artillery The moat of the fort was connected with the river and had to be crossed by a drawbridge On the other side of the river, on its bank, was the fort S Jeronymo, higher than Damaon, and garrisoned by 60 soldiers under the command of a Captain Most of the buildings of the town were low, the inhabitants being prohibited from making them higher than the walls, because, in former sieges, they had been exposed to the fire of the enemy, but the streets were broad and regular There were two Parochial Churches, the Cathedral and another, with four convents, of as many religious Orders, and, strangely enough, the Rector of the Jesuit College was at the same time also administrator of the works of the fortress The Portuguese houses had dwindled from a much larger number to one hundred, many of the residents having died of contagious diseases which were attributed to the vapours arising from the excavation of the moat The black population was much more numerous, and the jurisdiction of Damaon furnished a Contingent of 3,000 armed natives, partly infantry and partly cavalry The Portuguese of Damaon were good horsemen, as most of them held villages on condition of maintaining Arab horses The temporal matters of the city were administered by a Captain appointed by the King of Portugal, the spiritual affairs by a Vigario da Vara, justice by an Ouvidor, and finances by a Feitor, who was at the same time also the chief magistrate

Padre Godinho staid in Damaon only till he could get a Mahomedan costume prepared. This he considered more suitable than that of a soldier, as he desired to sail to Persia, in a Moslem ship, and ordinary clothes would have exposed

him to the notice of the Europeans of Surat, while the Arabs of the sea would have recognized him as a Portuguese, so that his life would have been in danger. So he exchanged his long sword for a sabre, his hat for a turban, his coat for a long robe, and the company of two Padres who had travelled with him as far as Damaon, for that of a Persian, called Mahmūd Shāh, and a Brahman, Ramaji Sinoy by name, with whom he departed in a small cart from Damaon to Surat. He was delighted, along the road, by the numerous rich Hindu and Moslem villages and the multitude of antelopes which he saw, as well as with the conversation of the Brahman, who was a doctor of his sect and also acquainted with the tenets of the Christian religion. The travellers reached Surat the next day.

- On arriving at the gates, the Padre was immediately met by several guards of the Custom-house. They took him to an official who showed him much politeness, merely because he had presented him with a lump of white wax from Goa, which he had noticed in his baggage. Padre Godinho took up his lodgings with the French bearded Capuchins, who told him that the ships of the first monsoon, which depart in December and January, had already sailed. This news disgusted him, and he remained longer in Surat than he had anticipated, but, apprehending that his life was in danger, he abstained from making himself known, till he found a ship in which he embarked for Persia.

Description of Surat, the greatest emporium of India.

The Hollanders and the English had made Surat, which was a poor town and harbour in former times, the greatest city and the most celebrated emporium of India, or even of the whole East. In a little bay called Soali, one league distant from the river Tapti, the English and Dutch vessels which arrived there, cast anchor so close to the shore, that they could, with their guns, protect their boats in landing cargo. There these two nations also had their magazines to which they sent their goods. In this bay numerous battles were fought by the Portuguese fleets against the Hollanders, as well as the English, but never successfully. The most severe of these was the encounter of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, the twentieth Viceroy of Portuguese India,* who attacked the Hollanders in Soali. The Hollanders had 4 ships and the Portuguese fleet 6 galleons, 3 pataxos, and 60 rowing boats. The latter retired after the contest, with the loss of the 3 pataxos, which were burnt.

The city of Surat contained more than 100,000 inhabitants,

* See *Calcutta Review*, 1881, October, p. 350. He was Viceroy from December 1612 till 1617.

consisting of Moghals, Hindustani Moslems, Hindus of every caste, and Christians of various nations, in fine, people of the whole world, who were either permanently settled there, or came for the purpose of trading. Most of the houses were low and hatched with palm leaves only. But it contained some noble and elegant houses belonging to the wealthier inhabitants, which, although plain externally, were ornamented within, displaying gold-embroidered tapestry, with rich pictures, on the walls, exquisite furniture, and the richest carpets and, instead of chairs, cushions of the finest silk stuffs, to recline upon. They had also gardens with fountains. The Banians, on the other hand, paid more attention to the external, than to the internal decoration of their houses. They were built of stone and cemented with lime to the first storey, above which only carpenters' work was to be seen, with sculptures in relief, in teak-wood, painted in various colours.

There were numerous mosques in the city, but the largest of all, with some other noble edifices, was situated outside the gates. Not less sumptuous were the two caravanserais of Surat, built in the form of cloisters, with numerous apartments, but accessible by only one gate which was closed at sunset and opened at dawn, for the safety of the goods stored in them. A spacious bath, with many chambers, for Moslems is also worth mentioning. It had numerous attendants, who were paid by the city to heat the water and to wait upon the bathers without requiring any remuneration from them.

There were walls, but they neither surrounded the whole city, nor were very high, and there were four gates, each with many guards, so that every person arriving with baggage might be taken to the Custom house to pay duty for it, the people who left the city were obliged to present a writing from the Custom-house official, before they could pass out. There were two Custom-houses near the river, opposite to each other, the one for examining goods arriving by sea, and the other for those imported by land. There were also other Custom houses, or rather offices of discharge along the bank of the river, for the goods to be exported. The duty paid at the Custom-house was 5 per cent, but the Moghal then governing made an exception in favour of the Hollanders, who paid one per cent less than other people, because Mansucar, the Governor of Jacatara, had, in the name of the Company, presented him, in the year 1661, with some rich and curious pieces of cloth.

The defences of Surat consisted of a citadel on the river-bank, which had three bastions, and, in its centre, a fortlet

with 20 pieces of artillery, some brass and some iron, but all unseviceable, being without gun-carriages and in bad condition. The moat of the citadel was very deep, but not broad, and the garrison consisted of 200 land-lascars, commanded by a Captain, who was independent of the Nawab or Governor of the town, but who could not come out of the fort unless by the special permission of the Great Moghal. This Captain was, moreover, the treasurer of many millions of money, all the revenues of the province being deposited in the fort of Surat, as well as the duties paid at the Custom-houses, and a great portion of the money which was continually being coined at the mint of the city, and was reputed the finest in all India, inasmuch as the Patacas—*22*, dollars of Spain—and the Lais of Persia, which are of very fine silver, were purified there, to coin their rupees, which were equivalent to the Portuguese Cruzados. At sunrise and sunset drums were daily beaten in the fort, and no houses were allowed to be built near it, there was, however, an open space where, every afternoon, a fair was held at which all kinds of victuals could be bought.

Surat was considered by Padre Godinho to be not only the greatest emporium in India, but the richest in the whole world, as goods were brought from all parts by land as well as by sea. Caravans of oxen and camels conveyed the best wares of India to Surat, which they entered every hour. The merchants and men of business were so rich that some of them possessed five or six millions of rupees, and they were owners of 50 ships sailing in every direction, whilst those from foreign parts were numberless.

During the incumbency of Mathias de Albuquerque, as the fifteenth Viceroy of Portuguese India, which lasted from the year 1590 till 1597, the English made their first appearance in the country,* and the Hollanders during the incumbency of Ayres de Saldanha, the seventeenth Viceroy, who governed from 1600 till 1605 †. When Padre Godinho was in Surat, the English maintained a mercantile establishment there under a President, and the Hollanders one under a Commandant. The Hollanders, who had other and better harbours in the south, did not trade as much as the English, who possessed no other locality for receiving their ships, except Madras, the roadstead of which was insecure and much exposed.

The political government of the whole province and city of Surat was centred in one individual, called the Nawab, who always happened to be one of the courtiers of the Grand Moghal. He never showed himself in public except with

* See *Calcutta Review* 1881, October, p. 349

† *Ibidem*

great pomp, accompanied by nobles on horseback and soldiers on foot, elephants, armed camels, and numerous led horses. At the time Padre Godinho happened to be there, the Nawab was a venerable Persian, much addicted to hunting the panther, a taste which cost him his appointment, for the Grand Moghal, having been informed that he was much abroad, engaged in the chase, instead of attending to his duties in the town, sent him a successor. The Grand Moghal kept a spy in Surat, for the purpose of watching the Nawab, as well as other officials, and reporting their doings, to the minutest particulars, every week. At that time there were no longer any Jesuits in Surat, because, whenever the Moghals had any claims upon the Portuguese, they imprisoned the Padres, thus obliging the Viceroy to comply with their demands, for fear of jeopardising the lives and the liberty of the captives. In lieu of the Jesuits, two bearded French Capuchin Fathers had been sent by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to Surat, where they maintained a chapel in their own house, to which the Catholics resorted to hear mass*. At that time there were many Deivishes Qalandars and Yogis in Surat, but Padre Godinho was chiefly struck by the habits of the latter, which he describes as follows — "They always wander about the country like gypsies, some in ragged and patched garments, but others entirely nude, or with a piece of cloth on the parts which modesty requires to be concealed, but although they cover a portion of their body from shame, they have very little of it in other respects, holding, like Cynic philosophers, that nature does nothing unbecoming. They walk about covered with ashes from head to foot. The cow, from whose dung these ashes are made, provides them also with water wherewith they perform their ablutions from time to time. They have neither house nor bed, and sleep on the ground in the open air. They not only despise the luxuries of food and raiment, but also lead such lives of penance as to astonish and excite pity. Some walk about naked, with heavy iron chains round their necks or bodies, others get themselves buried alive near public roads, leaving only a hole for breathing and a tube through which *conji*, i. e. rice-water can be poured into their mouths, others become Stylites, by taking up a position on columns or tree-trunks, whence they do not descend till death relieves them. Others again get themselves suspended on poles by sharp hooks inserted between their nude ribs, and chant hymns to their gods."

* In 1664, when Sivaji plundered Surat, Father Ambroise, the Superior of the Capuchins, obtained his protection, and also enjoyed the favour of the Governor — See *Calcutta Review*, 1882, July p. 96 "Mandelsto and Theruent & 7avel, in India"

Padre Godinho had seen a number of Yogis in Surat. One of them had been holding up his hands for ten years, and their joints had become so stiff that he could no longer lower them, even if he wished. His fists were so tightly closed that the nails, growing through, had pierced them and were protruding. There was another who kept only one arm elevated, and another who never sat down during the day or night, his only repose consisting in his taking hold of a rope which was stretched between two windows, and swinging from one side to the other. Our traveller was curious to see how these Yogis, with uplifted hands, ate and slept, and, paying them a visit by night, he observed that certain boys of their own class placed food in their mouths, and that Banians brought many sacks of cow-dung with which they kindled a fire, around which the Yogis sat, and thus spent the night.

If, perchance, a Yogi happened to take offence at some one for insulting him, or not providing him with what he asked for, he uttered imprecations against the locality, whereon all the inhabitants went in procession, requesting him to pardon the offender, and to revoke his curse, which they feared would soon overtake them. But the Yogis were as much feared as respected, for when they had taken offence two or three thousand would assemble to take revenge, and for that purpose they always first elected one of their number to be their leader. All the Yogis were great wizards, and pretended to be acquainted with medicine, although they had only a knowledge of herbs. They prepared the so-called cobra stone, which was considered to be the best antidote against the sting of any reptile in India. The Yogis carried about also other green stones which were said to produce the same effect as the one just mentioned, but they had to be placed in the mouth. The Padre was of opinion that only those were in the possession of medical science who had studied it in European Universities, and thence passed to the kingdoms of Madura and Maisûr, where they practised it dressed in the garb of Indian Yogis, in order to obtain better access to the natives and to convert them to the Christian Faith thus becoming gymnosophists of souls. He states that the Society of Jesus contained many of these philosophers, who laboured in the kingdoms named.

The month of January 1663 had already come to an end, but the ship in which the Padre had engaged his passage could not sail until the Nakhoda, or Captain, had satisfied his creditors, who insisted on being paid. At last the Padre received a message to come in a boat to the vessel, which was already outside the bar. The companions whom our traveller took with him to sea were M. Blas, a French

clergyman, expelled by the Theatine Fathers of Goa, who lived in Surat, and whom he took away at his own expense, but also for the advantage of having a confessor with him, from which it would appear that the said Theatine monk was, perhaps, not considered guilty by Padre Godinho. The second companion was Mahmūd Shah the Persian who had come with him from Bassein, where he had left a brother as security, as it were, for the person of the Padre. There were also two Musalman servants to wait upon him during the voyage.

Proceeding down the river Tapti, the boat reached the ship in a very brief time without the use of sails or oars the current of the bay being very rapid. The ship had been built at Cochin, and afterwards sold to a merchant of Surat. It carried fourteen pieces of artillery, of which however, only two were in position on the poop, the ship being full of cargo, which reached half way up the mast and covered the guns. But, as if this had not been enough, the Nakhoda took three boat-loads more on board, against the opinions of his officers and the protests of the merchants, as well as of the passengers. The sailors trifled away three days in attempting to arrange the cargo, but as it was evidently more than the vessel could carry, the Nakhoda at last consented to send some of it on shore again in his own boat.

Anchor was weighed on the 5th February, and the ship sailed for sixteen days with a favourable wind towards the Persian Gulf, when it was overtaken by a calm. The Moors could not be persuaded that the sudden cessation of wind was accidental, but said it was a punishment from God and the Prophet, because some polluted individual was on board. The Nakhoda, who was of the same opinion, ordered all hands to jump into the sea for ablution, and was the first to set the example, which the others followed, either under compulsion or willingly. When the Nakhoda returned to the ship, he urged Padre Godinho and his French companion also to purify themselves, and not to give offence to the people; when, all of a sudden, a fish attacked a boy who was swimming about, and would have bitten off his arm if he had not been rescued. After the Nakhoda had rescued the boy, he ceased to trouble the Padres.

The first means of procuring wind having proved unsuccessful, another attempt was made, which consisted in suspending a little wooden horse by a very long sail from the stern of the vessel, with the beating of drums and blowing of flutes, strangely enough, as soon as the little horse had been placed in position with the head towards the north, a furious wind commenced to blow in that direction, and drove the ship in one day and-a-half from the Kuria Muria islands to Cape

Ras-al-hadd On sighting the land, three anchors were cast, for fear of touching it, so near was the vessel to the shore. This tempest lasted six days without interruption. The vessel creaked, the shrouds became slack, the cables snapped, and everybody feared the ship would be wrecked, but the Padre trembled more than any one else, because he apprehended that, if he were to be cast on shore alive, the Imam of Maskat, who was a cruel enemy of the Portuguese, would put him to death. At last, however, the storm subsided, and the ship, entering the straits of Ormuz, was carried by a land-breeze to the bar of Maskat in two short days.

Padre Godinho describes Maskat although he had not visited it, and deploras the loss of it to the Portuguese, whose chief fortress it had been on the coast of Arabia, but his lamentations about Ormuz are not less doleful, for he says:—"The next day, the 1st of March, we found ourselves between the islands of Larak and Ormuz. When my eyes alighted upon them, I confess that I was unable to restrain my tears." He could not look round without causes for sorrow presenting themselves to his view, because, on the mainland of Persia, appeared Gambroon, namely, Bandar Abbas, near which the Portuguese had in former times a stronghold, which defended itself, in 1602, against 15,000 Persians, but was now lost.

Bandar Abbas was then more frequented by ships from India than any other harbour in the Persian Gulf, as it had supplanted Ormuz in trade, although the port there is nothing more than a slight curvature of the seashore. The place contained 2,000 inhabitants, Arabs, Persians, and Bantians from Cambay. Most of the houses were of earth, with flat-roofs. Many, however, were built of stone and lime, and all had on their terraces, a kind of wind sail, open at the sides, to catch the breeze and convey it into the lower apartments. These wind-catchers looked from a distance like so many steeples, and imparted an imposing appearance to the locality. The handsomest houses in the place were those of the English and the ~~Hollanders~~, built after the fashion of convents, with cloisters and magazines all round, for storing the goods purchased or for sale. About twenty ~~Hollanders~~ and as many Englishmen always resided there, but they had to be frequently replaced by new men, the climate, which is most pestilential, as well as the insupportable heat, killing them like flies. These merchants kept their flags hoisted high, that they might be seen by all comers. English goods were excused from paying one-half of the Custom duties, and those which bore the stamp of the East India Company paid none at all, in accordance with the agreement made with the Shah when the English aided his people with their ships to conquer Ormuz. By the same agree-

ment the English were bound to afford him the like assistance whenever the Portuguese might attempt to repossess themselves of the said fort

Bandar. Abbas was defended by a mud wall on the land side, but was open towards the sea, it had, however, two bastions, armed with ten pieces of artillery, from among those taken at Ormuz. The air was so unhealthy and caused so much sickness, that throughout the year malignant fevers prevailed, which often killed new arrivals during the first season, but, if they happened to survive till the second, they had nothing more to fear. During the four months of June, July, August and September, most of the inhabitants fled to the adjoining mountains, and those who wished to remain had to resign themselves to suffer the ills caused by the infected air, as well as by the bad odour which the sea emitted during those months, and which was attributed to the corruption of the water from the absence of wind. Not many years before the visit of Padre Godinho, a French physician had arrived in the place by land, who had spread through the whole of Persia the rumour that he was in possession of admirable prophylactics against the fevers of Bandar Abbas. As soon, however, as he arrived, he died, without being able to make experiments, or to use his prophylactics. The goods, which arrived in caravans from Ispahan, Shiraz, Lar, and the whole of Persia, consisted of all kinds of worked and of raw silk, carpets, and wool, so fine, that it was dearer than silk, rhubarb, manna, rose-water, raisins of white grapes without stones, almonds, plums, and a thousand other things, which were exported to India. The trade was chiefly in the hands of the English and the Hollanders, who took their silk from the king, while he received from them various sorts of goods, which he sold retail to his subjects. The Padre remained two days in the place, and was, by the favour of the governor of the port, allowed to pay a visit to Ormuz.

About the year 1514, when Alfonso de Albuquerque was Governor of India* he appeared with a powerful fleet before Ormuz and made it tributary to the King of Portugal. He also obtained a site in the island for the erection of a fort, the same on which he had, previously, in 1507, laid the foundations of a house for the Factors of the King of Portugal, but the project had not been executed. Beside ceding the site of the fort and accepting vassalage, the Chief of Ormuz, in the year 1543, paid the whole income of his Custom-house to the king of Portugal, because for several years he had failed to pay his tribute, which was remitted in consequence of this donation.

* See *Calcutta Review*, 1881, October, p 345. This was the second Governor from 1509 till 1515

The revenue from this Custom-house amounted yearly to Rs. 3,00,000, more or less

The King of Portugal was in possession of the island of Ormuz from the year 1514 till 1622, when Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, took it from him; with the aid of the English, along with all the ports on the mainland, as well as on the islands of the Gulf. The Shah destroyed the town, which contained many noble houses, five churches and a convent of Augustinians. He provided the fort with a moat, which the Portuguese had, to their loss, totally neglected to do, he also constructed a bastion for defence, and a drawbridge, left a garrison of 800 Persians, and ordered all the other inhabitants to vacate the island. Of the 60 pieces of artillery which the Portuguese had in the fort, he left only 40, taking some of the rest to his Court at Ispahan and some to the town of Bandar Abbas.

Padre Godinho travelled by land from Bandar Abbas to Kongo, thence to embark for Bostah. Being unable to procure horses for hire, he took camels, which so distressed him during this brief journey that he resolved never more to travel in that fashion. The journey lasted three days and-a-half along the shore, which was inhabited by Arab fishermen who lived in huts. At every quarter of a league there were cisterns, lined with stone and cement, full of rain water, conveyed through small open channels, which rendered it turbid. The travellers passed along very high mountains of the whitest salt, and all bare, without a single blade of grass upon them. At the foot of these mountains many persons were engaged in cutting off blocks of salt with mattocks and axes, and the Padre saw a camel loaded with a single block, which weighed 30 arrobas*, and made a full load for the animal.

Kongo had formerly been only a miserable fishing village, but, after losing Ormuz in 1622, the Portuguese took possession of it. When, after the loss of that place, Ruy Fieire de Andrade returned to Goa, Conde da Vidigueira, the Viceroy, despatched him again to the Gulf, to restore the Portuguese reputation. Ruy Freire executed his commission as if he had been a thunderbolt, laying waste, destroying and burning all the localities to which he obtained access on the shore and in the islands. He spared no living thing, and slew every man, woman and child he got hold of. The very trees he burned, and the edifices he razed to the ground, and whole tracts of country remained afterwards uninhabited. He allowed no ship to enter, or leave a Persian harbour, and the Persian Government at last sued for peace, which was concluded on con-

* One arroba is about 32 pounds

dition of its paying an annual tribute of five horses to the King of Portugal, and ceding to him one-half of the Custom-house revenues of Kongo, provided Ruy Freire promised to cause ships to visit that port. Ruy Freire agreed to preserve the places in that part of the Gulf which begins near the island of Kishm and terminates at the mouths of the Euphrates, reserving the greater portion of the gulf for his vengeance. He immediately despatched a Factor to take possession of the Custom-house revenues of Kongo, and a fleet of country vessels to the mouth of the straits, in order to compel ships arriving from India to pass by the harbours of Bandar Abbas and Ormuz, and to enter the port of Kongo, which was, accordingly a short time afterwards, much frequented, to the great detriment of Bandar Abbas, and not less of the English, who were thus deprived of their reward for the aid they had given the Persians against the Portuguese, namely, one half of the Custom-house revenues of the said harbour, which they still enjoyed when Padre Godinho was there.

Besides a Factor, the King of Portugal maintained in Kongo an overseer of the revenues and a Custom-house clerk, all of whom were Portuguese, but the collector, guards, appraisers and others were Musalmans, or Hindus. The Government kept also an Augustinian monk, who acted as parish-priest to all the Christians living there, and had his own public church. But the factory was so limited in comparison with the establishments of the Hollanders and the English in Bandar Abbas, that it was considered a disgrace to the Portuguese. It being customary to see the Portuguese flag hoisted on a high mast, Padre Godinho inquired why this was not done in Kongo, and was told by the Custom house officials in reply, that their flag was torn, and that they had no other. Of these and other more important matters, on which the Padre is, however, reticent, he sent information from Kongo to the Viceroy. Here our traveller consulted the Portuguese officials on the route he ought to take to Europe, and they all advised him to travel through Persia, as being more secure than the desert of Mesopotamia, but he selected the latter route as being much shorter. His French companion, who was of another opinion, left him, departing to Lara. His other companion, Mahmúd Shah, now desired to return to India, to give an account of the Padre and of himself to the Viceroy, and, in his stead, Padre Godinho engaged a boy who was a native of Maskat and able to bleed. After spending six days in Kongo, and taking leave of the Augustinian monk who had received him with all charity, and the other Portuguese officials, he departed, on the 14th March.

The vessel in which Padre Godinho embarked for Bostah

was small, its prow low, but its poop extremely high, and it had no keel. For a cabin, a kind of box was placed on the poop, large enough to hold one bed. The vessel had a lateen sail, but could be rowed in calm weather. For defence there were many bundles of lances on board, and for a cooking-stove a basket bedaubed with clay, for tanks there were two jars full of water, enough only for two days, so that, when they were exhausted, it became necessary to land. The same was the case also with firewood, of which there was only a very small quantity in the vessel. The Arabs often attacked the Portuguese in these vessels, but, as they carried no artillery, they were easily defeated. The Persians, too, shortly after depriving the Portuguese of Ormuz, fitted out a fleet of 12 Fustas, which they had found at Ormuz, and 80 Terranquis, but D. Gonzalo de Silveira, who was in command of 8 Fustas encountered them and put them to flight.

Our traveller sailed first to Nabend, which is 36 leagues from Kongo, and then along the coast to various other small ports, not marked on our maps, at which he landed. Thus he reached the mouths of the River Euphrates, to the south of which the island of Bahrain, famous for its pearl fishery, is situated. This he describes, together with that of Manar, near Ceylon.

He found the population of Bosrah to be 100,000,—Arabs, Turks, Persians and Hindus,—in fact members of every nation trading with India. Most of the houses were of mud, coated with bitumen, and having the appearance of brick-buildings. The houses of the wealthy had foundations of stone, brought from Persia, there being none in the territory of Bosrah. In the market, for the first time, he saw locusts, for which the people scrambled, they cooked them in water and salt, after pulling off only their legs and wings, and when they went to sea, they took them as dry provisions in jars. He tasted them and found them very good for one with nothing else to eat. Most of the streets of the town were navigable by canals, which flowed from the Euphrates, and irrigated the plantations and gardens.

Forty ships or more arrived annually from India, laden with fine cloths, iron, wood, pepper, lac, amber, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, spices, benzoin, and other goods, which were conveyed to Turkey, and thence to Italy and France. He considered Bosrah the wealthiest emporium in that sea, all the goods from the east and west being accumulated there. The merchants of Bosrah were so wealthy that, if 200 ships had arrived at once, they would have been able to provide them with cargoes in a month. Nevertheless the gains were not so large as in other ports, for which reason the Hollanders, who wanted cent per cent profit, did not trade there.

Padre Godinho had landed at Bosrah on the 29th March, and taken up his lodgings with a barefooted Carmelite of the place, who advised him to continue his journey to Baghdad by boat, by the Euphrates, but as he wished to leave before the owner had obtained his full cargo he changed his mind and determined to travel by land through the desert. Everybody warned him that such an undertaking was foolhardy and must end disastrously, on account of the robbers of the desert and the heat of the sun. They also represented to him that the expenses would be great, so that he was doubtful what to do. In the meantime, a courier sent by the Hollanders to the Carmelite, arrived with the first letters, informing their Government that the Portuguese had lost Cochin on the 10th January, 1663. These letters he had to despatch immediately by post to the Carmelite Father at Aleppo. This event induced Padre Godinho to accelerate his journey, in order that he might be able to inform the King of Portugal of his loss, as soon as the Hollanders received the news of their gain, this being probably necessary to the conclusion of peace with the Hollanders. From these remarks also it would appear that Padre Godinho travelled in the service of the King. Having taken this resolution, he immediately purchased a horse for himself, another for a destitute Portuguese whom he had picked up in Bosrah, to act as his servant instead of the Maskat boy whom he discharged, and a third for the interpreter whom he was under the necessity of engaging. One more companion was yet wanting, namely, a safe guide, and he was found in the person of Haji Deb, an old man, who at first refused to take service, alleging that the robbers would kill him if he conveyed foreigners through their haunts without surrendering them. At last, however, he yielded to the entreaties of the Carmelite Father, combined with the promise of good pay, and undertook to convey the party as far as Baghdad, and it was agreed that the start should be made on the 9th April.

The three horses required having been purchased, the guide riding his own, which was a Persian mare, the journey began. The provisions consisted of biscuit, so badly baked that it was soon converted into dough, a loaf, cheese, and some onions. This was all that could be taken, and it had to last five days, after which the travellers hoped to reach an inhabited locality. Some water also was taken in leather bottles hanging from the pommels of the saddles, as well as barley for the horses, which each carried on its croup. There being no wind, and the sun being very hot, the travellers suffered considerably, but they met with no disaster. They reached the village of Semava in five days, and entered

Departure from
Bosrah and journey
through Mesopotamia
to Aleppo

the desert again on the 15th April, although, when possible, they kept as closely to the river as they could. On the 19th they reached Baghdad, crossing the River Tigris by a bridge which consisted of 37 boats fastened together by heavy iron chains. As soon as they had left the bridge, they were accosted by Janissaries, who clamoured for the toll, and inquired what kind of people they were. The guide replied that they were Franks summoned by the Topeji Bashi of Damascus to serve the Grand Senhor as constables. This tale was believed and they were allowed to enter the city without paying anything. Padre Godinho became the guest of the Superior of the bearded French Capuchins, who, if they made no converts among the Turks, at least attempted to preserve some Oriental Christians in the Roman Faith.

The most populous quarter of the city contained eight mosques along the river bank, inhabited by merchants and officials of every kind, near their places of business, all close together, at the end of each street, there were gates which were bolted every night, they were also vaulted over. There were besides two handsome squares, one in front of the seraglio, inhabited by the Pasha and serving for parades, the other for holding horse-fairs. There were many large and commodious baths for men and women.

The population amounted to 16000 Turks, Arabs, Kurds and Persians, besides 300 families of Jews. Of Christians there were in Baghdad very many Jacobites, Nestorians and Armenians. The complexion of the inhabitants was fair, they were well mannered and courteous but wanted in courage, and the Turks placed very little confidence in them, never employing them in high posts either in peace or in war. The women were as comely as the men, and both sexes wore rich and costly garments. The abundance of provisions was incredible, and they were all extremely cheap. The commerce with the whole east and west was great. The potter's clay of which crockery was made, was all white. The cups and other vessels which were believed in India to be from Bosrah, were all made in Baghdad. The horses were more fit for show than for work, being of elegant appearance, but weak and unable to carry much. The donkeys were larger than mules, black and very strong, and both these and other animals were very cheap.

Two caravans started annually from Baghdad for Aleppo, the one, called the great caravap, leaving in March and travelling through the desert, the other leaving at the end of April and passing through Nineveh, or Mousul. The water consumed by the population was drawn from the Tigris, which contained most excellent fish. The whole city was surrounded by a wall, 9 spans in breadth and 50 in height, built of

bucks It contained 9 bastions, 50 towers and a castle, in which the Pasha had his *seraglio*, or palace, but there was a stronger citadel on the other bank of the Tigris, well in front of the city, which mounted 120 pieces of artillery, big and small, entirely of brass, with a garrison of 15,500 picked Janissaries The fortress was square, but more spacious than strong, it had also a moat, eight ells deep and twelve broad Along the walls there was a fosse 50 spans broad, a fathom-and-a-half deep, and always kept full of water

Our traveller remained only a day-and-a-half in Baghdad and purchased some articles necessary for the journey, which was likely to be more troublesome than hitherto, on account of the want of water, and the certainty of encountering robbers As no one travelled by land from Bosrah to Baghdad, robbers were not much on the alert on that route, but they watched the caravans which travelled from Baghdad to Aleppo in hopes of robbing them, as well as getting hold of the revenues of the province, which were sent to Constantinople, when they were not in charge of an escort The first thing Padre Godinho did in Baghdad, was to cash a bill for 200 dollars, which he had brought from Bosrah to a Baniannamed Manji who traded in Baghdad and corresponded with the Banians in India There being Turks and Arabs present in the house of Manji when Padre Godinho asked for the money, he said that he could not give it, but soon afterwards he brought it, telling Padre Godinho, that, if the Arabs had known that he was carrying money, they would have given information to the brigands, who would soon have relieved him of it With this money he purchased a horse for his interpreter, his own having become unserviceable, three leather sacks for carrying water, to be suspended from the bellies of the horses, 30 fathoms of rope for drawing water from deep wells, several pound of *carve* [coffee], some leaf tobacco, and other similar things for presenting to robbers in case they should meet any Having made these purchases, he concluded a bargain with the guide to conduct him Aleppo, and, taking leave of the Capuchin Fathers, mounted his horse with the companions already mentioned, namely, the guide, the interpreter and the Portuguese servant

On the 21st April the party left Baghdad by the same bridge by which it had entered, informing everybody that its destination was to meet the Topeji of Damascus The travellers had scarcely left the vicinity of the town, when a Janissarie, armed with a stout club, came running after them and shouting to them to stop The Padre, knowing that he wanted money, was not inclined to obey the summons, but the guide, who reflected that he would have to pass there again on other occasions, was afraid to exasperate the Janissarie, and waited for him with

the whole party. He demanded two dollars for each person, without any reason but that of his club. They haggled with him, till at last he accepted 15 Shahis of the country money which make 5 dollars, and went away. After the travellers had marched two leagues, they observed a figure on a hillock not far from the road, and, on reaching it, saw that it was an Arab, who, apprehending that he might be noticed, crouched down. After passing the hillock, they saw, on the other side of it, a number of men lying on the ground, whose sentry the Arab was, on the watch for people coming from the direction of Baghdad whom they might rob. The travellers discharged two carbines to show that they possessed fire arms, and continued their journey, riding all close together. Not far from this spot they found a brook of water, where they and their horses drank and they filled their water skins. That night they slept in an open plain, in great fear of lions and tigers, which were said to be very ravenous in those parts. The horses slept, as usual, close to the travellers, shackled to their feet. About 11 o'clock the guide, who had the first watch, awakened his companions, with shouts of tiger! The travellers drew their swords, but were afraid to use their fire arms, for fear of being heard by brigands, in case any should be about. However, the only tiger they saw disappeared.

On the 22nd day of April, the second day of the journey from Baghdad, they found water in a small pool, and large birds resembling geese, which, from the description given, must have been very young ostriches. They could not fly, and one of them was accordingly caught merely by the hand, many large ones were, however, lying dead near the bank of the pool, and, on measuring the spine of one, Padre Godinho found it to be nine spans in length. He was of opinion that all these birds had been killed by tigers, and left there to be devoured gradually. The guide was filling his water-bag on this occasion, when an enormous tiger came in sight, and all ran to their horses for their arms. The animal, being very thirsty, took no notice of their threatening attitude, but quenched his thirst with his eyes quietly fixed upon the travellers, who then shouted to drive him away, and also threatened him with their carbines, he remained immovable, however, for some time, till at last he became weary of the clamour and walked off to a short distance. They wished to shoot him, but knowing that a wounded tiger gets very furious, they left him alone, and, having watered their horses, again returned to the track leading to the town of Anah. Night setting in, they spent it in the shelter of a hillock, where they also roasted a hare which the guide had pierced with the point of his lance whilst asleep under a bush.

At dawn of the 28th April, the travellers came upon fresh

tracks of a caravan, and followed them up till they reached it. The caravan consisted of camels and other beasts of burden, laden entirely with barley, which was being conveyed from Baghdad to Anah, where none could be procured. The people of the caravan, who were few in number, gave themselves up for lost as soon as they caught sight of our travellers, whom they mistook for brigands, and, depositing their goods on the ground, waited with bows and arrows in their hands for the approach of the travellers. But finding that no hostilities were intended, the leader of the caravan rode towards the travellers mounted on a donkey, and, saluting them, expressed a wish to travel in their company as far as Anah. On this day many pieces of loose, fine white, marble-like bricks were met with in the desert, scattered over the ground for several leagues.

After the travellers had marched some time with this caravan, they saw to their left an Arab on horseback, driving two oxen before him. They accosted him and asked him for news of the desert, whereupon he informed them, that for some time past 150 mounted robbers had been daily on this road, but that he did not know where they were at present adding that he was now returning to his home with the booty he had taken in the company of the other robbers. They opened his wallet and found in it four cakes, of which they made a hearty meal. Further on they found the footprints of horsemen all along the road, and, as they could discover no marks of horseshoes, they concluded that they must be enemies, and immediately held a consultation what to do in order to avoid meeting them. Padre Godinho proposed to the guide to separate from the caravan, and ride in all haste, at a distance from the road, where the danger was greatest. The guide, however, would not consent to this, because, having received money and other things from the leader of the caravan, he said that it would not be fair to abandon him.

All accordingly travelled together slowly, descending a hill which abutted on the Euphrates. They had not yet well completed the descent when they saw a great cloud of dust raised in the plain by a body of cavalry, but at such a distance that they could not tell whether it was approaching or receding. Our travellers as well as the people of the caravan, made all haste to unload their camels and donkeys, and, making barriers of their loads, waited for the enemy to approach them through a narrow pass between the river and a hill, but the enemy never came. Being thus freed from their apprehensions, they sat down under some willow trees near the river to rest, but they had scarcely been there an hour, when the cry of robbers was raised. The people grasped their arms and took up a position in the narrow pass already mentioned. On this occasion the

Portuguese servant was so terrified that he hastened to conceal himself among the thickest of the willow bushes. The Arabs, who came up, turned out to be not more than four in number, one of them being the Shekh, or leader, of the body of cavalry which had been noticed in the distance. The interpreter shouted to them to halt, but they paid no attention and continued to advance, till two balls whistled near their ears, whereon they stopped and shouted that they were friends. They then capered about with their horses in a circle as a signal of peace, which was observed with great pleasure and dates, with onions, were offered for their acceptance. They ate of everything with much gusto, and took some tobacco also which Padre Godinho gave them. During the meal he asked them whence they had come, to which they replied that they had arrived from Hilla, and had with them a good booty taken from a wealthy Turk who was on his way to Baghdad, to be its Kazi, he had with him six camels laden with Indian cloths, and much lac and copper, of the whole of which they deprived him, leaving him dead with two of his slaves, because he had defended himself, they, however, had first killed an Arab he had with him. After having given this information, they got up and paid a visit of inspection to the little caravan, from which they took what they liked without saying a word. They also had a look at the fire-arms which Padre Godinho showed them, and wanted to obtain possession of his water-skin because it was good, but he replied that this was precisely the reason why he wanted it himself. They were much astonished when they saw him putting several balls into a carbine, and asked why he loaded it thus? On his replying that it was for the purpose of killing ten Arabs with one shot, they shook their heads, exclaiming "May Allah preserve us!" After examining the contents of the caravan, the Arabs wanted to return to their spoils, which were in the rear of a hill, but Padre Godinho would not allow them to depart till they gave him some security against being attacked by their people as far as the town of Anah. They asked, as a payment, twenty dollars, but accepted fifteen partly counterfeit and partly good ones, with some other things, in return for which the Shekh gave his little crooked stick, saying—"With this you may travel safely, and if the horsemen of any other Shekh meet you, all you have to do is to tell them that you have been with me, and to show them this little stick, which they will respect. My name is Shekh Burisha." After saying this, he disappeared in a trice with his companions, quitting the road and entering the pathless desert. The travellers marched in all haste for the remainder of the day, for fear of being overtaken by the Arabs, who might

have discovered the deception of the counterfeit dollars, and nullified the pledge of the little stick. When night set in, the little caravan and the travellers turned aside from the road for the purpose of rest and concealment between two hills. About midnight the moon rose, and the travellers with it leaving their hiding-place, and urging on the camels as much as possible, for fear of Arabs. In the morning they found that they had gained a new companion, an Arab with a bad face, dressed in rags. He appeared to Padre Godinho to be a spy, and all agreed that he ought to be dealt with as such, but the chief of the caravan, who knew from experience how revengeful Arabs are, interposed, and thus saved him from ill-treatment. Being questioned, he gave out that he was a merchant coming from Baghdad, and that he had, the day before, been robbed, with many others, who were still captives in the tents of the brigands, but that he had escaped during the night, as he had not been tied up as securely. On the following night, however, he fled from the caravan. That day a gazelle was caught and eaten, but the chief repast consisted of a wild boar, which they shared with a tiger who had slain it in sight of the caravan, after an obstinate conflict, which is described as follows.—About eleven o'clock in the morning the travellers again reached the Euphrates which had on the preceding day, made a bend away from their road. On approaching the river, they caught sight of a large tiger with up-lifted tail, open jaws, and greatly infuriated, jumping, from time to time, upon what appeared to be nothing but a little heap of mud, instead of the wild boar with which he was fighting, and which was protected by several layers of loam. They stopped the camels, and, alighting from their horses, watched the battle more closely. The boar, which displayed very sharp tusks, and was coated with dry mud to the thickness of about three inches, had posted itself with its back to a willow tree. The ravenous tiger endeavoured to drag him away from his post, but seeing all his efforts of no avail, leapt upon his back, imbedding his claws in his skin and bristles. Finding that he had pulled off only some of the latter, with a great deal of mud, he repeated the assault and denuded the boar of his cuirass of mud, but without injuring him much. When the boar found himself thus disarmed, he attempted to flee to the river to envelop himself again with mud, but the tiger, falling upon him, ripped his belly open with his claws. After killing the boar, the tiger lay down near it, first carefully licked the only wound he had received in the contest, and then set about devouring his prey, leaving some also for the travellers. About four o'clock in the afternoon the travellers reached a halting-place, where they discovered fresh traces of numerous horses which had

been there, and congratulated themselves that they had not fallen in with them. During the greater portion of the day and a part of the night, they marched along the bank of the river, which was there very deep and broad. They saw on that day an incredible number of wild boars, and a multitude of wild asses drinking from the river, near which they slept, during the portion of the night not spent in travelling, and, on the 25th April, at dawn, they again took to the road, which brought them straight to Anah at about 8 o'clock in the morning.

The town of Anah, which was in former times the capital of the whole desert, was built on both banks of the Euphrates and was sheltered by rocks in its rear, which also prevented its extension. For this reason it contained but few streets, and these were so long that it took an hour to pass through one of them on horseback. The houses were high, and constructed of bricks, in spite of the abundance of stone in the locality. The best things at Anah were its orchards and gardens, irrigated by the Euphrates, and full of European fruits and flowers.

In the middle of the river there was an island with a castle as large as that of Lisbon, surrounded with walls of mud and baked bricks, which, however, were half in ruins, as well as the edifices within the walls. There was no bridge, and the river had to be crossed on a large ballasted barque capable of holding fifteen loaded camels. There being only this vessel to ferry the people over, it took the caravan from Baghdad, when it passed there, eight days or more to cross. The natives passed from one bank to the other side on inflated leather bags, paddling with their hands, although the current carried them far down. The Euphrates at this point was 320 paces broad. In former times the town contained many wealthy merchants, but they all went away to Damascus and Aleppo during the Turco-Persian war.

After crossing the river, the travellers alighted at the house of a weaver who was a friend of the guide, and who entertained them honourably on the 25th April, which they spent in Anah. When they left, they first ascended the mountain at the back of the town, and then entered an extensive plain. For the sake of greater security they diverged from the beaten track, and, after passing through desolate and melancholy sandy places, they at last went to sleep in a cave, or oven, which appeared to have been a lion's den. There they made a fire by which they roasted a great quantity of birds' eggs, as well as esculent tubers which they had found that day in the desert. During the night seven tigers paid them a visit, and they would have fared badly if the horses had not scented their approach from a distance and given notice. The tigers, finding that the

travellers were on the alert at the entrance of the cave, and that the horses were out of reach, desisted from annoying them

The next day, at dawn, when our travellers had marched some leagues, they found a small well, at which they drank and filled their water-skins * Then the guide informed them that that day they had to pass through the most dangerous portion of the desert, their road leading through the encampment of an Arab chief where the caravan would be stopped, wherefore it would be necessary to ride at full speed the whole day, to avoid the peril of being discovered by spies on the look out for caravans, or by Arabs passing home to their encampment. They were recommended to ride in pairs according to the Arab fashion, and not in single file, so that, if they perceived them from a distance, the Arabs might take them for their own people This was done, and on this occasion the horses proved themselves to be of the true Arab race, for, although fatigued, exhausted by hunger and thirst, and heavily laden with bailey, wallets, arms, waterbags and the persons of their riders, they never stopped running from dawn till two o'clock in the afternoon, during which time they traversed eight leagues of the most dangerous part of the road. In the afternoon they reached the top of a hill from which they looked down upon an extensive plain, where the guide said he had formerly seen two very deep wells, but that they were a sure place for brigands who watered their horses there. The travellers then separated, and, dismounting, so as not to be observed, went to look for the camp. Having descried seven horses near the spot where the guide said the wells should be, the travellers consulted whether it would be better in this emergency to flee before the horsemen reached them, or to go on and meet them. No one thought that flight would be safe, since, by returning in the direction from which they had come, they would fall into greater danger, nor did the travellers think much of meeting the seven horsemen they had seen at a distance, but, finding that they had become twenty by the time they got nearer, they were frightened. Making, however, a virtue of necessity, they bravely advanced towards the robbers with primed fire-arms, spanned triggers, and pistols in their girdles. Nine of the robbers mounted their horses, as soon as they saw the travellers coming straight towards them, and rode up to them with the quickness of lightning, signs of peace not having been made on either side with the horses. When they were within speaking distance, the travellers asked the robbers who they were, but the latter gave no reply, but, passing on a little further, they caught sight of the arms, whereon they immediately stopped, and the travellers continued their march towards the wells, which they found to contain

no water, so they continued their journey without stopping. They had progressed but little, when the brigands, after consulting among themselves, galloped towards them, but, a musket and two carbines being fired, they turned away again. It was feared that they had gone only to bring reinforcements, and the travellers rode as quickly during the afternoon as they had done in the morning, till they came to a spot with sand heaped around, which had no doubt formerly served as an enclosure for the cattle of the brigands, and had been so well manured with their dung that it presented the aspect of a most beautiful grass plot, which was like a miracle in that desert. The place was most suitable for pasturing the horses, for which there was no more barley, but the fear of robbers influenced the travellers more than the allurements of the place, so they cut some grass with their knives, each placing a bundle of it on his horse, and marched till nine o'clock in the evening, when they reached some kind of shelter. In the course of the same day, which was the 27th April, they observed the sun become suddenly white like snow, emitting no rays, and not injuring the eyes when they were fixed on it, and Padre Godinho kept them that way for a long time whilst marching without the least inconvenience. After it had remained in this state for about half an hour, a dense cloud covered it and made an end of the spectacle.

Having watched all night, the travellers returned towards the road at dawn of the 28th April and passed in sight of Rahab before it was full daylight. Rahab was a town and fort situated on an eminence among extensive fields, and distant two leagues from the Euphrates, which had formerly flowed quite near it. Padre Godinho states that the inhabitants were poor Arabs, subjects of the Turks, and supporting themselves by their cattle and by a little agriculture, he is also of opinion that David referred to this town when he said, in the 78th Psalm — 'I shall mention Rahab and Babylon among those who know me.'

On the 29th April it rained for many hours, and a violent wind greatly distressed the travellers, who were compelled to halt in the open desert till it ceased. At 9 P M they reached a deep well, from which they drew water in all haste, as they noticed signs around it that people had recently been there. They accordingly travelled three leagues further, when they halted between two hills, not, however, to sleep, the ground being saturated with water and the baggage dripping with it. About midnight they heard voices of Arabs who seemed to be passing near. The night was pitch-dark, the horses were exhausted, and the pans of the fire-arms were wet, with nearly all the gunpowder spoiled. The utmost they could

do, in fact, was to keep quiet, and the men whom they feared, passed on without discovering their presence. The next day they heard at Taiba that these men were 60 in number, mounted on 30 dromedaries, and had ruined that place, as well as Rahab, by stealing the cattle and robbing the people who passed between the two towns. Thus it appears that, if it had not rained, the travellers would have encountered the brigands.

On the 30th April, at about nine in the morning, the travellers came in sight of a magnificent square edifice, mostly ruined. Everything was of the finest marble with columns, conduits for water, and various out-houses. The portals were of Corinthian work, and the whole structure resembled the temple of Solomon. One league further on was the city of Taiba, surrounded by mud walls, with a small piece of artillery over the principal gate, but no other gun in the whole fort, the people fearing only robbers. The inhabitants, who lived by husbandry and by breeding camels, were all Arabs including their governor. Neither plantations nor gardens, and not even trees, could be seen, although a brook, flowing close to the walls, might have irrigated them, but the soil was barren. At that time the people were so much afraid of robbers that they did not allow even their dromedaries to leave the town. The travellers took up their lodgings in the house of an acquaintance of the guide, and had scarcely alighted when the governor of the place entered. He was a fat man, with a large head, barefooted and bare-legged, with breasts as large as those of a woman, and well known to some Europeans who had passed there, not by his virtues, but as the most cruel thief in all Arabia. Padre Godinho also knew him by repute and had been told to pretend that he had no money, but to pay him many compliments. Accordingly he received him with as much courtesy and friendliness as if there had been the greatest friendship between them, offering him coffee, tobacco and an embroidered sheet. He drank coffee, smoked a little, without saying a word, and, at his departure, asked the guide what kind of people the travellers were, whence they had come, where they intended to go, and what capital they possessed? The guide told him the truth in every particular, whereupon he went to take his supper, but, although he was neither asked nor wanted, said he would return. He came back with some of his people, who regarded coffee as a rarity, wherefore Padre Godinho took out all he had from the baggage and, distributing it among the people, excused himself on the score of poverty for the scantiness of his gift, at which the governor smiled and said 'We know well that you are rich, because, if such were not the case, you would not have undertaken such a costly

journey Poor people travel with caravans and subsist on alms, but you, who have brought these companions at your own expense from Bosrah, want to make us believe that you are poor? Now let us see your purse" Saying this he ordered his people to bring out the baggage and search it, whereon Padre Godinho humbly requested him not to deal in this manner with a poor traveller, who, trusting his noble character, had entered his territory, which he might have avoided, and who was ready to pay the customary dues, and further told him that he might expect more than this payment on his return journey from Aleppo This fiction and the polite entreaties of the Padre took effect upon the governor, who ordered his men to cease examining the baggage, and who, having afterwards accepted ten dollars, together with a saddle which he coveted, allowed the travellers to depart the next day They left Taiba on the 1st May, three of them on horseback, and the Portuguese on a donkey, his horse having become unserviceable On the same day they entered Syria, found water in various places, and spent the night under the open sky The next day they saw numberless storks and gazelles They also saw thirteen Turks on horseback, each of them with a falcon, which being let go, immediately settled on the head of a gazelle and, flapping its wings, poked the eyes of the poor animal and so distressed it, that, more anxious to avoid its beak than the lance that threatened its life, it lay down on the ground, thus giving time to the hunter to come up and kill it The next night they slept at Milva, a village inhabited by Turks and a few Arabs Here they were, hospitably entertained, but kept awake all night, watching the Turkish horsemen, who robbed passengers there as if they had been wild Arabs

In the morning of the 3rd May they marched along the shore of a very extensive lake, from the water of which salt was manufactured, and the Padre also mentions, as not less wonderful, that the dew, falling from the sky upon the leaves of certain trees, growing in places near the Euphrates, is converted into salt as pungent as that of Setubul or Alcacer About three in the afternoon they reached the suburbs of Aleppo, and shortly afterwards entered the city itself, twenty-five days after their departure from Bosrah, of which they had spent one at Semava, one-and-a-half in Baghdad, nearly one day in Taiba, and another in Anah

The city was oblong, and had two suburbs, which were very extensive. One of these was inhabited by Arabs and Turks, whilst the other was tenanted wholly by Christians, such as Greeks, Maronites, Armenians Jacobites and Nestorians. The whole city, including the suburbs, was two leagues

in circuit, and was surrounded by high walls, with towers at intervals, all of ancient workmanship. Admittance was obtained through nine gates, and, in the middle of the city, there was a fort on an eminence, surrounded by a moat crossed by a stone-bridge, whence a covered way led up to the eminence. The artillery consisted of 500 pieces, large and small, the garrison of 500 Janissaries and 300 Sepahis. In size the city was the third in the whole Ottoman empire, being inferior only to Constantinople and Cairo, but it was superior to them in its buildings, which were all of masonry well built, lofty and majestic, though the absence of windows towards the streets disfigured them considerably. Above all, the caravanserais of Aleppo were as beautiful as the best convents in Portugal, and built in the same fashion, with the same arrangements, all being quadrangular, with fountains in the centre. Here merchants and strangers lodged, two hundred of them living in one caravanserai, which contained as many apartments, and separate kitchens to the same number. Not less majestic were the mosques, which exceeded a hundred. Outside the city there were two convents of Mahomedan monks, four classes of whom the Padre describes. Aleppo appeared to him to contain few public squares to beautify it, indeed, he saw only two. The larger square was in front of the seraglio or palace of the Pasha, and presented a noble and sumptuous appearance, there criminals were executed. Immediately before this square was another, where a fair for the sale of horses, mules and other beasts of burden was held every Tuesday. The streets were paved, and something like a canal, for water, passed through the central part, where also animals walked, so as not to interfere with the people. Although straight, all the thoroughfares were narrow, and they were regularly closed every evening at five, not to be opened till the next morning at the same hour. The streets in which the merchants and officials dwelt, were all vaulted over, but had sky-lights. In every street there were numerous fountains of stone, very well constructed, and three or four spans high from the ground. By each of them was a brass cup, suspended by an iron chain, for the convenience of persons wishing to drink. Besides these public fountains, of which there were about two hundred, every house had its own. All this water came to Aleppo from Aylam, a village distant one league from it, in a canal about the length of a lance in depth and six spans in breadth. At the point where this canal entered the city, was a handsome water-house where resided a Turkish official, who regulated the distribution of water to the public and private fountains. For all that, however, many men in the streets were offering water to passers by, from curiously worked brass cups, gratis,

and for the sole purpose of gaining religious merit, whilst others walked about in the same manner, offering for sale liquorice water, which the Turks were fond of. In the hot season the streets of Aleppo were watered twice a day. There were also hundred of magnificent baths, which were visited on certain days by women. On these occasions a white sheet at the door was the signal for men to keep aloof, and if, in spite of it, any man had ventured to trespass, he would have been deprived of life. There were also certain hostels, in which any one, even a Christian, could obtain food gratis during three days.

A rivulet, Sing by name, passed through the city, for the irrigation of plantations and gardens. The fields were extremely productive, and contained many olives, but more mulberry trees, which supplied food to innumerable silkworms. Around the city were tombstones with inscriptions in the cemeteries of Turks, frequented by women every Friday, who offered incense and prayer for the dead.

The commerce of Aleppo being very extensive it was inhabited by Arabs, Persians, Turks, Tartars, Oriental and Occidental Christians, and many other foreigners of every kind, the whole population numbering 100,000, and every nation wearing its own costume. Christians were allowed to dress like Turks, but they could not wear wholly white or green turbans, and it was necessary for them to have some stripes of another hue when they were of one of these colours. The Jews wore long blue robes, and caps without brims and of the same colour. They suffered great persecution, but were nevertheless the worst enemies of the Christians maligning them to the Turks, and doing all in their power to injure them. Europeans, such as Englishmen and Hollanders, were merchants protected by their Consuls, and most of the other Christians were officials. There were in Aleppo four convents, belonging respectively to the Franciscans, bearded French Capuchins, Carmelites, and French Jesuits. Lastly there were two convents of Greek nuns.

The goods exported from Aleppo were the following — A great quantity of gallnuts, much Persian silk, much cotton, much ashes for manufacturing soap. Indian cloths, raw hides and spices. All these articles were brought to Aleppo by numerous caravans which arrived every day. Had not the extortions and robberies of the Pashas caused the diversion of much of the commerce of Persia to Smyrna, it would have been even more considerable than it was.

Padre Godinho imagined that, on arriving in Aleppo, his troubles had come to an end, but experience proved that the Turkish populace was more to be feared than the Arabian

desert. He alighted at the caravanserai, near which the French Consul lived and the Jesuit convent was situated, and was waiting for a visit, when he found himself surrounded by Jews, without any Christian daring to approach him, or to receive him into his house, for fear of being taken up, on suspicion of having concealed his diamonds and pearls, abundance of which every one coming from India was supposed to possess. The Jews wanted him to go to the Custom-house before paying a visit anywhere else, and he complied. As the Aga, or official, had not yet arrived, he waited for some time, which the Jews utilized to extort four gold pieces from him, on the promise that they could make arrangements for his not being searched by the Custom-house people, and, after giving another dollar to a servant of the Aga, he was allowed to depart. He betook himself to the Jesuit convent, which was close at hand, but was immediately followed by more Hebrews, who demanded the same amount as the others had received, alleging that they also belonged to the Custom-house, and must not, on account of their delay, lose what their companions had gained by passing his baggage safely through that establishment, and telling him that if he did not give them an equal sum, trouble would certainly befall him. He was inclined to satisfy their demands, but the Jesuit fathers all told him that, if he yielded to intimidation and gave them money, he would soon learn that it could not extricate him from their hands, and that greater evils would befall him if he were to pay them, than if he were to plead poverty and give them nothing. This advice, based on experience, appeared good. Accordingly the Padre assured the Jews that he had scarcely money enough to pay the expenses of his journey, whereon they departed, three days, however, had scarcely elapsed when Padre Godinho was summoned to the Custom-house again. He took with him the interpreter of the French Consul and found the Aga reclining on a cushion upon the top of his carpets, surrounded by many Hebrews. The oldest of these, who was their Rabbi, asked him whether he was an old or a new Portuguese? He replied — "I am as old a Portuguese as you are a Jew." This man then stated that it had been brought to the notice of the Aga, that Padre Godinho was a very rich merchant who had lived eight years in India, whence he had brought a great quantity of diamonds, which he had concealed, on entering the city, to defraud the Custom-house of its dues. He denied all this, saying that he was no merchant, and asked whether it was credible that a man carrying diamonds would expose himself to the dangers of the desert, contrary to the habit of merchants, who always travel with caravans for the safety of their goods. He also explained that he had been, and

still was, a Jesuit, and was returning home as such. The Hebrew replied that no Padre travelled so expensively as he had done, and therefore he must be a man of high position and much wealth. As to the allegation that, if he had been carrying diamonds, he would not have ventured into the desert without a caravan, the Hebrew said it was certain that he had come with one from Baghdad and had an interest amounting to 2,00,000 rupees in it, but that he had hurried to Aleppo, because it had been stopped by Arabs. Lastly he advised Padre Godinho, as a friend, to offer a large bribe to the Aga, lest he should have to satisfy a still larger demand. Whatever the Hebrew said in Italian to Padre Godinho, the interpreter repeated to the Aga in Turkish. Then the Padre said that he owed nothing and possessed nothing, and the Aga ordered him to be taken to prison, but he afterwards induced the French Consul to stand security for him, and this having been accepted, he was allowed to roam freely about the city.

More than twenty days of the month of May had already elapsed, and ships were sailing daily from the port of Skanderoon, i. e., Alexandretta, to France or Italy, but Padre Godinho was not yet free, and when he desired his friends to negotiate for his liberation, they replied that, if the Turks knew of his anxiety to depart, they would conjecture that he was engaged in very important affairs, and would enhance their demands before granting him the required permission, which would entail an expense of more than 2,000 dollars, because, after he had paid one sum, they would want another. They advised him to show the Turks that he was pleased to remain in Aleppo, whereon they would give up their attempt to extort money from him and let him depart. He followed this stratagem for some time, but whilst he was still in Aleppo, he learned that the last ship of the season was about to sail within a week from Alexandretta. He therefore sent a message to that effect to the Aga, adding, that if he were not allowed to depart, he would continue to live in the city, like his brother Padres who were settled there, that it was ridiculous to ask him for what he did not possess, and that he ought to be allowed either to embark, or to make a trip to visit the sacred localities of Jerusalem under security. This message so incensed the Aga that he called the Padre a spy in disguise and ordered him to be cast into prison, and thence to be taken to Constantinople to the Grand Wazir. This game having gone too far, our traveller endeavoured to mollify the Aga by every means in his power, but the Turk continued to call him a spy worthy of the gallows. At last, however, money effected what nothing else could accomplish, and after the French Consul had pre-

sented the Aga with 100 dollars, of his own money as it were, the Padre was allowed to leave the city, during his stay in which he had witnessed the solemnities of the fasting month, Ramazan, with the procession at its termination. His descriptions of these may be passed over, as not being of much interest in India, as well as the account of the Jesuit missions in Turkey and in Asia in general, to which a whole chapter is devoted.

Having obtained permission and a passport from the Aga, our traveller made preparations for immediate departure. After taking leave of all the other Padres, of the French and English Consul, and of some merchant friends, he left the city on the 1st of June 1663, accompanied by his Portuguese servant whom he had brought from Bosrah, by two Turkish travellers, and by Mr Pandolpho Higen, a German, who was going to France, as well as by thirty foreign merchants who went only as far as one league from the city, all mounted on beautiful horses and well provided with arms. They had accompanied Mr Pandolpho to take leave of him, and, on arriving at the spot of separation, he gave them a magnificent breakfast which he had brought on a mule. Many toasts were drunk and but few tears shed, the merchants embraced their friend and returned to the city, whilst the travellers marched forward.

On the first day of the journey Padre Godinho was much pained to see some famous monasteries in ruins, nothing but these could be seen on either side of the road. He saw marvellous churches of stone, carved with as much minuteness as if it had been wax. There was not a block in the walls shorter than two ells, and all were clamped together with sheets of iron or copper. The best finished specimens of ancient workmanship were to be seen on the chapels and doors of the churches, the former being very low and small, but with cupolas, and the sculptures being more exquisite than any paintings, whilst the doors displayed Mosaic and Corinthian work surrounded by grand foliage of stone. In some churches he saw columns of strange size and thickness, but nearly all of them prostrate and broken. Near these churches were convents on the same model as those of Portugal, but a great deal loftier. Some of these had in the interior springs of water, and others cisterns cut in the rock. Of all these buildings only the walls and chapels were standing, the great size of the stones having protected them from demolition. On the same day also a dismantled castle, and the ruins of a city were seen. The night was spent at Halaca, which contained but few inhabitants, although its ruins showed it to have been a large city in ancient times.

Half a day's journey from Halaca, the church of St Simeon,

the Stylite, was situated, on a mountain called Mandra, ten leagues and a half from Antioch. The temple of the saint had been built in the form of a cross, which had, however, neither a roof nor a cupola, but contained a column 40 ells high, standing upon which the saint did penance. The pedestal of the column was still to be seen. Near this temple had been an imperial temple, of which only the bare site was visible. On the top of the mountain there was still in existence a great cistern, excavated in the rock, with a descent of sixteen steps to the water. From that spot also an extensive valley was perceived, with the remnants of a city, a single street of which led to the church of the holy Stylite. On the declivities of Mount Mandra the vestiges and ruins of more than thirty convents and temples, built in honor of the saint, could be seen. In the church of the Stylite our traveller said mass, using the pedestal of the column as an altar, for his own consolation and that of his two Christian companions. From that place the road turned to the left, and the travellers, having passed across the River Efrim, entered the fertile and extensive plains of Antioch, which are fourteen leagues in length, and traversed by many sweet brooks. The travellers passed over the bridge of Murad Pasha, which was three quarters of a league in length, on account of the marshes near the river. Near Antioch, which could be seen in the distance, on the slope of a mountain, there was a lake which appeared to be the sea, and had been connected therewith in ancient times, and which had been formerly navigated by galleys, but latterly only by small boats. Antioch was founded by Seleucus Nicator. St Peter is said to have been Bishop there for seven years, and St Paul preached there. This was the first city in the world which assumed the name of Christian, but when our traveller was there, it had become almost deserted, so that the Patriarch of Antioch transferred his residence first to Damascus and finally to Aleppo.

On the second day of the start from Aleppo, the party crossed a chain of very high mountains which begins in Atmenia and terminates near Alexandretta, meeting with European forest trees, such as oaks, vines, myrtle, rosemary and other fragrant shrubs, which filled the air with so delightful a perfume as to excite a desire to dwell among them. At last the travellers entered a hamlet of Greek Christians, in which they spent the night, and on the third day of the journey they reached Alexandretta, or Skanderoon, situated on the seashore and inhabited by a few Greek Christians, who supported themselves by fishing and agriculture. The climate of this locality was very unhealthy, on account of the marshes by which it was surrounded, and it actually happened that ships remained in the port waiting till

crews were sent them from France or Italy, because their own had died. The port was a kind of bay formed by the Mediterranean, large and deep enough, but without any kind of works of defence, so that no Turkish ships frequented it, for fear of Maltese ships, which were at that time constantly cruising along the coast. On the shore near Alexandretta, to the west, a tower built by Godefroy de Bouillon, during the Crusades, was still to be seen, and on the north side, half a league distant, was Payaz, a wealthy town producing much silk. Between this town and Alexandretta, close to the shore, there was a very ancient column, on the spot, where according to tradition, the whale disgorged the Prophet Jonah.

On reaching Alexandretta, the Padre immediately embarked in a French vessel for Marseilles, where it cast anchor on the 22nd July 1663.

In this port the lazaretto, or quarantine, was not so strict as in Leghorn or Venice, and the health officers allowed Padre Godinho to depart after a captivity of seven days. He then went to the college of the Jesuits, still wearing Turkish costume, and, after spending with them the festival of St Ignatius, set out for Bordeaux, where he was assured that he would find a ship for Portugal. He remained only two days in Bordeaux, and, finding no vessel there bound for Portugal, went to Rochelle, where he was told that he would find one. There he was received with much courtesy by the Rector of the Jesuit College, and embarked for Portugal, after a few days' stay, in the ship *Mazarin*, commanded by Captain M. de Almarae, who, with two other frigates, was convoying 14 merchant ships, laden with wheat and barley. The voyage was very stormy, but the kindness with which the captain treated the Padre, and his safe arrival at the Court of Portugal, made him forget all his troubles. He disembarked at Casaes, near the mouth of the Tagus, on the 25th October in 1663, having embarked at Rochelle on the 10th September of the same year.

E REHATSEK

ART VI—MAJOR-GENERAL CLAUDE MARTINE.

IT has been justly observed that the advantages of nature, or of fortune, have contributed but little to the promotion of happiness, and that those whom the splendour of their rank or the extent of their capacity, has placed upon the summit of human life, have not often furnished any just occasion for envy to those who look up to them from a lower station.

The biography of Claude Martine, however, affords an apt illustration of the converse of the postulate just laid down. Sprung from an obscure family, Martine had the advantage of neither fortune, nor rank, nor education, yet, by his own unaided efforts, he struggled through Alpine barriers, till he rose to the highest pinnacle of power and affluence which it was possible for him, under the circumstances, to attain.

He was born on the 5th January 1735, in the city of Lyons, where his father carried on the trade of a silk manufacturer. Martine himself was also apprenticed to the trade, but the spirit of adventure was too strongly developed in his nature for him to take kindly to the sedentary and uncongenial profession of his father. He accordingly sought an outlet for his ambition in fresher fields, and, in his twentieth year he enlisted in the French Army as a common soldier. In this new sphere of life, he soon displayed such singular aptitude that he was promoted from the infantry into the cavalry. About this time, the rival powers of England and France were contending for supremacy in India. The principal seat of the war was in the southern part of the peninsula. The death of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, of the Deccan was followed by a dispute in regard to the succession to the subordinate governorship of the Carnatic. Chunda Sahib, through the assistance of the French arms, defeated his rival Anaverdy Khan, and thereby secured the succession. It was on this occasion that Dupleix commemorated his triumph by the erection of the famous column "on four sides of which four pompous inscriptions in four languages proclaimed his glory to all nations of the East." The boast of heraldry and pomp of power so inseparable from Oriental conceptions of importance, tended very materially to establish the French prestige, at all events, in Southern India. As time rolled on, each nation, at different periods, experienced the reverses of fortune. At length, the English, having avenged the horrors of the Black Hole, and fought and won the battle of Plassy, directed their energies towards the south. They defeated the French in several

engagements and demolished Dupleix's column, leaving not even a wrack behind to mark the spot of its departed glory. Indeed, the position of the French now became so critical, that the authorities at home determined to send out Count de Lally (an officer of great repute who had won his spurs on the battle fields of Europe) as Governor-General of all the French Possessions and Establishments of the East, with extraordinary powers to act according to his discretion. Martine was appointed as one of the small corps of picked men whom Lally had selected for his body guard, and, as his people at home could make no good of him, he was shipped abroad, like his more illustrious contemporaries Clive and Hastings, "to make a fortune, or die of a fever" in India. He landed with Lally's force at Pondicherry on 9th September 1777. For the immediate purposes of this sketch, it is unnecessary to follow Lally through his several engagements. He was undoubtedly a keen, daring soldier, but he was completely ignorant of Oriental methods of life and warfare. He exercised the dictatorial powers with which he was invested, with such insufferable haughtiness, that he completely alienated the affections of the natives, and excited the disgust of his subordinates. At length the relations between the French commander and his troops became so strained, that, after the battle of Faldore, a number of the latter deserted and went over to the English, by whom they were well received, and by whom they were employed in the subsequent operations against Lally. Amongst the deserters were Claude Martine and his brother. Claude's knowledge of the country and his great influence over his countrymen were of very great service to the English. He was given the local rank of Captain, and served with conspicuous gallantry throughout the remainder of the campaign, which culminated in the surrender of his old Chief, Lally, at Pondicherry, in the year 1761.

At the close of the war, Martine perceived that his position and prospects would be considerably improved by throwing in his lot with, and attaching himself permanently to, the English. He accordingly volunteered to raise a body of Chasseurs from amongst the French deserters and prisoners for service in the English army. His offer was accepted. He was appointed to the command, with the rank of Ensign, and ordered to proceed to Bengal. The voyage thither proved a most eventful one. The vessel in which Martine and his company embarked, sprung a leak and foundered off Point Guadamur—the promontory which separates the coast of Coimandel from that of Orissa. Several of his men were drowned, but Martine himself and some of his companions succeeded in getting off in one of the ship's boats, and, after experiencing the

usual hardships and privations inseparable from shipwreck, they eventually managed to gain the port of Calcutta. On arrival, Martine was treated with great kindness. He was posted to the cavalry as a Cornet, and was subsequently promoted to a Captaincy, with the command of a company of infantry. In his leisure hours, he cultivated a taste for mathematics and engineering, and soon acquired considerable proficiency as a draftsman. Accordingly, when the Company resolved to make a survey of the North-East of Bengal, Martine was selected to conduct the operations, and, having brought them to a successful termination, he was shortly after deputed on a similar undertaking in the province of Oudh. While so engaged, he resided principally at Lucknow. There his ingenuity in several branches of mechanics, and his skill in the art of gunnery, attracted the attention of the Nabab Vizier Shuja ud-daulah, who moved the Governor in Council of Calcutta to consent to Martine's transfer to his service, as Superintendent of his artillery park and arsenal. The present residence of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh was used as Martine's *Barud-khana*, or powder magazine.

Martine soon acquired considerable influence at the Court of Lucknow. He was confidential adviser to the Vizier in all matters of importance affecting the interests of his territory, and gained the complete confidence alike of the ruler and his subjects. His position in the Company's service, of course, rendered it impossible for him to continue in Oudh after the completion of the work on which he had been engaged. But the Vizier not wishing to part with Martine, the latter, who was charmed with the conditions and prospects of his new service, applied for and obtained permission to be allowed to abandon his pay and allowances in the Company's employ on condition that he should be allowed to retain his rank, and continue to be attached to the Vizier's service.

In the year 1775, Shuja-ud-daulah died and was succeeded by his son Asaf ud-daulah, who likewise retained Martine in his service. It was chiefly during the reign of this prince, that Martine amassed the colossal fortune which he subsequently acquired. The new prince had a passion, amounting almost to a constitutional infirmity, for the arts and manufactures of Europe. Martine, perceiving the prince's weakness, was not slow in setting himself to impose upon it. One day he procured two white mice, which he placed in a beautiful white cage and exhibited to the Vizier, who, as usual, wished immediately to get possession of them, and asked Martine at what price he would part with them. Martine, knowing the man with whom he had to deal, was determined to drive the most

profitable bargain he could. He accordingly withstood all entreaties for several days. At length, with some ostensible feeling of reluctance, he agreed to sell the cage and the mice for Rs 10,000—a sum which the great potentate was willing to pay, but his minister persuaded him to wait a few days, in the hope that Martine might be induced to accept some abatement. During the progress of the negotiations, however, a man brought a cage full of white mice, and sold them to the prince for a nominal sum, to the great mortification of Martine.

Whenever the prince invested in some piece of mechanism, or other curiosity, Martine forthwith searched the world for something superior of the same kind, and his spirit found no peace until he had procured and disposed of it to the prince at an immense profit. At one time the prince's room was embellished with various articles of the choicest description. Amongst them were two mirrors of the largest size that the manufacturers of Great Britain could produce. At Martine's visit, the prince with childish glee expatiated on the beauties of his investment. Not to be out-done, Martine immediately wrote off to France, where plate glass was cast of larger dimensions than in England, and procured two of the largest size, which he sold to the prince at a fabulous price.

In this way Martine made considerable sums of money. Another source from which he derived a large income was by opening a bank, and establishing an extensive credit with the shroff and bankers of Oudh and the adjacent provinces. The extraordinary degree of credit and favour which he thus acquired in the Vizier's dominions induced all classes of people to repose implicit confidence in his power and his integrity. In times of public commotion, the inhabitants flocked to him from all quarters to deposit their moveable property with him for safe custody at 12 per cent on its full value.

During his residence at Lucknow, he continued to be borne on the Company's rolls as an officer, although he received no part of his salary from them. After 25 years' service, he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1790, when the war with Tipoo broke out, he presented the Company, at his own expense, with a number of fine horses sufficient to mount a troop of cavalry, and, in return for this service, he was given his Colonelcy. Six years later he received his Major-Generalship.

Martine was originally a member of the Roman Catholic faith, but he could not be persuaded to accept some of its doctrines. He denounced its customs as prejudices, and described its ordinances as priestcraft. It is said that the Roman Catholic priest at Lucknow made several attempts to

interview this extraordinary man. But, as he always came in the humble garb of his order and was generally bare-footed, Martine declined to admit him to audience on the ground that the poor priest exhibited no external mark of respectability! He, in short, abandoned his religion, but found no comfort in the other creeds which he successively adopted, and perceiving, as he said, that their ways to heaven were even more absurd than the faith in which he had been brought up, he eventually returned, though without conviction, to his original belief, and devoted his life to the relief of the poor and helpless. He erected a spacious dwelling-house on the banks of the Goompti. The ruling prince Asaf-ud-daulah was so struck with the grandeur of the building, that he offered Martine Rs 1,00,000 for it. Martine held out for a very much larger sum, but, before the bargain was concluded, Asaf-ud-daulah died, and Martine, fearing that the prince's successors would possess themselves of it, resolved to convert it into a mausoleum for himself, as no Mahomedan will ever live in a house in which a man has been buried. "When I am dead," runs the direction in his will, "which I suppose will happen at Lucknow, unless in the field of honor against an enemy, if at Lucknow or anywhere else, I request that my body may be salted, put in spirits, or embalmed, and deposited in a leaden coffin made of sheet lead in my godown, and this coffin is to be put in another one of sissou wood, of thick planks of two inches thick, and deposited in the cave of my monument, or house, at Luckperra, called Constantia, in the cave in the small round room north-east, two feet of masonry to be raised over me and covered with marble which is to bear the following inscription — Major-General Claude Martine, born at Lyons, January, 1735, arrived in India as a common soldier, and died at Lucknow on 13th September, 1800, and he is buried in this tomb, pray for soul!"

The building in which he is buried, is known as the Martinière, or "Constantia" from his motto "*Labore et Constantia*". His tomb is a simple sarcophagus, standing on the floor, and it originally had at each angle a grenadier in full uniform, standing with hands reversed, in an attitude of grief. During the Mutiny of 1857, this building was held by the rebels, who dug up Martine's tomb in the hope of discovering treasure, but, being disappointed in their expectations, they scattered his bones. Some of these were, however, subsequently recovered and restored to their resting-place. From his constant association with the ministers and nobles of the Court of Lucknow, Martine adopted several of the Mahomedan ways of life and thinking. He married a Persian lady named Goree Beebee, or Fair Lady, who, when eight years of age, was sold to him by an

unscrupulous French vagabond named Caré, who went about to the different Native Courts of the period throughout India, selling beautiful Circassian and Persian girls. When Goree Beebee attained the age of fifteen, she was married to Claude Martine. She survived him by several years and lies buried in the mosque in rear of the Martinière alongside the tomb of Hodson of Hodson's Horse, who fell at the final capture of Lucknow in 1858, during the storming of the Begum Kothie in Huzrutgung. Up to the present day there may be seen in the Martinière an original painting of this lady by Zoffany.

A very prominent feature in Martine's character was his great hospitality. As a matter of general convenience he permitted European travellers, as well as the English residents of the province of Oudh, in need of a change of air, to have the run of his bungalow "for a month and beyond the month" "unless another family wanted it." Thus William Hodges, the celebrated painter records that, after a fatiguing journey, he arrived at Lucknow suffering from violent dysentery and palpitation of the heart. Martine, hearing of his condition, invited him to his bungalow, where, by great and gentle care and the administration of suitable remedies, Hodges recovered, and, he gratefully attributed his recovery to the tender nursing of Martine. During his stay at Lucknow, Hodges painted several of his famous pictures, amongst them a view of the palace of the Nabob at Mucchhe Bhowan. This was a most picturesque building, presenting the appearance of an ancient castle, and was pleasantly situated on the banks of the Goompti. Unhappily, it no longer exists.

One of the favourite pastimes indulged in at the Court of Lucknow during the reign of Nabob Vizier Asaf-ud-daulah was that of cock fighting. Like all sports connected with the training of birds and with wild beast fights cock-fighting is believed to be of Oriental origin. Even to the present day, there are but few sports which afford a better field for gambling to the natives of Lucknow than cock-fighting. The Nabob himself always took a keen and a personal interest in these contests. He encouraged them as a means of bringing together people of all ranks, who, by partaking in the general diversion, became acquainted and entered into good fellowship with each other. At these public exhibitions Claude Martine was generally the central figure. He was probably the most successful breeder of his time in the country, and he made considerable sums of money by his birds. Indeed, the Court of Lucknow soon acquired such a notoriety for cock-fighting, even in England, that Colonel Mordaunt, one of the most enthusiastic cockers ever known, was induced to proceed to Lucknow with his birds to pit them against Martine's. Colonel Mordaunt possessed one of the

best strains of game cocks in England, and had an unbroken record in cock-fighting. After a few contests, however, at Lucknow, he soon discovered that Martine's game-fowls were superior to the best that he himself could ever hope to produce, and he was completely vanquished. A very clever picture was painted by Zoffany of the celebrated main fought at Lucknow in 1786 between Colonel Mordaunt and the Nabob, which contains portraits of the distinguished personages who assisted thereat.

The most conspicuous figure in the crowd is the portly Nabob, with his hands outstretched towards Martine, evidently excited over the issue of the contest that is proceeding between the winged combatants. Somewhat in rear, seated on an eminence, is Zoffany himself, calmly surveying the scene, brush in hand. In the back-ground may be observed the indispensable *nautch* girls, regaling the assembly with the sweet strains of Indian songs, while the *blusties* with their *mashaqs* are quenching the thirst of the fatigued spectators within and without the huge tent. This excellent picture was long an ornament of the Daulat Khanah—an old palace at Lucknow, Mrs Parkes in her "Wanderings" mentions having seen it at her visit to Lucknow in January 1831, and describes it as "fast falling into decay." The prints of the picture by Earlom are well known to collectors of valuable engravings, but are now very scarce. In the Shah Najaf of Lucknow, the Mausoleum of Ghiaz-ud-din Haider, the first king of Oudh, there is at present a painting by a native artist which contains traces of the "motif" of this picture. It was painted to order, and from memory, after the Mutiny, to replace a replica of the original which was destroyed during the stirring events of 1857.

A very amusing incident is related of Zoffany during his stay at Lucknow in Claude Martine's house. In a humorous moment he painted a full-sized picture of Nabob Asuf-ud-daulah in high caricature. It was exhibited in Martine's bungalow, which was a rendezvous for all classes of natives, who daily flocked thither to transact business with Martine. The fact of its existence was, therefore, quickly communicated to the prince. His first impulse was to decapitate the painter and dismiss Martine. Fortunately, however, for the culprit and his abettor, the prince, before taking any action in the matter, sent for and consulted Colonel Mordaunt, the cock-fighter, and mutual friend of the parties concerned in the farce. The Colonel, on arrival, found the prince foaming with rage and about to proceed with a body of rabble attendants to Martine's. The Nabob explained the cause of his great indignation, but Mordaunt, with considerably tact, succeeded in arguing the irate prince into a state of calmness, and induced him to postpone the execution of his vengeance till the following day. Mordaunt

then retired, and, as privately and expeditiously as possible, sent Zoffany intelligence of the storm that was brewing. "No time was lost," relates the chronicler of the incident, "and the laughable caricature was in a few hours changed by the magic brush of Zoffany into a superb portrait, highly ornamented, and so imitably resemblant of the Vizier, that it has been preferred to all that have been taken at sittings. The Vizier did not fail to come, his mind being full of anxiety for the honour of his dignified person, attended by Mordaunt, whose feelings for his friend's fate were speedily dissipated when, on entering the portrait chamber, the picture in question shone forth so superbly as to astonish the Vizier and to sully even the splendour which his equipage displayed on the occasion. Asaf-ud-daulah was delighted, hurried the picture home, gave Zoffany Rs 10,000 for it, and ordered the person who had informed him of the *supposed* caricature, to have his ears and nose cut off. Mordaunt, however, was equally successful in obtaining the poor fellow's pardon, and, as the Nabob would not detain him as a servant, he very generously made him one of his pensioners."

* The house in which this occurrence took place, was the Farhat Bakh, on the banks of the Goompti. It adjoins the Chutter Munzil, and is now used as the station library. It was built by Martine himself, and was sold by him to the Nabob for the fabulous sum of fifty lakhs of rupees. The basement storey contained two caves, or recesses, within the banks of the river, on a level with its surface when at its lowest ebb. In these caves, Martine generally lived in the hot season and remained in them till the commencement of the monsoon, when the rise in the river compelled him to remove. He then ascended another storey to apartments fitted up in the manner of a grotto, and when the further rise of the river brought its surface on a level with these, he proceeded to the third storey, or ground-floor, which overlooked the river at its greatest height. On the next storey above that, a handsome saloon, raised on arcades, projecting over the river, formed his spring and winter habitation. By this ingenious contrivance, he managed to preserve a tolerably equable temperature throughout the different seasons of the year.

During the construction of this building Martine resided principally at a place called Biposi Najafgarh, about sixteen miles east of Cawnpore, where he carried on extensive indigo operations. The present town, known by this name, is erected on the site of Martine's Factory. He held the lease of the estate from the Oudh Government for Rs 12,000. His nephew succeeded him; but, he being incapable of managing the concern, it became heavily embarrassed, and ultimately the

factory and the gardens passed into the hands of a Hattras Bunniah.

4 In his artillery yard at Lucknow, Martine frequently amused himself and astonished the Nabob and nobles of his court, by the manufacture of air-balloons. The Prince was so struck with the mechanism of these instruments, and was so anxious to witness some practical experience of the uses to which they could be put, that he commanded Martine to manufacture one large enough to accommodate twenty men in the ascent. Martine at once expostulated and pointed out the perils connected with the experiment. The Nabob, however, bade him proceed with the manufacture, while he undertook to provide the twenty men for Martine. Happily the experiment never came off. During the last fifteen years of his life, Martine was afflicted with a most painful malady. Dreading the prospect of a surgical operation, he elected to treat himself. The self-imposed tortures which he endured in the course of his treatment must have been excruciatingly painful and so difficult of execution, that the record of the circumstance would be open to grave suspicion, were it not vouched for on the positive testimony of most respectable witnesses. At any rate, he effected a complete cure of himself. Some years later, however, he had a relapse, and, as he had not the heart to resort to a repetition of his own treatment, he allowed the disease to take its course, and finally succumbed to it on the 13th September 1800.

5 Although Martine's position in the Company's service and his subsequent residence in Oudh brought him into contact with all classes of Englishmen, he acquired but an imperfect knowledge of our language, nor was he in any way remarkable for his knowledge of law. Yet, in spite of these disabilities, he chose to write his will in English. Indeed, he appears to have been conscious of his imperfections in these respects. In bequeathing a sum of Rs 3,50,000 sicca rupees to the educational institution at Calcutta which bears the name of La Martinière after its founder, he modestly declares that he is "little able to make any arrangement for such an institution," and expresses a hope that either the Government, or the Supreme Court, will devise the best institution for the public good. The chief, and almost the only stipulations prescribed in his brief notice of the subject are, that it shall be for the good of the town of Calcutta, that children of either sex shall be admissible to it, and, after having been educated, shall be apprenticed to some trade, or married, that it shall bear the title of La Martinière, and that an inscription in large, legible characters, that it was founded by him, shall be fixed in some conspicuous part of the building. This vagueness

of specification led to a protracted law-suit in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. It began on 20th June 1816 and was concluded on 10th May 1836. Sir Edward Ryan, the Chief Justice, who decided the case, described it as 'one of the most "difficult and complicated suits ever presented to any Court"'. The will contains an express direction that the anniversary of Martine's death shall be commemorated at Calcutta by the grant of a "premium of a few rupees or other thing, and a medal "to the most deserving virtuous boy or girl, or both, to such "that have come out of the school, or are still in it, and this "is to be done on the same day in the month I died. That "day those that are to be married are to have a sermon preach- "ed at the church to the boys and girls of the school, after- "wards a public dinner for the whole, and a toast to be drink'd "in memory of the founder." It has not been found practicable to adhere to the matrimonial clause of these injunctions, but in other respects, the directions are observed. He left a large sum for the endowment of a College at Lucknow, which likewise is called after him, by the name of La Martinière. It is also known as Constantia. In reference to this building he says "My Constantia House is never to be sold. It is to serve as "a monument, or tomb, to deposit my body in, and the house "is to serve as a College for educating children and men in "the English language and religion."

In this flourishing institution, 100 foundationers are fed, clothed and educated free of all charge, and in addition 100 boarders are entertained at a charge less than the average expenditure. "Many of our old foundationers," writes the Principal in his report on the operations of this College for the year 1883, "look back to the school with feelings of affection, "showing that it has supplied for them, as well as any school "can do, the place of friends and home. A bright future is, "in many instances, opened out to gifted, hardworking boys, "who, but for the bounty of Claude Martine, would have had but "a gloomy look out."

To his relations at Lyons he bequeathed £25,000 and he left a similar sum to the Municipality of that city, to be applied for the benefit of the poor within its jurisdiction. Out of the residue, he provided for his dependants and left large sums for charitable purposes. The will concludes with a curious exposition of the principles by which he regulated his conduct in all his concerns. He declares that self interest was his sole object in life, that the sins of which he had been guilty were great and manifold, and he ends by praying for the forgiveness of God, which he hopes this sincere confession of his wickedness will avail to obtain.

ART VII—THE HINDUS OF PURI IN ORISSA AND THEIR RELIGION

THE Hindus form more than 96 per cent of the total population of the District of Puri. Among this number are included the semi-Hinduized tribes, and not without good reason, seeing that it is not easy to draw a sharp line of demarcation between them and the Hindus proper. Between the pure Hindus and the semi-Aboriginal low castes there are several intermediate Sudra castes, which are, in a great measure, made up of non-Aryan elements. The following are the most important castes in Puri —

Puri Hindus — Brahmins and Karans (akin to Kayasths of Bengal)

Intermediate Sudra Castes — Bhandari (barber), Chasa Od (cultivator), Gourah (cowherds), Guduja (artizans), Kamars (blacksmiths), Málákars

Semi-Hinduized Tribes and Aborigines — Bauri, Dhobi, Kandia, Harhi, Pán, Kandh, Sávar

The Brahmins are divided into two well marked classes, *viz*, the Vaidiks, or the followers of the Vedas, and the Laukik, or worldly. It is needless to speak here of the Vaidik Brahmins but the status of Laukik Brahmins is peculiar in Orissa. They are sub-divided into *Sarna* Brahmins, *i e*, those who cultivate the *sarna*, or yam, and *Mástán* Brahmins, *i e*, those who plough their lands with their own hands. In Bengal, at least, no Brahmin would touch the plough, or himself cultivate garden produce. Sir W. W. Hunter is of opinion that these Laukik Brahmins represent the original Aryan settlers in the district.

Orissa, or Kalinga, was well known to the Indo-Aryans from a very early period, but only as the abode of a primitive non-Aryan race. Bandhayan, one of the earliest of the Sutrakars of the Vedas, divided the then known Hindu world into three zones, or circles, as it were, which were regarded with different degrees of esteem by the Indo-Aryans. Kalinga was included in the third circle—embracing Eastern and Northern Bengal, and the Eastern seaboard, from Orissa to the Krishna River, and some portion of Southern India. This circle was looked upon with such a degree of contempt that a person travelling in it had to expiate the sin by a sacrifice.*

* *Vide* Dutt's *Ancient India*, Vol II

It cannot be ascertained with any approach to accuracy when the Aryans first migrated into Kalinga, but there seems to be little doubt that they immigrated long before it had become a stronghold of Buddhism. An inscription in one of the celebrated Khandgiri caves shows that one Aira was a powerful Buddhist King of Kalinga. The age of King Aira, according to Dr Rajendra Lala Mitra, ranged between 416 B. C. and 316 B. C. We touch firmer historical ground when Asoka, that ardent patron of Buddhism, caused a series of edicts to be inscribed on the Dhauli rock, near Bhuvaneswar. One of the edicts clearly shows that there were Brahmins at the time.

In 474 A. C., Yajati Kesari, the first king of the Kesari line, subjugated the Buddhists (the Yavans, as they are called in the Palm-leaf Records in the Jagannath Temple). He is reputed to have brought ten thousand families of Brahmins into Kalinga. The Vaidik Brahmins are their descendants, who set themselves up as Aryans of the highest class, cutting off the *Jus Connubii* between themselves and the Laukik Brahmins.

Next to the Brahmins, come the Karans. They probably represent the Vaisyas of old. The pernicious custom of keeping girls of lower castes in the family still prevails among them to some extent. Their illegitimate children had become so numerous that they now form a caste by themselves called *Shagar peshda*.

There are still a few purely aboriginal tribes in Puri. The Sávárs, once a great Kolarian tribe, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, are now a straggling race of day-labourers and woodcutters. They are the Gibeonites of Orissa, and are still outside the Hindu caste-system, their customs being, in most respects, in direct contrast to those of the Hindus. These people are naturally to be found in large numbers, just where the Aryan invasion and conquest by the Aryans would necessarily drive them, *viz*, in hills and fastnesses. As the stream of Aryan invasion passed from the North southwards, it swept these non-Aryan tribes, who would not bow their necks to the conquerors, into mountains and hills. They remained completely isolated, and were regarded as among the dregs of impurity, eating beef and pork, everything that the Hindus abhor, and worshipping demons, or spirits of their deified ancestors.

As time rolled on, some of these aboriginal tribes migrated into the plains, and, by a process of incorporation and assimilation, became gradually Hinduized and hung loosely on the skirts of the main body of the Hindus, retaining several of their primitive customs. The Kandhs of the hills are a purely aboriginal race with a religion and polity of their own, but those who have migrated into the plains, have gradually adopted a settled life, copying Hindu rites and becoming fused with

general Hindu community Mr W. Taylor, who was the Sub-divisional Magistrate of the Khoorda Sub-division in Puri for more than 15 years, and who knew the people well, thus describes them —

“The Khands, or Santias, are both aboriginal tribes, but those inhabiting the Banpur Mals have no connection with the Kandhs and Santias of Gumsoor and Bop. They are, in fact, completely Hinduized. They venerate the cow and observe all Hindu festivals, and, in fact, look upon themselves as Hindus of good caste. The orthodox Hindus of Khoorda look upon the semi-civilized Khands, as, of fairly good caste, and will put up in their village, or lodge in the house of a Khandh, although they would consider themselves polluted by doing such things in the villages of Savars, Bauis and other aboriginal races of Khoorda.”

This process of Hinduization, observable even now, must have gone on upon a more extensive scale in times of yore. It should be borne in mind that, in olden times, there were several respectable non-Aryan tribes in India. All of them could not have been savages. We read in the Vedas of wealthy Dasyus and their “seven castles” and “ninety forts,” which shows clearly that they had attained some measure of civilization. It is therefore not unlikely that the Aryan immigrants peacefully settled down on the soil with these respectable non-Aryans, and that, from their amalgamation, arose a mixed population which became in time almost completely Hinduized in religion and social usages, and was ultimately gathered together into separate Sudra castes. Brahmins are employed by these castes for religious and ceremonial purposes, but they are not received on equal terms by the high class Brahmins. It is worthy of remark that the counterparts of some of these Uriya castes in Bengal, viz., the *Nobosaks*, are ministered to by high class Brahmins, and do not allow their widows to remain, as the Uriya castes do. Among these intermediate Sudra castes in Orissa, it is usual with a widow to marry one of the younger brothers of her late husband. Failing this, she may marry any one not within prohibited degrees. Again, the dead are usually burnt, but recourse is sometimes had to what seems to be the older and aboriginal rite of burial. The caste-system in Orissa thus appears to be more loosely organized, and more plastic than in Bengal, and this makes it possible, on the one hand, for outsiders to be admitted into an already organized caste, and, on the other, for the members of the same caste to raise themselves to membership of some higher caste. For instance, the *Chasas*, an exceedingly numerous caste in Orissa, when they become wealthy, raise themselves to membership of the lower classes of Karans, and assume the respectable title of Mahanti.

Thus Hinduism in Orissā, in its social aspects, while it accepts the customs and internal life of caste as the proper and normal status of that caste, holds out to all an ascending scale of ceremonial purity. The backward aboriginal tribes outside the pale of Hinduism, like the Kandhs, set up a Hindu god, get a Hindu priest to minister to them, adopt some of the customs of the pure Hindus, and thus become, in time, recognized as low-class Hindus. The more energetic, again, of low-castes within the pale of Hinduism, like the *Chāsā* Od, gradually raise themselves to higher standards of ceremonial purity, and the more wealthy members among them even raise themselves to membership of some higher castes. It is thus seen that not only does Hinduism in Orissā, even at the present moment, absorb the less civilized aboriginal tribes outside its pale, but there is also a process of evolution in active operation among the recognized Hindu castes themselves. Hinduism certainly has not as yet exhausted its mandate, at all events, in Orissā.

We now come to speak of the religion of the Hindus of Puri. Jagannath is the great god of the people of Orissā. All who call themselves Hindus are entitled to worship him, and, excepting the pronounced aboriginal tribes and those low-castes who are engaged in offensive occupations, all are entitled to enter the precincts of the temple. For the excluded classes, there is an image at the entrance gate called *Patit Paban* Hari, to whom they can offer their homage.

The worship of Jagannath is, for the highest minds among the Hindus, a pure system of theism. To the polytheistic multitude, it offers the infinite phases of divinity as objects of worship, and provides, for their delectation, an infinite number of rituals and ceremonies. In a word, it supplies the spiritual requirements of different classes of Hindus in different stages of their intellectual development. Under its broad all-receptive roof, doctrines the most divergent find a resting place. There you see the learned pundit of the Sankaracharya monastery seeking salvation by the way of spiritual knowledge. Here you find a large number of Saiva Sanyasis voluntarily enduring excruciating torture and misery, and seeking absorption into the Deity by severe austerities. You also see a large number of devotees consecrating their entire soul, as it were, to Hari, with the outpourings of its love and affection. Jagannath is an unsectarian name. All Hindu sects worship at its shrine. The followers of Sankaracharya, Ramanaya, Ramanand, Kabir, Chaitanya, and Nānak are to be seen doing homage to the great god. Even the Jains of the Digambara sect flock to the temple at a certain season of the year. The common link of all these sects is

their belief in the supremacy of Jagannath ; and their differences consist in the character which they assign to his supremacy, in their religious and other practices founded on the nature of such beliefs, and in their sectarian marks

Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has shown that Puri was an ancient seat of Buddhism, and the Idols of Jagannath, Baladeb, Subhadra and Chakra are mere copies of the mystic monograms of Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha and the Wheel of the Law. That which was conjectural, or speculative, has been proved to demonstration, by the discovery, fortunately made by us, of an image of Buddha in the Sun Temple, within the enclosure of the great temple Dr Mitra says —“ It (the Sun Temple) contains a small image of the sun seated on a car drawn by seven horses Right in front of the figure on the throne there are the images of Rádhá and Krishna, which cover it from the view of the faithful The object of thus secreting the figure none would, or could, tell me” Our guide gave different version of the images to be seen in the Sun Temple, which consists of two rooms, inner and outer In the outer room, there are two metal images—which our guide told us are those of the sun and the moon In the inner room, which is very dark, there is a small stone image seated on a small car drawn by seven horses This the priests called Dhammaraj, but there can be no doubt that it is an image of the sun Behind this small stone image, there is a life-size stone image in a sitting posture, with crossed legs The interval between these two is so small that it is with difficulty that the latter figure can be seen The wall against which the image of the sun rests, rises from the middle of the thighs of the sitting figure and almost touches its nose Accompanied by two friends, we scrutinized the figure with great care, and no doubt was left in our mind that it is an image of Buddha The object of thus concealing the image is thus apparent Hindus are not iconoclasts, they simply hide away the figure from the sight of the faithful

Puri was for a long time a stronghold of Buddhist faith It would appear that, some hundreds of years ago, there stood on the shore of the Bay of Bengal a Buddhist shrine, built on sandstone, and a second shrine more inland The sites of these shrines were at Puri and Satyabati, about 12 miles to its north, Dr. Mitra has shown that Bhubaneswara (the ancient Kalinga-Nagari) was the capital of a great Buddhist King, Aira, who flourished between 416 and 316 B C Asoka recorded his edicts on the Dhault rock in 242 B C., and, in the middle of the seventh century of the Christian Era, Huen Tsang, the great Chinese traveller, found that, although Brahmanism was in the ascendant at the time of his visit to Kalinga, Buddhism still

maintained its ground. The Kesari Dynasty gave a currency to the worship of Siva, but was unable to exterminate Buddhism altogether. Kumarila Bhatta and Sankaracharya, in the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian Era, were the most uncompromising antagonists of Buddhist faith, but they did not produce much impression on the masses. The message of equality preached by Buddhism was grateful to the despised and lowly Sudras, and its superior moral tone commended itself to the conscience of myriads, to whom the learned disquisitions of Brahminic philosophy were a meaningless puzzle. Several Vishnu reformers, or revivalists, then arose and made the worship of Vishnu popular. The doctrine of the identity of Buddha and Vishnu, says Dr Mitra, which was begun to be preached in the middle of the third century, must have acquired such firmness as to render it easy for Yajati Kesari to give it currency and appropriate the Buddhist shrine of Puri to the service of Vishnu. The Vishnu reformers—Ramanuj, Ramanand and Kabir—changed the doctrinal basis of Buddhism, but retained, to a large extent, the forms of worship, the rites, the code of its morals, and its doctrine of the spiritual equality of man. But still Buddhism did not altogether disappear from Puri. It is stated that, even at the time of Pratap Rudra Deb (1504-1532), of the Kesari Dynasty, there were theological discussions as to the relative merits of Buddhism and Brahminism, and that the king oscillated between the two. It was Chaitanya, the great apostle of Jagannath, who infused altogether a new life into the old Brahminic system, while the vitality of Buddhist faith was fast oozing out, and converted the masses of Orissa wholesale into Vaisnaism. For eighteen years, he lived and laboured in Puri, engaged in teaching and controversy, and in intent meditation on Hari. He regarded the Supreme Being not merely as an object of highest reverence, but also of deepest love—such love as the milk-maids of Bindaban felt for their beloved Krishna, such love as fascinated the whole soul and expelled all inferior affections and desires. An inscription on the Jaya-Bijaya Gate of the Great Temple, shows that, at his instance, King Pratapa Rudra ordered the mystic songs of Jaydeb to be sung before the Great Jagannath. Before this realistic theology, this conception of a personal Deity, the impersonal abstractions of Buddhism finally succumbed. Chaitanya's dogma of Bhakti, more fascinating, and perhaps easier of practice, than the Buddhist dogma of Karma, stole away the hearts of the masses. Buddhism thus died a natural death, for want of upholders.

But the dying system left certain traces of its influence behind. Within the hallowed enclosure of the temple, caste-distinctions are not recognized, in the presence of the Lord of the World, all men are equal. In imitation of Buddhist monasteries, several Hindu *maths* have been established. There are now more than two hundred Hindu monasteries in Puri, some of which are richly endowed

N K BOSE C.S.

ART VIII.—SOME NOTES ON WORK AND WORKERS IN A SUB-DIVISION OF THE NUDDEA DISTRICT

IN the somewhat dreary task of revising Census Schedules and endeavouring to train a host of villagers to perform the by no means easy work of enumeration, one, now and again, came across some not uninteresting local, or even general, popular trait which cannot well survive the process of abstraction, and appear in the published records of the Census. Many details also of the character and life of the villagers which pass under one's daily notice in the Cutcherry and in the field, and from their very familiarity almost escape observation, are brought before one more prominently and with more orderly sequence on seeing the varying lives of the people gradually unfolded in the Census books. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to jot down here my Census reflections on the population among whom I work, much as they have occurred to me during the past few weeks.

In the *Mofussil* area about which I am writing, the most numerous class of workers are the *Cháshás*, or cultivators, and the typical cultivator is a Muhamadan. It is of course true that there are many Hindus occupied in tilling the soil, but the bulk of the husbandmen are Mussulmans. Of the Hindus, a number are engaged in the simple rural trades which supply the cultivator with the few wants he has over and above his *dál bhát*. Others, again, belonging to the cultivating castes, and whose ancestors were occupied in ploughing the land, have, in the midst of a duller Muhamadan population, risen above their former station and perform the literate work connected with the agriculture and trade of the district. Whatever may be the case in the higher social grades, there can be no doubt that, among the mixed peasantry of these parts, the Hindus are more intelligent and more ready to take advantage of an opportunity than are their Muhamadan neighbours.

Chief among those who have risen, through performing the more difficult work incident to agriculture and the trade in agricultural products, are the *Korbartas*. They are cultivators by caste, and formerly were, one and all, cultivators by trade. Now, although many still follow the plough, others are to be found as small landholders, petty grain merchants, zemindary naibs, money-lenders, and the like, whilst others drift to Calcutta, or enter the terrestrial paradise of the rural native—the service of Government. They are even somewhat ashamed of their former occupations, and caused difficulty during the

Census, by objecting to be entered as what they are—*Chashi-Koibartas*. It was not until the *Shastras* had been examined and one of the chief local *Koibartas* had publicly announced his intention of adhering to his proper title, that they would at all consent to listen to reason.

There are of course *Chashās* and *Chashās*. Some are comparatively well-to-do, cultivating, by their labourers a considerable tract of land, others, again, raise but a precarious subsistence from a few *bigahs*. The local method of estimating a villager's wealth and position is by the number of his ploughs. Thus, he is known as a one plough man, a two plough man, and so on. There is more in this than meets the eye. The plough itself is not an object of great value, but here, by the plough, is meant, not only the instrument, but also the cattle who draw it, and cattle are the chief accumulated wealth, the main capital, of the *rayats*. The system, indeed, reminds one of the method of the Homeric age, in which wealth of all kinds was measured in oxen. The one plough man is only a remove from the labourer, the two plough man is a small yeoman, whilst a villager with four or five ploughs is *bhadra lok*—a substantial person—, and forms one of the *panchjon* who are referred to in matters of strife, and who are looked up to as the great men of the village. A Muhamadan cultivator, however, never grows rich. He may attain to some comfort if blest with sturdy sons and a little foresight, but he rarely rises much above his original position. It is the zemindary servant, the small trader, or, even the artificer, who occasionally makes a little fortune and starts as a petty landlord, but hardly ever the *Chashā*. This fact is as remarkable as it is to be deplored. Nature has blest these cultivators with a climate and soil of astonishing fertility. broad rivers intersect their country, depositing, year by year, an alluvial silt, in which the scattered seeds burst into life, all the year round, rich grains cover the surface of the earth, and every season is a harvest time. The Legislature, again, has provided them with a system of tenancy which favours the agriculturist perhaps more than any other land-law known to the jurist. Yet the wealth of the soil never clings to them, and for the most part, they endure a life of hardship and toil, with the reward of but a scanty subsistence. Much has been written in explanation of these facts, and the subject is too large and important a one for me to enter into in the course of these few pages. Stupidity, certain forms of sloth, lack of foresight, but few wants to stimulate to exertion, wastefulness in matters connected with custom and caste, and the practice of satisfying to-day's wants with the produce of to-morrow's labour—traits such as these, indicate, perhaps, the lines on which the investigation must be carried out, and the cure, if there be one, applied.

And surely there must be a cure for the Bengali is capable, and constantly capable, of much hard work and endurance, differing, in this respect, widely from the Southern European with whom he is sometimes compared. Picture the life of the *Cháshá* during the months of ploughing and sowing. At dawn he hies him to the fields, his plough borne over the shoulder, attached to it a *hookah*, and a pair of light sandals to protect his feet from the clods. Before him trudge his two bullocks, patient and toiling as himself, possessing, indeed, much in common with him. All through the long morning hours will he scratch at the soil with his tooth-pick of a plough, resting now and again for gossip and a pull at the *hookah*. The *hookah* is the comforter of the *Cháshá's* life, the enduring joy of his existence. He commences to taste of its joys whilst yet in early childhood, through youth and manhood it is his constant companion, and he lays it down only with his life. At noon-day a longer rest is taken and the mid-day meal devoured. Then to work again, until the villages, dotted over the boundless plain, grow misty in the fading glow, and round them the unsavoury vapours gather in long white whisps. Then home, to oil the body, bathe in the nearest muddy pool, and partake of the frugal supper, with, perhaps, if times are good, a little treat of fish or vegetables. Then more smoking and gossiping, and—to bed. The headmen of the village, who do not work in the field, rise again in the middle of the night, light their *hookas*, and pay conversational visits to their neighbours and friends. But the *Cháshá*, when he lies down to rest, sleeps like a log until, with day break, the round of toil commences afresh. I cannot but conceive that workers like these are capable of material and social prosperity.

Education is spreading, even amongst the *Cháshás*, and one of the most interesting results of the present Census will be the detailed information given under this head. But education fails, with the *Cháshá*, to produce the effects one might hope to see alongside its development, for the *Cháshá* takes his education in a quite peculiar way. It is the worthy ambition of a cultivating family to have, at any rate, one of the sons taught in the local *patshala* to read through his nose, to write and to cypher. But it is not expected, or desired, that the youngster, on leaving school, will carry on his ancestral calling with greater energy and skill than his relatives, on the contrary, it is, amongst the Musulman *Cháshás*, the undisputed privilege of the semi-educated youth never to soil his hands with the plough. Sometimes he enters *Zemindari* or *Mahajan* service, and may rise, whether or not with proportionate benefit to his environment, being, perhaps, a matter of doubt, but, if he has not the opportunity or inclination to do this, he will, on the strength of his fragment

of learning, idle through the rest of his life, his family being quite content to toil and support him in his dignified ease. There are, however, times when he comes to the fore. His aid is important when a little difference concerning rent or accounts arises with the landlord or mahajan, and even more so when the family enters into litigation. He then becomes a main instrument in the elaborate instruction and rehearsal which precedes the institution or defence of an important case. Not only is the dignity of our young literate shown by his exemption from the labours of the field, he also marks his exalted degree by a change of name. His simple father is a *Shekh*, or, if a three or four plough man, perhaps a *Mandal*, he casts aside such unpretending titles for the dignified epithet of *Bishash*, and as a *Bishash* he idles his life away.

Names form here, as everywhere, an interesting study. The system in vogue is clumsy, owing to the absence of real family titles. When three-quarters of a village are named *Shekh*, *Mandal* or *Bishash*, it stands to reason that the personal name only can be used for purposes of distinction. In these personal names the Muhamadan of Lower Bengal is no richer than ourselves, and he is obliged, therefore, often to have recourse to expedients in order to differentiate several villagers bearing the same title. He uses a number of Hindu names, having, in this, as in other respects, lost many of the marked characteristics that distinguish the two races. Still there may well be three or four *Gopal Shekhs*, *Kubir Mandals*, and the like, in even a small village. The ancient expedient of adding the father's name is not common, and the favourite artifice is to prefix the words *bara* and *chota*, in the sense of senior and junior, thus *Bara Gopal* and *Chota Gopal*. The addition of some epithet denoting a personal quality or peculiarity is often resorted to, and suggests the surname of mediæval history. Here the system is extended in a rather strange manner, the characteristic epithet given to a man being often used to differentiate his descendants from others bearing the same names. I have, on several occasions, heard the expression *Fagla* used in this way, and *Pagla Chandra* and *Pagla Kedar* answered cheerfully and readily to the name, though, every whit as sane as their neighbours. On enquiry, I found that it was a grandfather, or great uncle, who had been afflicted, and that the epithet was used merely for convenience. Very resounding local titles are sometimes given to immigrant villagers who find, on settling in their new homes, that their names are the property of one or more of the residents. In such cases the villagers prefix the new comer's former address to his name, with results that sometimes sound very curious. *Rampishla-Chandrapur Shital*, for instance, is a high sounding title for a ploughman to carry through life, and not only must

he suffer under its weight, but his descendant, also, perhaps, for several generations But to return to the *Chāshā*

Those boys who are not dedicated to the Muses have to commence work in the field at a very early age. The first duty of the child is to graze his father's cattle, and to this he is often set when no more than six or seven years of age. I cannot say that the *Rakhsals*, or cow-boys, are a class for whom I have any great affection. They do an amount of mischief quite out of proportion to their years, and, through carelessness, or wrong headedness, often drag their relatives into the criminal court. They lead their cattle into their neighbours' crops, or allow them to stray whilst playing with their companions a mysterious hopping game, which is the delight of the youth of these parts. The owner of the crop, arriving on the scene, proceeds to impound the animals. The *Rakhsal* runs weeping to his father with a tale of oppression and woe. Father and brothers seize their sticks and hurry to the rescue, broken heads and a case in Court are the result. And tradition says, it is to be feared truly, that the *Rakhsal* does not always wait for a third party to impound the cattle. If there is a fair, or *mela*, in prospect, and the urchin is in want of pice to purchase a smart cloth, or other luxury, he is not above taking his father's own cattle to the pound, in the hope of a small gratuity from the keeper. When the cattle have been safely lodged, he rushes home distraught, and relates, with voluble eloquence, how the hereditary enemy of his family forcibly took possession of the oxen just as he was driving them along the high way. At about ten years of age, the child is considered capable of taking an occasional turn at the plough, and, when 13 or 14 years old, performs all but the most arduous tasks of the field. But, although the children are sent at a very early age to work in the fields, the women folk of the *Chāshā*, who is any thing of a *Chāshā*, never labour out of doors. They perform rough tasks at home clean the house, husk the paddy, prepare the fuel and cook the food, yet they could not work for hire in the open without offending the cherished customs of their people. The tenacity with which the idea is adhered to, was strikingly shown in a time of distress which occurred during one of the floods which periodically devastate this district. Copious relief was provided, in the way of work on the roads, but the wives of even the poorest cultivators would have starved rather than availed themselves of it. In the end, occupation had to be found which they were able to carry on within their own doors.

The labourers, with the exception of the *Buna* coolies employed at the indigo-factories, belong to much the same classes as the cultivators, differing from them only in degree of indigence. The line of distinction is drawn between those villagers who

have at any rate one plough, and those who are without cattle, and is thus one of capital, rather than of land. There is, however, no hard-and-fast boundary between the two classes. The labourer often cultivates a little land, the smaller of the cultivators eke out their earnings by occasionally offering their services as hired labourers. With good and bad seasons, the boundary, or bounding zone, advances, or recedes. That the material prosperity of the district is increasing, is proved by the fact that, on the whole, the advance prevails, and that more and more of the labouring classes succeed in gaining possession of ploughs and cattle and rising to the position of small cultivators. Side by side with this advance, there has been a rise in the wages of unskilled labour. Speaking roughly and without consulting statistics, I should say that during the course of the last decade, the daily wages of the agricultural labourer have risen from six to eight pice. Another feature of the same phenomenon is the complaint of the large cultivators and landowners, that they have a greater difficulty in procuring labourers than used to be the case. It is remarkable that the increase of prosperity amongst the lowest classes to which the above facts unmistakably point, should have been unaccompanied by any increase of population since the date of the last census. The economic condition of the labourers in Bengal, is I am afraid, not high enough to justify one in assuming that the rise in wages is due to a raising of the standard of comfort, and, without such an elevation of the standard, one would expect an increase in the means of subsistence to be accompanied by an increase of numbers. A partial explanation of the phenomenon may be the heavy cost of marriage ceremonies. The labourer whose relatives cannot save or borrow enough to defray the expenses of his wedding, must remain unwedded, and, as a matter of fact, there are many amongst the labouring classes, Hindu as well as Muhamadan, who do not marry until late in life, or who never marry at all. This acts as a check on the practice of early marriage, and tends to keep down the number of births in the lowest strata of society. Speaking from an economic point of view, this one result of the costly ceremony is satisfactory, since it is just those who are poorest and whose children could do the least for themselves and their environment, who are debarred from early marriage.

The agency whereby the labourer transforms himself into the cultivator, is the *utbandi* or *fashi* tenancy. This system, deplorable as it is on some social and economic grounds, has the great merit of putting the possession of land within the reach of every labourer who has succeeded in collecting some small savings, and thus offers an inducement to thrift which not unfrequently prevails over his inherent disinclination to the postponement of his enjoyments. The *utbandi*

tenancy is simply a year-to-year tenancy, terminable at will of landlord, or tenant, and subject to the customary conditions of the village. The contract is entered into without formality or legal expense. Annually, before the ploughing for the paddy-crop commences, the *utbandi* lands of the village are re-distributed amongst its ryots. With permission of the *Gomashta*, and often without it, any villager may take up as much land as he thinks he can conveniently cultivate. Each man has to some extent a lien on the land he cultivated in the previous year, his rights are, however, undefined and often disregarded. Constantly more than one rayat settles on the same plot, and the distribution is attended with much bickering and jealousy and a series of cases in the criminal courts. When the crops have been reaped, the land is measured by a special *Amin*, and each villager pays at the prevailing rate for the area measured in his name. A labourer with very inconsiderable savings is able to enter into this annual competition. He has merely to hire a plough and bullocks (a course very commonly adopted), gain the ear of the *Gomashta*, fix on a plot, obtain an advance for seed from the local *Mahajan*, and proceed to cultivate. The crop is, at the end of the year, made over to the *Mahajan*, who, after deducting rent and the repayment with interest of his advance, returns the balance to the rayats. In anything but a good year the rent for the land, repayment for the advance, and hire for the plough and cattle, will swallow up nearly the whole of the produce, but, with a few favourable seasons, the thrifty rayat will be in a position to buy a bullock, thus saving part of the hire and gaining a greater proportion of the produce he raises. In another year or two, he may be able to complete his team and start on the career of a cultivator proper. Every year, after the paddy harvest, there is a considerable migration of labourers in search of work. They leave their families behind, and march either to Calcutta, or to the districts producing the large *Aman*, or winter, rice crops. After a few months, they return, furnished with a little store. This the unthrifty spend on marriages, riotous living and the like, the thrifty lay part of it by for the purchase of cattle.

Another class who derive their income from the soil, are the graziers and milkmen. These belong exclusively to the *Goalla* caste of Hindus, and, with their lank bodies and long lean features, are easily to be distinguished from their neighbours. They, as a rule, combine the occupations of milkman and cultivator. With one exception, these men give more trouble to their neighbours and their Magistrates than any other class of the people, the reason being that they habitually graze their cattle on the village crops. In about the month

of December a cheap pulse, named *kolar*, is grown and largely purchased for fodder but throughout the rest of the year hardly any special provision is made for the cattle. The fallow lands also are continually becoming more and more confined, as the waste spaces are taken up and cultivated by the *ut-bandi* rayats. Under these circumstances, the *Goalla* finds that the cheapest and most convenient plan is to lead out his herd of cattle by night into the fields, and, whilst they crop the fat of the land, he stands over and guards them with *lathis*. In villages where the milkmen are numerous, the unfortunate cultivator is forced, after his hard day's work, to patrol his land at night and sleep by his crops in order to protect them from these depredations. Often enough he is unsuccessful. Arriving after the animals have finished their meal, he sees them driven off rapidly at his approach. If he gets up to his enemies, a crack on the head is his frequent reward, and I have known a villager pay for his temerity with his life. Cases of this nature are, during certain seasons of the year, of more than daily occurrence, and the villagers, too foolish and too frightened to combine and help themselves, will, as often as not, refuse to give evidence against their despoilers. The *Goalla's* products are much prized, and his occupation, being the exclusive monopoly of a distinct class, furnishes him with considerable remuneration, so that he passes a life of some comfort, as comfort is measured by a Bengali standard. I would never advise a European to taste milk proffered in a rural *Goalla's* earthen pot, — the interior is specially prepared.

I have said that, with one exception, the *Goallas* are the most troublesome inhabitants of this neighbourhood, the exception I had in mind was one division of the *Muchi* caste. The local *Muchis* are divided into two classes, known as *Bara bege* and *Chota bege*. Of these, the first class is inoffensive enough, and, living mainly by tilling the soil, differs in few respects from the Mussulman *Chashid*. The ostensible means of livelihood of the *Chota bege Muchi* are the skinning of cattle, the working up of leather, and the manufacture of bamboo sandals for the cultivators. In addition to these trades, he not unfrequently carries on the occupations of housebreaker and thief. The majority of serious crimes of this nature are, indeed, laid at his door, and, though he is, perhaps, sometimes hung for his bad name, he frequently deserves very badly of the law. His business is carried on in a systematic manner, and he is in communication with friends and relatives of his own stamp all over the country side. His receivers are, it is said, men of some substance and importance. They, however, shrink from the inconvenience of publicity, and I do

not know as much about them as I should wish. Even when carrying on the more legitimate trade of a cattle skinner the *Muchi* sometimes resorts to 'ways that are mean.' In accordance with ancient customs, the rayats give, as a perquisite, to the village *Muchi* the hides of all cattle dying within the village precincts. The privilege is a valuable one, for the hides, which cost nothing to the *Muchi*, realize, when sent to Calcutta, sometimes two rupees, or more, each. In consequence, when animals are healthy and trade is bad, he is occasionally cruel enough to poison a cow for the sake of its skin. The traditional way of doing this—for even crime obeys the dictates of custom—is to creep up to the animal when no one is by, and give it a lump of arsenic wrapped up in a tempting-looking plantain leaf. The cow dies in agony, and the poisoner, as a rule, escapes detection. The *Muchi*, being of very low caste, is not allowed to live within the village, and dwells in a *barr* on the outskirts. To this arrangement he makes no objection, as it is convenient for his nocturnal excursions.

In the district known emphatically as the land of rivers, it is not surprising to find a considerable proportion of the inhabitants engaged in catching and selling fish. The fishermen include both Hindus and Muhamadans. Only Hindus of low caste, such as the *Charals*, can carry on the trade, the Mussulmans who engage in it are also, as a rule, poor and uneducated. It follows, according to a very general rule in Central Bengal, that the two differ very little from one another in manners and customs. They are, on the whole, honest and well-behaved people, and rarely get into difficulties. Complicated questions about *jalkar*, as rights over water are called, in opposition to *talkar*, or rights in the soil, sometimes arise, and occasionally are fought out by *latnals* before they are taken up by the *mukhtiyars*. The Fishery Act of 1889 has done much to put an end to these quarrels, and has proved a great boon to the country. The female members of the family take to the bazar and sell the fish caught by their husbands and brothers, and thus form an exception to the general rule, that the women folk do not directly contribute to the household earnings. Much of the fish is, however, not consumed locally, but is sent down to Calcutta in boats. The most remarkable point about the fishing industry is certainly the number and variety of the expedients whereby the fisherman attracts and catches his prey. It is very interesting to stroll along the banks of a river in the evening and watch the fishermen at their work. Some fresh and ingenious contrivance continually rewards one's attention. One of the most striking and elaborate arrangements is a large net attached to the end of a slanting bamboo, some 20 feet in length, balanced, as a lever,

on uprights and horizontals placed in the middle of the river. The net is lowered by the fisherman walking up the pole and raised by his descending it. The operation, which looks nearly as difficult as tight rope dancing, is repeated every hour or so. This machinery is used by others besides the human fisherman. When he leaves it, his place is often taken by the kite, or fish-eagle, or bright little kingfisher, who will sit for hours on the lofty perch, motionless and intent, ready to dart on the rippled surface. A smaller net, used for casting, is shaped like a long tapering cylinder, the base being open and weighted. The fisherman, standing in the prow of his *dingy*, slings this net over his shoulder and casts it round his head, something in the fashion of a lasso. The operation requires a skill that can only be gained by long practice, for, if it is clumsily performed the weights of the base do not separate as they touch the water. When the net has been flung, the boat is backed a short distance, and the weights draw closer together, when they meet, net and fish are drawn up. Another plan, peculiar, as far as I know, to Bengal, is to place in the water large wicker-baskets, shaped something like a horn of plenty, and filled with green branches. The fish, attracted by these, enter, get entangled, and are finally pulled out with the basket. Small fish are often caught by placing in the current square cages, through the bars of which the fish are drifted. Another curious method for catching small fish is to fix, floating and upright in the stream a row of pieces of broad bamboo some two feet in length. Twigs are placed in the hollow of the bamboo, and the fish apparently get entangled amongst them. Spearing by moonlight is the most exciting method in use. The rod and line are only patronized by baboos and small boys in search of sport.

Chief among the artificers is, perhaps, the *Chufar Mistri*, or carpenter, who is generally a Hindu. He is mainly engaged in the manufacture of boats, cart wheels, ploughs, rakes, house-doors and chests. His tools are simple, and his main capital is the inherited skill of ages. The construction of a boat, with the rude implements at the artizan's command, is, in some ways, a marvel of ingenuity, and is a striking example of the way inherited skill can take the place of complicated machinery and educated intelligence. When completed, the lines of the vessel are graceful and the work is durable and neat, the craft, however, is not seaworthy, and any one, who has been through heavy water in a *dingy*, or even in the larger country boat, will have no desire to repeat the experiment. In manufacture the keel is first laid, a very little in the way of ribs is added, and then the thin lathe planks are fastened on in a manner that is a mystery of skill. Even a plough

is not altogether the simple instrument it looks, and a connoisseur will distinguish between two which are to the layman of practically identical form, and will point you out many a little defect or blemish. A skilful carpenter thus gains considerable local reputation, and has customers living a good many miles from his village. The preparation of the doors and thatch is almost the only work of house construction which the *Cháshá* does not himself perform, with the assistance of his family, and, perhaps, a few labourers. The building of the mud walls of a new *ghar* is an event full of joy for the younger members of the family, who revel for weeks in the glories of an idealized mud pie. The door, with its frame, is of course supplied by the carpenter, the making of the thatch is entrusted to a special artificer named a *Ghorami*. The thatch is by far the most valuable part of the house, and if the habitation is abandoned or destroyed whilst the thatch is not yet worn out, it is carefully removed and re-erected over the new home. Large fields of the particular sort of long grass used in thatch-making are studded over the country side, and form a characteristic and beautiful feature in the landscape. To the planters these meadows are known as the likeliest spot for pig. The grass fetches a high price—from six to twelve rupees an acre—and, in the hot weather, when many houses are destroyed by fire, the rayat is sometimes put to great straits for want of it. The villagers are astonishingly careless in the use of fire. A palsied old woman, who can scarcely see, is allowed to cook the family meal in a thatched room, dry as tinder. She overturns the fire-pot and totters, all unconscious, away. Half an hour afterwards the village is in a blaze. Fortunately the property destroyed is not very valuable, and, if the landlord makes a present of thatching-grass, a few weeks' labour reconstructs the village, which is all the better for the purification it has undergone. I never fully realized the humour of Charles Lamb's 'Origin of Roast Pig' before witnessing these scenes.

After his plough, his cattle and house, the domestic utensils are the *Cháshá's* chief requirements, and form nearly the whole of his remaining wealth. The potter, a *Kumar*, and the brass-worker, a *Kansari*, supply all that he needs in this line. The purchase of new pots and pans is quite an event in the family; and the experienced old house matron will, with the knowing and anxious air of a connoisseur, flip the pottery with her finger nail, to see if it rings true, and cause quite as much trouble as a lady at the stores before she has cheapened the article to her satisfaction. Brass dishes and bowls are quite a speciality of this part of the country, and the artificer, with the aid of fingers, toes, and a hand-lather produces, at a very cheap rate, a durable and not inartistic ware.

The gold and silver smiths (*Sarnakars*), and the workers in shells, provide the women folk with their ornaments. The former are Hindus, of the usual industrial type, the latter deserve special notice. They are all *Pals*, of the *Kalu* caste, and congregate in numbers in two or three villages of the subdivision. The work they produce is of distinct beauty, and the methods and result are quite peculiar to them. Apart from their work, they are troublesome people. The demand for their wares being extensive, and the production being limited to a few families, they are able to command a high monopoly price, and are, in consequence, usually substantial and well-to-do persons. Unfortunately, instead of using their opportunities for their industrial and social advancement and for the better education of their children, they waste their substance on caste revelry and quarrels with their neighbours. They are very tenacious of old customs, and are great on caste processions, organized singing parties, and the like. They are also always ready, on the most flimsy pretext, for a fight, or for legal proceedings. I have known a riot arise and a village be set by the ears for months, because one band of singers were jealous of a rival party's superior vocal attainments.

With this description of a not very satisfactory part of the community, my rambling notes end. The account I have given is cursory and incomplete, there are many classes and traits on which I have not touched, and others I have only been able to glance at. Perhaps, however, I have written enough to show that, even in a few square miles of Bengal's Mofussil, there is a society fully as complex and as interesting as that of more advanced neighbourhoods, and that in the common life of the people there is much to repay careful study and observation.

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ART IX—KULINISM AMONGST THE BRAHMINS IN BENGAL.

Independent Section

THE subject of my present article is Kulinism amongst the Brahmins in Bengal. This body is divided into three great classes,—the *Rarhyas*, the *Barendras*, and the *Vaidiks*. The *Rarhyas* live principally in the Eastern, Western and Central districts of Bengal, the *Barendras* live generally in the Northern districts of Pubna, Bogra and Rajshahye, and in Murshedabad and Mymensingh, while the *Vaidiks*, whose number is very much smaller than that of the *Rarhyas* or *Barendras*, are found scattered in almost every district. They are divided into two classes, the *Dakshini* (Southern) and the *Paschatya* (Western). Those coming from the South, Nagpore and its neighbourhood, and settling in Bengal, are known as *Dakshini Vaidiks*, and those coming from Mithila (Modern Tihoote), and settling in Bengal, as *Paschatya Vaidiks*.

I shall first of all take up Kulinism as it prevails amongst the *Rarhya* Brahmins. Most of the Hindu readers of the *Calcutta Review* are probably familiar with the history of Kulinism amongst the Bengal Brahmins. Nevertheless, a very brief account of it may not be uninteresting to the general reader. In the latter end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century of the Christian Era, there lived in Bengal a king named Raja Adisur, whose capital was in Bikrampore, at Rampal, near Munshigunge, in the district of Dacca. He was a very powerful Hindu ruler, of the Physician, or *Vaidya* caste. The spread of Buddhism had been very extensive, and its influence widely and strongly felt throughout the country. In Bengal it had been so thoroughly established, that in the time of Raja Adisur there was hardly any Brahmin in the country, conversant with the Shastras, who could officiate at ceremonies and sacrifices. Raja Adisur had no son, and, being desirous of performing the *Putreshti*, or son-getting sacrifice, he searched the country for learned Brahmins, but could find none to satisfy him. Accordingly, at the suggestion of his General, Birbahu, he wrote to Raja Birshinha, of Kanykubja, or Kanouj, then the most important centre of Hindu learning and religion, to send to his capital five Brahmins well versed in the Vedas and other sacred scriptures. Bengal was at that time regarded as a very sinful land, and whoever went there, except for pilgrimage, became degraded.

অঙ্গ বঙ্গ কলিঙ্গের মগধ সৌরাষ্ট্রবুঢ় ।

তীর্থ যাত্রায় বিনা গচ্ছন্ পুনঃসংস্কারম্ ইতি ॥

Whoever journeyed to Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Magadh and Sourashtra, except for pilgrimage, required a second, expiatory ceremony

The Raja of Kanouj at first returned a haughty and discourteous reply to Adisur's request, and, it was only after a hard fight that he was compelled to send the required Brahmins. The Brahmins were known as Daksha, Bhattanaryan, Sriharsa, Bedgarva and Chhandor, and they belonged to the five gotras—Kasyapa, Sandilya, Bharadwaja, Sabarna and Batsya, respectively

They came on horseback, attended by five companions, and fully armed for the perils of the long and tedious journey from Kanouj to Rampal. When they reached the capital of the King of Bengal, Raja Adisur was slow in receiving them, as he was not a little puzzled at the peculiar military dress of the strangers. The Brahmins having arrived at the gate, pressed for an interview, and, not meeting the Raja, put their *Asirbad*, or benedictory offerings, on a withering *Gasari* tree, which thereupon instantaneously regained its beauty and freshness. This was the tree to which the elephants of Raja Adisur used to be tied. The writer has been to Rampal and has seen a *Gasari* tree, which tradition still identifies with the one hallowed by the touch of the Kanouj Brahmins. When Adisur heard of the miraculous power of the new comers, he came out, and, with folded hands, begged pardon of them. Ultimately he induced them by large presents of money and land to settle in his country. The Brahmins became Kulins in the Brahmin community, and four of their companions became Kulins in the Kayastha community. The nine attributes which made up a Kulin in those days were purity, humanity, learning, fame, pilgrimage, uprightness, peacefulness, devotion, and charity.

আচারো বিনয়ো বিদ্যা প্রতিষ্ঠা তীর্থ দর্শনম্ ।

নিষ্ঠাশান্তি শুভোদ্যানঃ নবধা কুল লক্ষণম্ ॥

The descendants of the Kanouj Brahmins having greatly multiplied, Raja Ballala Sena classified them first into *Rarhyas* and *Barendras*, those settling in the Rarh country becoming *Rarhyas*, and those settling in *Barendra Bhumi* becoming *Barendras*. In those days the land west of the Bhagirathi was called *Rarh desa*, and the land bounded on the west by the Mahananda, south by the Pudma, and east by the Rorotaya, was known as *Barendra Bhumi*. Ballala Sena's next work

was a division of the Raihyas into *Kulins*, *Srotrias* and *Bangshajes*, according to the merit and qualifications of the parties. A similar division was made amongst the *Barendras* also. Population increasing still further, a second classification was made in the time of Raja Lakhsmana Sena. In order to keep up the genealogy of the *Kulins* and to distinguish them from others, a class of men grew up who became known as *Kulacharyas* (heralds), *Ghataks*, or match makers, whose influence on our society has been very great.

At the present day there are amongst the *Rarhya* Brahmins three classes of men—*Kulins*, *Srotrias* and *Bangshajes*. A *Kulin* considers it a great honour to marry the daughter of a good *Srotria*, while he loses his *Kulinism* by marrying the daughter of a *Bangshaja*. A *Kulin* can marry the daughter of a *Kulin*, but amongst the *Kulins* themselves there are thirty-six *melas*, and a *Kulin* of one *mela* cannot marry into a different *mela*. These *melas*, therefore, act as sub castes, prohibiting marriages between two different *melas*. They originated almost in the same way as the *Daldals* of a Bengal village originate. The *Daldals* of the present day are often the offshoot of malice and party-spirit, but they generally subside. But these *melas*, though very feeble in their origin, have been kept up by the strenuous persistence (worthy of a better cause) of the *Kulins* themselves, and the guilty and selfish support of the *Ghataks*. So long as the *Kulins* were few in number, the mischief proceeding from the *mela*-system was imperceptible, but now that their number has increased, it has in many cases become a difficult problem for a *Kulin* how to get his daughters married. The *mela* is not the only obstacle he has to grapple with. Next to the *mela* is the *parjya*, which is as great an obstacle in the way of the marriage of *Kulin* girls as the *mela*.

The reason why amongst the *Kulins* there is a strong desire to marry *Srotria* girls is, firstly, the important social position ascribed to the *Srotrias* in *Rarhya* society, they being superior to the *Bangshajes*, secondly, the *Srotrias* were generally men of property, and hence a selfish and natural desire to marry into an opulent family. The fact is that, as things stand at present, the *Kulins*, while they enjoy the greatest facilities for the marriage of their sons, experience the greatest difficulty in marrying their daughters. A man's *Kulinism* depends not at all on the marriage of his son, but on that of his daughter. *Kulinism* is, what the *Ghataks* call *Kanyagata*, (কন্যাগত), i.e., it follows the marriage of the *Kanya*, or daughter. The *mela*-system—by restricting, narrowing, and confining the *Kulins* within specified limits—has proved a great bar to the marriage of their girls. The *parjya*-system acts no less power-

fully in the same direction. The *parjya* may be exemplified thus—*A* marries his daughter to a particular Kulin, *B*. *A*'s son's daughter is to be married to another Kulin, who, in point of kindred, is one degree removed from *A*. If this order is not followed there is *biparjya* (বিপর্যয়), and the *Ghataks* say (বিপর্যয়ে কুলং নাস্তি), there is no Kulinism in *biparjya*. Owing

to the great difficulty of finding husbands for their girls, the Kulins are compelled sometimes to marry four or five of them to one and the same husband at one and the same time, and thus the death of one husband sometimes causes the widowhood of four or five females. This statement is no exaggeration, but a terrible truth, as every reader can see for himself in many a family in East Bengal. Happily, education is working some changes in the existing order of things, but they are very slight. The professional *Ghataks*, who flatter the vanity of the Kulins, will not give way. Unless the Kulins rise up, no reform will be possible. Kulinism is their very life, it affects them in many points. It serves their worldly ends, and they cannot afford to lose it altogether. But if they cannot lose it, they can certainly reform it, and so mould it as to suit present circumstances.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell at great length on the miseries and disadvantages brought on our society by the *mela* and the *parjya* systems. They are too well-known. The leaders of the *Rarhya* Soma ought to look to the interests, not of their sons alone, but of their daughters and sisters as well. As I have said before, the *mela* and the *parjya*—by restricting, narrowing and confining the Kulins within specified limits—have proved to be great barriers to the marriage of their girls. Amongst the *Rarhya* Kulins there are 36 *melas*, of which the Khurda, the Fulia, the Saibanandi, and the Ballavi are the chief. Of the first two, it is difficult to say which is superior, the *Ghataks* always evading the point. A *mela* is defined by the *Ghataks* as a combination of weak points, দোষাণাং মিলনং মেলঃ. Whenever a Kulin was found marrying in inferior, Srotrika families, or otherwise acting improperly, his friends, relatives and others who followed him, formed a party, or *mela*. Similar circumstances would give rise to another party, or *mela*, and between these parties there would be no inter-communication in the matter of food or marriage. The *melas* arose, therefore, as I said before, in the same way as the *Daladalis* of a Bengal village. In course of time the restriction in the matter of food disappeared, that on marriage alone remaining, and proving to us, the present Kulins, a great curse. Flimsy, and sometimes even sentimental, as the origin of the *melas* is,

we do not see why, at the present day, we should cling to the *melas* with such pertinacity, worthy of a better and nobler cause. The present leaders of the Kulin society argue that the abolition of the *melas* is tantamount to the abolition of Kulinism altogether. To this, my reply is, that I want to go back to the state of Kulin society prevailing before the time of Devibar Ghatak, who classified the Kulins into the different *melas*. I do not want to do away with Kulinism altogether, but to have that portion of it done away with which compels the Kulins, for want of eligible bridegrooms, to keep their daughters and sisters unmarried up to the age of twenty, and sometimes, even thirty or forty years. I want to have that portion of it done away with which compels them, for the same want, to marry two, three or four of their daughters and sisters to one and the same husband at one and the same time. I want to have that portion of it done away with which renders polygamy almost a necessity and holds us up to the ridicule of the civilized world. Thus polygamy, which is an offence punishable by the criminal courts in almost every civilized country, has become a thing of everyday occurrence in Kulin society. Polygamy has become a profession, nay, an instinct, with the Kulins; and it will not be very wrong if I define a Kulin as a marrying animal. I want to do away with that portion of Kulinism which, by allowing marriages between prohibited degrees, violates the precepts of Yajñayalkya, Katyayana and Brihaspati, the sacred legislators of old. Marriages between prohibited degrees have gone very far in our society, as the common Bengali proverb কুলীনের এমনি ধারা, বেন্ বাস্তরী ভাগিনা শালী will suffice to explain. Such is the practice amongst the Kulins that a sister sometimes becomes a mother-in-law and a sister's son a brother-in-law. This relation, of course, can exist in case of more marriages than one.

The leaders of Kulin society are disobeying the sacred Codes at almost every step, they have sacrificed their conscience, reason and sense of justice at the altar of the *mela* and the *parjya*. Their Kulinism has become a huge and terrible monster of iniquity, and the worst part of it is, that they feel and understand the disadvantages, but have not the moral courage to throw off this thralldom.

One great abuse has crept into *Rarhya* society which I connect with Kulinism. Kulins are very eager to marry Srotrīa girls. Only wealthy and influential Srotrīas can satisfy the various demands of a Kulin son-in-law. *Srotrīas* themselves are not free to marry anywhere except amongst Srotrīas and *Bangshajes*. It is to the inordinate desire of the Kulins to marry Srotrīa girls, and the equally great anxiety of the

Sotrias to marry their daughters to Kulins, that the practice of charging an extravagant bride-price has found admission into our society. No one can deny the viciousness of the practice, and, although I may be partially wrong in my theory as to its origin, there is no doubt that it has something to do with Kulinism.

The practice of exacting an excessively high bride-price from *Sotrias* and *Bangshajes* compels them, as a matter of business, to marry wherever they can get girls cheap. Some thirty years ago the practice of marrying ভরার মেয়ে, *Varar Méyé*, was in full force in Bengal. Every member of a Bengali Hindu family knows well what is meant by *Varar Méyé*. Adventurers and speculators explored Sylhet, Jaintia, and the Khasi Hills for the collection of girls to be brought down for sale.

A regular trade was kept up in the purchase and sale of daughters. It is highly probable that, in such miscellaneous collections, girls of non-Brahmin classes would find entrance. And although, now, owing to the strong hand of the British Government, ভরার মেয়ে, or collected girls, have ceased to be imported, many *Sotria* widows can be pointed out who cannot give a satisfactory account of their parentage. At the present day some poor *Sotria* families, who had themselves from time immemorial honored Kulins, or made কুলক্রিয়া (Kulin alliances) by giving their daughters in marriage to Kulins, are now on the verge of extinction, because they cannot afford to pay so highly for their own marriage. Some of these poor *Sotrias* marry girls of very obscure and inferior origin, because they can get them cheap, or at no price at all. Such marriages often give rise to *Dalādulis*, which very soon subside, the daughters born of such inferior females are *Sotria* girls, and, as such, fit persons whom the Kulins can, and even consider it an honor to marry. Now, the object of Kulinism is, if I understand it aright, to maintain purity of blood in a certain class, or certain classes, of men. The practice of charging an excessively high bride-price causes, directly, or, indirectly, the infusion of inferior blood in *Sotria* and Kulin families. That is certainly not an object in any way desirable. Our sacred Legislators have laid down that for a father it is most noble to give away his daughter in marriage to a worthy bridegroom after having got her dressed with the finest clothes and decked with the most precious jewels, that his means can command. No price is to be charged for her. According to *Yajnyavalkya*, the sale of human beings degrades
 *a man

By contact with daughter-selling Srotrias, the Kulins become degraded also. But we have long ceased to revere our Shastras. We have thrown away the precepts of our sacred Rishis, we do not care to obey them any longer. We keep our daughters and sisters unmarried beyond the age of puberty, we marry three, four or five females at one and at the same time, we marry in the lifetime of one wife for no fault of hers, we marry easily and forsake our wives equally easily, of the many wives we marry we care not to support any, excepting, perhaps, in some cases, the Srotria daughter. All these things we do, and we are still Hindus. As I remarked before, marriage has become a profession with us Kulins, and we are so many marrying animals. Hinduism, pure and simple, has long vanished from our land, and, in its place, stands that terrible monster custom, whose influence has become mightier than the precepts of the Rishis. Kulinism, with its numerous evils and defects, supported by the Kulins themselves and the selfish and unscrupulous *Ghataks*, is but a member of that terrible monster, custom.

The evils of the present Kulin society are such as to demand the serious attention of its leaders. If there is any society in this country which urgently and loudly calls for reform, it is ours. If the Kulins themselves will not move it will, sooner or later, be necessary for the Legislature to interfere. No civilized Government can long tolerate practices which are opposed to all principles of reason and morality. A slight modification of Section 494 of the Indian Penal Code can put an end to polygamy, in the same way as *Suttee* was put an end to by Lord William Bentinck. The leaders of Kulin society ought to be up and doing, and not to give any opportunity for the Legislature to interfere. Legislative interference in such matters will mean the putting of a formidable power in the hands of the Government, which may at any time be used against the very life of the society itself.

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X—LUX MUNDI

[INDEPENDENT SECTION]

LUX MUNDI is a great book, and worthy in every respect of the long-established reputation of the Church of England for profound scholarship, and deep, fervent, and yet symmetrical piety. Its style is pure, its vocabulary chaste, its range of thought magnificent, and its tone of argument calm and impressive. The variety of subjects treated of in it is rich, and the measure of erudition, logical acumen, philosophical perspicacity and spiritual insight brought to bear on each, is a marvel. The writers whose essays on the profoundest of the questions of the day constitute the flesh and bones, the muscle and brawn, of the book, are evidently giants in scholarship as well as experts in religious experience, and, though amid the feverish bustle of the highly complicated life of these days, their lucubrations are sure to be forgotten, or shelved, even before they have been properly weighed in the balance of public opinion, their bold stand, in the midst of the breach between orthodoxy and what is called the advanced thought of the age, in defence of truth, will be pointed to by the future historian of the Church with retrospective admiration. Their attempt, however, to conciliate at one and the same time, the champions of orthodoxy and the champions of scepticism may be characterized as a magnificent failure. They courageously come forward with some concessions to effect a reconciliation between two conflicting tendencies of thought, but these have, as a matter of fact, failed to satisfy the two parties they are anxious to weld into a brotherhood united by a community of faith and practice. By the one party they are regarded as conceding too much, and by the other they are held up as conceding too little.

The book is epoch-marking, but by no means epoch-making. It portrays, incidentally, but with characteristic fidelity, the sceptical tendencies of the age, and therefore the epoch through which the world is now passing is mirrored, or imaged, under its bright tissues of thought, sentiment and reasoning, but it must be admitted that its method of encountering the foes whose existence and hostile operations it indicates, is generally regarded, especially where it has the charm of novelty, as in the first place compromising, and in the second inadequate, and therefore one of those efforts the object of which is to satisfy all parties, but the issue of which is general disappointment.

The book, therefore, does not inaugurate a new era of interpretation and defence, and its influence, like that of most books read and shelved in these days, is fated to be evanescent.

Like some beautiful rock, thrown up by a variety of mighty forces engaged in dire revolutionary conflict in the bowels of the earth, *Lux Mundi* has sprung out of a cataclysm of thought and feeling. There have been periods in the history of the world of intellectual ferment, sceptical ebullition, atheistic tendencies and demonstrations, of blatant, boisterous infidelity on one side, and panic struck, retreating faith on the other. But the present age rises above them all in the vastness of its operations, the magnitude of its influence, the freshness and complexity of its materials and methods, and the multiplicity of its weapons both of attack and defence, in the vigour and creativeness of its thought and the boldness and wildness of its speculation, in both its destructive and constructive genius. It is a *scientific* age, and science is in all its departments piling up facts, elaborating theories, discovering laws, and manipulating generalizations to wreak its vengeance on the Church by which its soaring flight has at times been wrongfully restrained. It is a *philosophical* age, and philosophy is testing, by the criterion of its tough and inexorable logic, the roots of our knowledge, our primal assumptions and beliefs, overhauling and reviewing the most venerable of human creeds, and loosening their hold on the public mind by its novel phraseology, novel definitions and theories, or by reviving its old achievements in the region of pure thought, and presenting them in a new, attractive garb. It is a *critical* age, and criticism is engaged with its sharp knife in dissecting the religious books of the world especially the Bible, discovering anachronisms and discrepancies, shifting events from one age to another questioning the genuineness of some venerable documents and the authenticity of others, and noticing mythological development where the world has seen nothing but historic certainty. It is an *economic* age, and its numerous struggles between capital and labour, poverty and wealth, classes well fed and classes ill-fed, between the nobility in purple and the peasantry in rags, have been seized by all parties as bases of attack on a Church which has failed to hold an even balance between rival communities and jarring interests. It is a *socialistic* age, and socialism, in its persistent attempts to undermine, disintegrate and overturn the present fabric of society, and reconstruct it on new principles, finds it necessary to declare a war of extermination against a Church which is indissolubly associated with the society it is intended to destroy and rebuild. All the forces of the age are in the hands of

unsanctified, conceited, self-sufficient persons of all grades and both sexes, arrayed against religion in general and Christianity in particular

But the greatest opposition to Christianity in these days, as in all preceding ages of the history of the world, proceeds from the prevailing *luxury* and *frivolity*. Human beings are, to adopt a vulgarism, top-heavy, and they egregiously fail to balance themselves between conflicting forces of thought and feeling, or between the two extremes, which imply the defect of truth on one side and the excess of truth on the other. Such being the case, the history of the world is, and cannot but be, a history of action and reaction, of rushing, dashing heedless movements forwards and backwards, of onslaughts and retreats. In times gone by, the history of Christianity was more or less thoroughly the history of asceticism, of cenobites, monks, preaching friars, and shouting flagellants, of hermitages, convents, brotherhoods and sisterhoods. Monasticism was in the air, religion was separated from the world, the soul was detached from the body, theology was put in antagonism to science, the occupations and recreations of life were looked down upon with supreme contempt, and sequestration from them and self-torture were looked upon as essential to the development of piety, especially in its loftier types and phases. From the root-error of the inaccurate, one-sided, exaggerated views which fed monastic seclusion and penance in bygone ages, modern times have witnessed a reaction—a reaction impetuous, violent, unreasoning and unreasonable. The two great generalizations of the age are the unity of man and the unity of science. The distinction between religion and the world has been wiped out, along with the universally recognized distinctions between religious and secular science, between the body and the soul, between piety and secularity, between the saint and the man of the world, and the gospel of work, the gospel of secularity, the religion of humanity is preached in a voice more or less stentorian, and with a dogmatism before which that of churches and creeds pales into insignificance. But the world is paying the penalty of an impetuous movement from one extreme to another, and now epicureanism is in the air. The soul has been starved out, and all that remains is the body. Material comforts, material conveniences, and material pleasures are being multiplied indefinitely, and religious exercises, prayers, fasts, vigils, and holy contemplations are run down with an air of superior knowledge and a smile of self-complacency. Life apart from the world has given place to life in the world and for the world, and the intense, exclusive activity of which the world is the starting-point, the highway and the goal, is developing its hidden resources with marvellous facility, and

scattering over its wide surface the trophies of discovery and invention, clearing its wastes, beautifying its face, and piling up on its heaving bosom superfluities and luxuries such as our ancestors never could foresee even in their most pleasant dreams. But, constituted as men are, they are ill at ease with such exclusive devotion to the things of this world, some panacea is needed to soothe their consciences, and this is abundantly supplied by the atheistic and agnostic theories of the age. No wonder that the epicureans of the day, whose number is rapidly increasing, flock around the flag of infidelity, and regard with bitter opposition the religion which condemns their exclusive secularity, or the Church which firmly places the soul and its concerns above the body and its affairs, and points to preparation for eternity as the *first* business of life.

But the most prolific source of infidelity in these days is self-opinionated, pompous frivolity. One cannot help admiring the tone of reverence with which the scientific investigations and achievements of the day are alluded to in the book under review, and the courtesy and respect with which the champions of scepticism, great and small, and their followers are treated. But is there not a dash of morbid sentimentalism in the picture presented of their intellectual difficulties and moral perplexities? Can they as a body be held up, with any degree of justice, as men and women led by earnest thought and high moral purpose, deep questionings of the intellect and the heart, the agony of long-continued spiritual struggle, into unbelief and agnosticism? The very best of them have been betrayed into a non-recognition, if not denial, of the instinctive, primary beliefs of humanity, our moral intuitions, by something wrong either in their mental constitution or in their methods of procedure, not certainly by the lofty spirit of doubt, or by an earnest spiritual struggle. When a man of thought contemplates the concatenated order of nature, its unity of aim, complexity of means and beauty of adaptation, without the slightest recognition of an idealizing, planning, controlling, regulating mind, there is presumably something wrong either in the structure of his inner self, or in his education, or in his *modus operandi*. A subtle pride of opinion, a desire more or less latent, not to be confounded with the mass in matters of enquiry and belief, a love of singularity in the depths of the heart scarcely noticeable, an obliquity of the heart, not perhaps seen in its true light, leading to an obliquity of the head, is responsible for the small beginnings of that scepticism which, when matured, becomes brazen faced and heedless of consequences. The fault may lie at the door of education, rather than of mental perversity, as in the case of John Stuart

Mill, who drank scepticism with his mother's milk, and lisped scepticism on his father's knee. But that which leads a class of lofty minds to scepticism is ably pointed out in one portion of the book itself, *viz*, the self-sufficiency which leads an expert in one department of science to dogmatize in another. So long as a geologist, for instance, pursues in a right spirit, and with proper qualifications, his own line of investigation, the blessing of heaven, or the Spirit of Christ, as the book says, accompanies him, and the discovery of truth rewards his toil, but when, elated with his success in one sphere of science, he appears as an authority and a dogmatist in another, say astronomy, he cannot but lose his balance, stagger and fall into error. The physicist has marked his path by splendid triumphs and arrived at some glorious truths and generalizations, but these do not authorize him to jump out of his select field of study and research, and dogmatize in the higher sphere of religion and morals. And it is because he pursues an unauthorized and arbitrary course, that he is left to himself by the Spirit of Christ, and gropes and fumbles and ultimately loses himself in a dark maze of errors.

But let us grant that men like Huxley and Tyndall, and women like Harriet Martineau and George Eliot are led by the deep questionings of a lofty intellect and a pure spirit into the void and vacuity of agnosticism, what shall we say of the numerous young men and young women who are drawn towards their standard by a mere smattering of science? Where shall we find in the career of these half-educated, self-sufficient disciples, the spirit of agonizing doubt and earnest thought to which the scepticism of the masters and mistresses is traced? Surely they are led, not by deep questionings, but by vanity, pure and unadulterated, to swell the ranks of infidelity. They wish to appear above their level of thought and attainment, or pass for men and women of high culture and originaive power, and it is this ludicrous vanity,—not any emotion which can even by courtesy be called lofty,—that leads them to shake their heads at Christian doctrines, of which they know as little as they do of science, and parade infidel notions with an assumed modesty. They are the worthy brothers of that numerous class of thoughtless persons who become conservative in politics, simply because they wish to appear above their rank, and to speak to them in the tone of courtesy and respect characteristic of *Lux Mundi* is tantamount to waste of powder and shot. But below these raw youths, who, though brought up in University Colleges, may, in view of the ideal of education to which the homage of the age is paid, be called half-educated, there is a numerous but motley crew of empty-headed and blatant infidels, who oppose Christianity because Christianity frowns

on their lusts Satan has, as an American writer suggests, a double propaganda for the spread of infidelity,—the propaganda of pride and the propaganda of lust, and pride and lust, we maintain, can explain all those types of sceptical thought, which are doing mischief among the educated, and literally brutalizing men and women beneath their rank

But why not adopt in controversies with them a conciliatory tone, and speak to them as if they were led astray by the lofty spirit of doubt, rather than by low desires and low ambitions? For the simple reason that the more courtesy you show them, the more likely are they to be inflated with a false idea of their importance Coleridge's master, from whom he received his elementary education, was a rigid disciplinarian, and thoroughly understood the principle, "Spare the rod and spoil the child" Once the future poet and philosopher absented himself from Church, and, when asked to state his reason for his absence, said—"Sir, I am an infidel!" "I will flog your infidelity out of you," said the enraged teacher, and immediately the rod was brought and vigorously applied to the obstinate truant's back, and the *argumentum baculinum* did what better arguments could not possibly have done—it drove infidelity out of his head, and, up to the last day of his life, he spoke with gratitude of the wisdom of the course pursued by his master It is sometimes both right and expedient to answer a fool according to his folly

The book errs, perhaps on the right side, in attaching to the theory of evolution an importance to which it is not at all entitled Evolution is justly said to be the category of the age, and it plays a conspicuous part in the literature of the day, both permanent and ephemeral modifying its phraseology, altering its tone of thought and reasoning, and revolutionizing its spirit It has descended, moreover, from what may be called the cloister to the market place, from academic groves to marts of business "Not to know me," says Satan to Death, "argues thyself unknown!" Not to know evolution, not to employ and utilize the phraseology which it has rendered fashionable, not to be *en rapport* with the varieties of speculation that have gathered around it, not to recognize its claim to universal application, or its ubiquity in all departments of life, as well as science—all this is ignorance itself Not only in the secluded abodes of philosophic thought, not only in the sphere of scientific research, not only in the libraries of *savants* and the drawing-rooms of refined gentlemen, but in clubs of artisans and resorts of peasants, conversation is tinged with it, and discussions have it as their life-blood. The air resounds with evolution, and some homage cannot but be paid it But why should the Church look upon it as an established theory and revolu-

tionize its lines of exposition and defence, its ancient land-marks of thought, phraseology and argument? It is not an established theory; it never can be an established theory under the present acknowledged limitations of science. Even in physics and physiology, it has gaps which science has not filled, and which science cannot fill. The book itself gives prominence to the fact that the question of origins is beyond the pale of science. The origin of matter, the origin of energy, the origin of life, the origin of instinct, and the origin of reason,—these secrets of nature lie entirely beyond the region of the phenomena with which science has to do, which science can take cognizance of, register, assort, classify, arrange into groups under the law of similarity and dissimilarity, and deduce general conclusions from. And if the problem of origins cannot be solved by science, the yawning gaps between nonentity and entity, between the absence and presence, or rather non-existence and existence of energy, between death and life, or between lifeless forms and living organisms, between instinct and thought, cannot possibly be filled by science*. And therefore under the manipulation of science, evolution is a provisional hypothesis, and is destined to remain such till the end of the chapter! And in the region of mental and moral phenomena, its calculations are completely baffled at almost every advance step it takes. To explain the phenomena of history, the march of thought, of philosophy, science, the progress of literature, poetry, art, painting, statuary, and architecture, the growth of institutions, political, social, moral and religious,—to explain these, evolution has had to assume various Proteus-like forms and perform many odd feats. Evolution upward, evolution downward, evolution in cycles, evolution in zig-zags, evolution vermicular, evolution saltative,—heaven only knows what various kinds of evolution are needed to give unity and consistency to the threads of history.

One or two illustrations will make our meaning clear. In the world of organization, permanent types are certainly discoverable, presenting a gradation, or a gradual rise from lower to higher forms, from types scarcely organized up to those showing the highest complexity and refinement of organization. It is also a matter of fact that each of these types or organisms is gradually working itself up, by nice adjustments, to its environment to the highest perfection of which it is capable, as well as adapting itself to the long chain of types of which it forms perhaps a small, infinitesimal link, and thereby subserving the object of the whole, the purpose of

* We have, and can have, no evidence of non entity, or of the non-existence of energy—ED C R

creation at large Each type is an example of internal and external design, the internal exhibited in the efforts put forth by it in isolation from the rest to ensure its gradual rise to perfection, and the external exhibited in its subserviency to the whole, or in its contributions, however small, towards the perfection of nature in all its entirety, and each individual type is, therefore, an irrefragable argument in favour of teleology, or against what is in these days called dysteleology But the wide gaps between the types, which persist, have been arbitrarily filled up by the theory of natural selection and the survival of the fittest, the theory which supposes the appearance of innumerable intermediate types, their failure to adjust themselves to their surroundings, and their ultimate collapse in consequence of it But the appearance of these intermediaries, their struggle for existence, and their complete failure to persist, are assumptions resorted to in the coolest manner conceivable to explain away the difficulties with which evolution is saddled Evolution is, therefore, like an old garment with big holes which may be patched up by what may be called heterogeneous material, but which cannot be mended so as to appear in the beauty and symmetry of a homogeneous whole. This is even more thoroughly noticeable when we pass from biology to ethnology There are, in the progress of social life and the march of literature and art, wide gaps, before which evolution stands completely baffled, or which a series of manœuvres, or tricks of jugglery, on its part can alone enable it to bridge Take, for instance, the universally admitted fact of the retrogression of nations left to themselves The Spaniards who imprisoned Montezuma and strangled Atahualpa, found in their broad territories unmistakable vestiges of a high type of civilization, which had grown, flourished, and decayed long before they became an easy prey to their lust of conquest and insatiable rapacity India had sadly lapsed from the patriotism, valour and fortitude of its heroic age before Muhammadan freebooters made it the theatre of plundering expeditions and foreign domination, and the Muhammadan power had decayed conspicuously ere our country became that seething caldron of feuds and dissensions, intrigues, conspiracies, mutinies, rebellions and dire internecine conflicts, out of which was sublimated the ascendancy of our present rulers Byron deplored the degeneracy of the modern Greeks, and Mazzini wept over the deterioration of physique, senility of mind and corruption of morals noticeable among modern Italians How is the gradual fall of races, nations, classes, sects and communities, left to themselves, to be explained Here evolution must give place to devolution, an upward to a downward development

Again human philosophy, or philosophy "not baptized in the pure fountain of eternal love," has invariably moved in a cycle, ending where it began its career of development, making its starting-point its terminus and goal. In ancient times, in our own and other lands, it began its career with an atheistic reaction against current superstitions, rose up to a species of lifeless theism, then sublimated itself into pantheism, and ultimately slid down through materialism into atheism, its starting-point. And modern philosophy has passed through a similar cycle of development. To explain this phenomenon, the march of what is called lofty and soaring thought, the theory of a cyclic evolution, or the joint action of the twin sisters, evolution and devolution, must be supposed. Again nations, communities, civilizations, literatures, arts have often been guilty, if the expression is allowed, of erratic moves. The history of the world shows them progressing in one direction for a time, then flying off at a tangent from it, and then coming back to it through a slantindicular line,—here evolution moves in zig zags! But it is in the region of religion that it fumbles and flounders in the most grotesque manner conceivable. Evolution is not true to itself if it does not evolve religion out of conditions of life and thought unconnected with religion, and therefore the theory of a double self—a phantasmagorical self, appearing in dreams out of the real self, and ultimately believed in as a reality, and made the foundation of religious awe, worship and ritual, must be manufactured, and cunning priests must be brought in to heap lie upon lie, and thereby raise cumbrous systems of theology for personal advantage. But the history of religion presents some strange phenomena, the degradation of religion by the masses, and its elevation by chosen spirits or great men.

When religion has been brought to the lowest ebb by the tendency of the ignorant to grovelling superstition, and enslavement of thought and deterioration of morals have become universal, or all but universal, up rises a great man, a Confucius or a Buddha, to declare a war of extermination against current traditions, and inaugurate a new era of moral, if not, strictly speaking, religious development. The appearance of the great man cannot be explained either by heredity or by environment, or even by heredity and environment put together. There is nothing in his ancestral tree extraordinary enough to explain his extraordinary personality, or extraordinary career; and as to environment, he rises to ascendancy in spite of it. To account for his career, a new type of evolution must be utilized, evolution *per-saltum*, evolution by broad *Hannuman* leaps.

Evolution is in such a crude, puerile state, it is performing

so many antics, it is accommodating itself to undeniable facts by so many tricks of legerdemain, that the best thing the theologian can do is to leave it to itself. No sane man questions for a moment that the category of the age has a good deal of truth in it, that the processes of nature, or God's movements, so to speak, in the sphere of nature, are slow and progressive, that history indicates a unity of plan slowly unfolded through its infinitely diversified lines of personality and event, thought and institution, invention and discovery, through the mighty forces that have been at work within its sphere, either in the shape of ideals or in the form of realities. Admit an intelligent, personal Creator and Ruler engaged behind the veil of phenomena, either in the sphere of nature or in the domain of history, in carrying out, by uninterrupted vigilance and ceaseless activity, a predetermined, vast, limitless plan, and all is order, congruity, harmony. Deny this glorious truth, this Living Principle of order, and all that is left is confusion worse confounded. Evolution ought to amalgamate with theology before it can be raised from the sandy foundation of a mere provisional hypothesis to the stable basis, the invulnerable rock, of an established theory, a demonstrated fact of science. Evolution ought to sit at the feet of theology, because theology can explain what evolution cannot, but when evolution, instead of courting the alliance and help of theology, endeavours to laugh it out of court, its temerity and fatuity ought to be pointed out with unaccommodating, inflexible severity. To regard it as a theory already proved, or likely to be proved, and then to bow to it so far as to cast aside our old weapons of defence as too rusty to be of any use, or alter all our lines of defence in obedience to its imperious dictates, is certainly not a course that will commend itself to the Church at large as either desirable or wise. It is true that it has shaped the thought and modified the phraseology of the day, and is in the air, but the popularity of an unsound hypothesis,—and when dissociated from theology, as it is, its unsoundness is too patent to need emphasizing, is no argument in favour of the excessive homage paid it in the book under notice. The public may be easily gulled by a plausible theory, but why should champions of theology share in its gullibility?

But the concessions made are not merely not warranted, but perfectly useless. The authors of the book are too loyal to the Central Fact of Christianity, to *Lux Mundi*, the Light of the World, their adherence to the creed of the Church is too sincere and deep, their expositions of the vital truths of our religion have too much of the stamp of orthodoxy, to render the terms of reconciliation they offer acceptable to the growing party they wish to conciliate. The Supreme

Divinity of Jesus Christ, in conjunction with His Perfect Humanity, is brought into the boldest relief in almost all the Essays of which the book consists, is implied in every page and every utterance of the book, and is set forth as the culminating point of its argument. There is no vacillation, no circumlocution, no ambiguity, no want of lucidity, directness or emphasis, in its enunciation of the sublime, stupendous, mysterious Fact. The line of argument it pursues leaves no room whatever for doubt either as to its meaning or as to its object and scope. Jesus Christ is either God or not God! There can be no intermediate position in the scale of being. The Creator, or a creature. If not the Creator, Christ is a creature of God, though the highest, the nearest to the Throne, the most God-like, and there is as wide an interval between Him and the Being by whose almighty fiat he was called into existence, as between the heavens and the earth, between the infinite and the finite. If Christ is not God, nothing can justify the attitude of the Church towards Him, not even the lofty, unutterable, mysterious Personality ascribed to Him by Arianism or semi-Arianism. If Christ is not God, nothing can justify the stupendous claims He advanced in varieties of ways and with unfaltering lips, and the Model of virtue is at once hurled down from the pinnacle of supreme excellence on which by general consent He is placed. Admit that Christ is God, and there is consistency in His life, congruity in His teaching, unsullied excellence in His character, atonement in His Death, regenerating power in His Resurrection,—He is the world's Saviour, Refuge, and Hope. Deny the Supreme Divinity of Christ, and order gives place to chaos, beauty vanishes into tum air, holiness is superseded by unholiness,—all is disharmony, confusion, falsehood, blasphemy, unheard-of pride and impiety. Christ is God! The moment this truth is stated and recognized, as it is in the book, all the presuppositions of evolutionists are swept away, and the superstructure based thereon crumbles into ruins. For instance, evolution laughs immoderately at our anthropomorphous views of God. God is unknowable, but one thing about God, or rather some things about God are known. It is affirmed with oracular assurance that He cannot possibly have a mind and a heart resembling in any degree the mind and heart of man, and therefore to attribute human affections and passions, even of the highest order, to God and make Him an exaggerated man is the very height of unscientific, temerity and folly! But religion, as the book justly affirms, is 'hopelessly anthropomorphous'. The basis of religion is relations between God as a Moral Being and man as a moral being, and if there were no kinship between God and man, fitted to form the substratum of moral relation-

ships, such as those subsisting between the benefactor and the dependent, the father and the son, the ruler and the subject, the emancipator and the emancipated, it would be idle to talk of religion. But anthropomorphism is what no measure of compromise or concession will induce evolution to accept, and consequently our advances, with our anthropomorphic views of God undiluted or unchanged; towards reconciliation are sure to be treated with contempt.

Again Jesus Christ is God Man, the adamant basis of Christian theology. Jesus Christ is God, but He invariably spoke of the Father as intimately and indissolubly associated with Him in the God-head, in so much that His will is God's will, His Law God's Law, and His work God's work. To have seen Him was to have seen the Father! Moreover, our Lord promised, on what might be figuratively called His death-bed, to send a Comforter. Divine in terms significative of His intimate and indissoluble association with a Third Person of equal authority and power in the God head. The revelations made by Christ of His own mysterious Personality, of the Father and the Holy Ghost, unfold, with the long-standing belief of the ancient Jewish Church in the Unity of God, that doctrine of the Trinity at which infidelity has been railing and casting stones since the beginning of its hostile operations against the creed of Christendom. It is useless, in defence of our faith in Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, to enlarge on such metaphysical quibbles as the impossibility of our conceiving an absolute unity, the necessity of the Eternal, including in His Perfect Personality all differences, and, at the same time being above all differences, the incongruity of a thinking Being living in solitary grandeur without an object of thought in Himself, or a Loving Being without an object of love. Such transcendental soarings of thought are at best poor defences,—they may set forth the necessity of the existence of the Second Person to the satisfaction of those who do not see that the universe, existing eternally in the Divine Mind, as a reality, might be an object of both thought and love. But what of the Holy Ghost? The moment we say that the Holy Ghost is the medium of union and communication between the Father and Son, or that the Father comes to consciousness in the Son through the Spirit, we allow ourselves to be betrayed into unauthorized and even absurd speculation. Our belief in the Trinity is based on Jesus Christ, the Revelation of God embodied in Jesus Christ, His Life, His Teaching, and His redemptive work continued in the Church, and a firm basis it cannot possibly have. But will concession or compromise on our part ever induce the champions of evolution to accept this rock of offence? Again, Jesus Christ organ-

ized a society not national, tribal or local, but cosmopolitan,—a society in which men as men, irrespective of all ethnological, social or even domestic distinctions, might find a centre of unity and fraternity, in which a supernatural life was to be supernaturally communicated and supernaturally perpetuated. Will evolution respond to our advances and join us in our belief in the Holy Catholic Church and the communion of saints? And, finally, will it unite with us in upholding our doctrine of the Resurrection of the body and Life Eternal?

Here we have touched what may be called the sorest point. Evolution begins its investigations with a tremendous presupposition, a presupposition to which it clings tenaciously, and which it cannot part with, without parting with its life. Its motto is—the Laws of nature are inviolable and inviolate, and consequently miracles cannot be wrought. But Christianity is inseparably associated with miracles, and it cannot part with them without parting with its life. If Jesus Christ is God-Man, He is a miracle, the greatest of miracles, the miracle of miracles. He is the impersonation of the supernatural in His birth, His personality, His work, His death, His Resurrection and Ascension. His ingress must be a miracle, His egress must be a miracle, and the main features of His career must be miracles. If he is God-Man, the entire platform of His earthly life must needs mean a platform of the supernatural. But against the supernatural evolution has declared a war of extermination, and all its most furnished weapons of attack and defence are pointedly directed against miracles, or any and every view of Christianity involving the slightest departure from the usual course of things, or at variance with its assumed postulate of the inviolability of the laws of nature. Evolution can listen with a good natured smile to all we have to say in favour of the paramount necessity and immeasurable utility of religion in general, it can bear with Job like patience with some at least of our asseverations regarding the extraordinary life and teaching of Christ, but the moment we pass from the natural to the supernatural from the general sequence of events to particular deviations therefrom, suggestive of divine intervention, its smile of complaisance gives place to frowns, knittings of the brow, compressings of the lips, and all the unmistakable signs and gestures of implacable hostility. Our concessions are useless. Jesus Christ, as God-Man, the evolutionists cannot bear with, for He is a standing guarantee against all their preconceived notions and foregone conclusions. *Jesus Christ as God-Man is the divine sanction of anthropomorphism, and anthropomorphism they cannot tolerate. Jesus Christ as God-Man is an unmistakable assertion of the power of God to act with or without the forces of Nature, and a protest against the theory of its

inviolability Jesus Christ as God-Man is a living guarantee in favour of the Trinity, the atonement, regeneration by the Holy Ghost, the immortality of the soul and body, a future state of rewards and punishments, heaven and hell. All these presuppositions fall to the ground the moment Jesus Christ is recognized as God-Man, God, Perfect God, Man Perfect Man. No wonder that our advances towards reconciliation on condition of their accepting this stupendous reality are treated by them with distrust, if not contempt.

Here it may not be out of place to state that those Christians who, while they accept the symbol called the Apostles' Creed, frown upon the other two Creeds of the Church, the Nicene and that called the Athanasian, are guilty of the grossest inconsistency. The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are simply commentaries on, or explanations and amplifications of, the Apostles' Creed, or solutions of the problems involved in it. One cannot read or repeat the Apostles' Creed without being led instinctively to raise some questions of paramount importance, not only to our speculative belief, but to our practical religious life. The first of these is—Who is Jesus Christ in whom I am to believe as I believe in God the Father, maker of the heaven and the earth? Christ is placed in the Creed in the same category with God the Father, and belief in him is set forth as of the same nature with faith in the maker of the heaven and the earth. Who is this Being? Is He God? If God, what shall we say of his Humanity? Is that a phantasm, an illusion, a deceptive appearance? If He is not God, what can belief in Him mean in conjunction with belief in God the Father? If he is God-Man, how are the two natures united in Him? Has He one nature, His Divinity merged in his Humanity, or His Humanity merged in His Divinity, or His Humanity and Divinity forming by intermixture and fusion a third substance, *a tertium quid*? Again, if he is God-Man, are we to ascribe to Him one will or two wills? What is his position in the Economy of the God-head? The thoughtful mind cannot help raising these all-important questions, and these questions were raised in the early days of ecclesiastical history, and they gave rise to animated debates and controversies, and these Creeds of the Church were, as it were, thrown up by a long-continued effervescence of thought and discussion. Ebionitism, gnosticism, monophysitism, and monothelitism, and the almost endless range of isms gathering around them, arose, one after another, to deny the Divinity of Christ, to represent His Humanity as phantasmal, to confound his substance, or to confuse the Persons in Him, and the Creeds were elaborated to put an end to heresy, as well as edify the Church by a clear, precise, concise, yet

comprehensive statement of that belief of the Church regarding the two-fold nature of Jesus Christ, which had come down as a precious deposit from Apostolic times. But scarcely had these debates subsided, when a controversy arose about the Holy Chost. I believe in the Holy Ghost, as I believe in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ? Who is He? Is He a personality or merely an effluence? If a Person, what is his place in the Economy of the God head. The Creeds came to put a stop to this controversy, along with the others. We do not, of course, affirm that the controversies which distracted the early Church, arose out of the Apostles' Creed which very likely did not exist in its present form till long after they had been set at rest within its bounds, but the Apostles' Creed is fitted to raise these controversies and would to-day raise them but for the explanatory creeds which it is the fashion to denounce.

Why not do away with creeds, one and all, read the Bible without any presupposition or foregone conclusion, and evolve from it a system of theology which may be called Biblical? This is easier said than done. Those who volunteer this advice to us call upon us in reality to attempt an impossibility. We cannot, in the first place, roll back the tide of history, annihilate the eighteen centuries of development which have rolled over the Church, convert her long record of progress, of attainment and achievement into a perfect blank, sweep away from the atmosphere of our thought her traditions and associations, and begin investigation with an eye withdrawn from her past experience and a mind perfectly free from the influence of her theological symbols and doctrinal phraseology. Those who pretend to be able to do this, enter this field of research and study with presuppositions marshalled against orthodoxy, not certainly with unbiassed minds. Again, how many minds are there in the world which can, by a careful collation and analysis of Scripture passages, and without the slightest reference to the history of the Church and her symbols of faith, evolve a correct system of theology from the Bible? Setting aside minds of ordinary calibre, the mess which mighty intellects have in our day made of the business, is a proof that all talk of studying the Bible with unbiassed minds and bringing out of its precious, but miscellaneous contents, a symmetrical system of theology, is mere sentimental twaddle! Why do not our sage counsellors extend their advice to other departments of knowledge? Why do they not advise us to throw aside the ascertained facts and results of modern astronomy, and study the stars as the primitive man did? Why do they not desire us to bury botany, as it has been matured in these days, and evolve a botany of our own by a careful study of trees and plants, or to substi-

tute for the existing chemistry a chemistry of our own creation? The generalizations of these sciences are reliable, but those of theology are not! This is precisely the presupposition with which these pretentious enquirers, who pride themselves on their thorough-going impartiality, enter the field of theological investigation, and it is not a matter of wonder that their career ends as a rule in vagaries of the most ludicrous stamp. The results of theological research embodied in the Creeds are as reliable as the universally accepted generalizations of science. The Holy Trinity as defined and expounded in the Creeds is an established fact of Biblical theology, as gravitation is an established fact of physical science, and the atonement is as distinctly set forth in the word of God as the evolution of the world out of a few primal gases is set forth in standard books on science. There are truths in religious science which are final, as there are truths in secular science which are final, and a young clergyman who, after being thoroughly convinced of their finality, subscribes to them, does not sell away his conscience, any more than the scientific man who begins his study of science after having subscribed to the principle of gravitation or the fact of chemical affinities.

It is time to present a few instances of the concession made to evolution, but before this is done, it is desirable to remark that Mr Gore, whose paper has been most virulently attacked, simply carries the compromising spirit of the book in general from one department to another, from the region of science to that of criticism. Mr Gore accepts the results of the higher criticism of the day as reliable in the sense in which his colleagues in the execution of the work, in general, accept the theory of evolution, and, in view of them, he is willing to admit that some portions of Bible history and some of its characters are fictitious, or unreal. And it is an undeniable fact that his concessions, whether demanded by the spirit of the age, or not, are needed to give consistency and coherence to the plan of the book of which he is the editor. Admit that Bible history begins with Abraham, and the events narrated previous to his appearance on its stage, or in the first few chapters of Genesis, are either allegories or fictions, and the theory of the gradual evolution, through slow-circling ages, of the civilized man from the primitive savage or the primitive man, as an intermediate link between the irrational brute and the rational human being, has a leg to stand on, as well as that of the gradual evolution of monotheism from fetichism, or from some chimeras of the head. If the creation of Adam in the image of God, his original abode along with his consort, also similarly created, in a garden of supernatural beauty, or natural beauty, in a state of perfection, their fall on account of Satanic temp-

tation, their expulsion from that seat of happiness, their progeny branching itself into two distinct lines, the line of the children of God and that of the children of the world, the heterogeneous intermixture of these lines, and the consequent prevalence of wickedness and violence in the world, its destruction by a flood, followed by a new start on the part of humanity,—if all these are fictions, highly instructive but historically unreal, then Abraham might have been evolved through a long line of progressive development, extending over hundreds of years from the primitive savage, and his religion from fetichism or no-religion. But the moment these are regarded as reliable facts of history, the evolution theory applied to primitive history falls to the ground. It is but fair to add that the position occupied by Mr Gore and the writers with whom he drives is hypothetical, rather than one of positive affirmation. They maintain that even if science succeeded in raising its evolution from a provisional hypothesis to an established theory, and even if criticism succeeded in demonstrating the fictitiousness of the early records or narratives of the Old Testament, Christianity and the inspiration of its documents, would be unaffected. But the tone of their concessions makes it certain that they regard the contingencies with sanguine, though groundless, hope, and therefore they come forward with concessions by no means warranted by the present state of science and criticism.

A few examples of these concessions will set forth their gratuitous nature. In the first essay, Mr Holland treats the subject of *Faith* with admirable ability and breadth of thought, and proves, in a masterly manner, that if faith were given up, science would be an impossibility, it being necessary for science to take for granted at starting that nature exists, and is a cosmos or rational whole, and therefore interpretable, as well as to rely on the veracity—if the expression is allowed—of the senses, and the truth of the laws of the human mind. In a passage of great beauty Mr Holland shows that, because we instinctively believe in a power above ourselves, both great and good, we are at home in the world, believing in a perfect correspondence between its realities and those of the inner man, living literally by faith both in the world of business and the world of knowledge, and trying experiment after experiment under the settled conviction, that the expectations raised in us by the powers God has given us, and their counterparts in nature shall not be ultimately frustrated. It is desirable, nay necessary, to show, at a time when proud science is but too apt to laugh at faith, that if the key-stone of our knowledge, our instinctive trust in God as our Father, or, in the words of the book, our innate sense of sonship, were

presumptuously cast aside, science would lose its stable basis, or degenerate into nescience. But Mr Holland, in the following words, betrays himself into an assertion which, though in harmony with the demands of evolution, cannot possibly be substantiated—"The history of faith is the history of this gradual disclosure, the growing capacity to recognize and receive, until the rudimentary omen of God's Fatherhood in the rudest savage who draws, by clumsy fetich, or weird incantation, upon a power outside himself, closes its long story in the absolute recognition, the perfect and entire receptivity, of that Son of man, who can do nothing of Himself 'but what he seeth the Father do,' " The gradual development of the embryonic belief of the fetich worshipper into the perfect faith and serene trust set forth in the life of Christ, is a beautiful myth, unsupported by historical evidence. What has been said of stone, iron and brazen periods may justly be said of the three epochs specified by Comte, the theological, metaphysical and the scientific,—*ms*, they synchronize, do not follow each other in regular succession, on the page of history. The three processes—the theological, the metaphysical and the scientific—have been found together, sometimes in harmony and sometimes in antagonism, throughout the whole period of known history,—and we leave it to theorists and doctrinaires to dream of what took place in prehistoric times. Again, what is true of Comte's main divisions is true of his subordinate divisions, and since Abrahams, at least, fetishism, polytheism more or less refined, and monotheism, have lived together, the last invariably at variance with the first two.

Mr Moore's paper on the *Christian Doctrine of God* is scholarly, but its basal assertion that the Christian doctrine of God has been developed by antagonism, first between religion and morality, and then between religion and philosophy or reason, is fanciful and open to grave objections. Such antagonism is certainly noticeable in the evolution of the idea of God outside the Church, in the history, for instance, of Greek thought, and immoral views of God supplanted by such as ascribe perfect, spotless righteousness to Him, and the transcendence of God giving place to, rather than supplemented by, His immanence, plurality superseded by unity, impurity by purity, reason outside of nature by reason in nature, such was doubtless the progress of thought among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and among other peoples equally great in mental development, if not in political life. But the history of the Church, while it shows a long-continued controversy about the Divinity of Christ, and the Personality and Divinity of the Holy Ghost, does not chronicle any dispute of

discussion between opposing parties about God and His universally admitted attribute of holy love, or love balanced by wisdom and righteousness. The idea of a *Deus-ex-machina*, now laughed at by science, is deistic, not Christian, and both the transcendence and immanence of God have been always, everywhere and by all, held in reality, though in terms less philosophical. No term is more ambiguous than the immanence of God, and as it has invariably proved a stepping-stone to pantheism, it has been avoided, but the Omnipresence of God as it has been maintained since the beginning of days, includes all that is unobjectioable in the theory of immanence, and excludes its all but irresistible pantheistic tendencies. Nor does the Christian idea of Omnipresence preclude operation of secondary causes, the very existence of which Mr Moore seems disposed to deny, as God, according to the Scriptures, worketh, and worketh ceaselessly, with or without laws, as a rule through the instrumentality of laws, but at times immediately and directly. Every object in nature may, in one sense, be called a theophany, as it embodies an idea of God, and is called into existence, mediately or immediately, by God, and sustained by His power. But the theophanies brought into prominence in the Bible, the line of theophanies terminating or culminating in Jesus Christ have a significance of their own, and are essentially different from the objects of nature, inasmuch as they embody God head in His Essence and Attributes, while these only set forth the power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

The fundamental, essential difference between the theophanies of the Bible and the God-disclosing objects of nature, and God-like characters in history, is not clearly set forth in the book, and this is the great defect of Mr Illingworth's masterly paper entitled *The Incarnation and Development*. That the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity, the Divine Reason, as He is called in Platonic phraseology, had in Him an eternal tendency to manifestation, could not but be embodied in a rationalized universe, and would have, through successive stages of development, culminated in an Incarnation even if man had not sinned,—these are speculations fit only to be relegated to that region of quiddities and essences from which Socrates brought down transcendental thought to the platform of practical morals and every-day life. Setting them aside, we have the practical problem to solve.—Does the history of the world show a series of progressive developments ending in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the Author and Finisher of human salvation? In one sense it does,—only in one sense,—that is, through the line, exclusively, of the theophanies, or special miraculous appearances of God, set forth in the Word of God.

Not to speak of antediluvian times, God appeared to Abraham in a human shape, to Moses in an effulgence unutterably bright, to Gideon in an angelic form, and to the Prophets in glorious visions; but in Him who is God, perfect God, and Man, perfect Man, He appears in the only permanent form in which human beings, short-sighted as well as sinful, with understandings darkened and hearts depraved by sin, can know, love and serve Him. If this is all that is meant by development in what may be called the region of incarnation, no demurrer need be put in, but if by development is understood, the incipient manifestation of God in His Essence and Glory in nature, and one brighter in humanity, and a chain of incarnations in human events and human characters, the succeeding links, more glorious than the preceding ones, terminating in what should be called the Incarnation *par excellence*, the Christian world cannot but lift up a protest. The confusion of essential with accidental differences is stamped on almost all the essays in *Lux Mundi*, and is the greatest of its defects. The fact is not emphasized, as it should be, that the Bible is *essentially* different from the religious books of the world, the inspiration of Scripture penmen from that of the world's sages, philosophers and poets the religion embodied in it from the religions of the world, Jesus Christ in His consubstantiality with the Father from the world's roll of teachers and reformers. Jesus Christ is a Supernatural Personality, above the sphere of natural development, and consequently not to be accounted for by evolution with its heredity and environment, its law of continuity, and natural selection.

The question may be put —How are we to dispose of the ascertained or established results of the science of religion if Supernatural revelation is placed in sharp antithesis to natural inspiration or evolution of religious thought? Besides the generalizations at which it has arrived, *viz* the universality of religion, its debasement under the manipulation of the masses, and exaltation under the inspiration of great men, and its gradual move from one to another of the varied phases of the moral consciousness of man, and completion in Christianity,—truths which, in one sense, no Christian would demur to—this science has discovered what may be called a family-likeness in the religions of the world, a similarity in their preponderant ideas, their symbols of dogma and forms of devotion. How is this to be explained except on the supposition of independent lines of evolution? But the family-likeness noticeable in the religions of the world is susceptible of an explanation less fanciful and more demonstrable than autochthonous evolution. If the early chapters of Genesis are not thrown aside as a collection of legends, highly instructive,

indeed, but of no historical value, a primitive revelation to man for his guidance cannot but be accepted as a fact proven, and in that revelation, which God could not but have vouchsafed, ample provision would be made for the religious needs of man created by sin, and consequently, in it the prominent ideas characteristic of Judaism and its impressive ritual would be, to some extent, anticipated. The intense holiness of God, man's alienation from Him on account of sin, the necessity of mediation and atonement, the future appearance of a Divine Mediator and a sinless Victim, these and other characteristic ideas of the religion of fallen man would, along with significant forms of devotion and corresponding rites and ceremonies, form its substratum and determine its shape. And these would, in the course of ages, assume varied corrupt forms under the manipulation of local traditions and idiosyncrasies, but even in their degeneracy they would present a substantial resemblance under circumstantial variety. Such would have been the course of a revelation granted by God to our first parents and their immediate descendants, and if the first chapters of Genesis are not arbitrarily cast overboard, such was its course. This explanation sets forth the congruity of the accommodation-theory, against which orthodoxy has been prone to maintain an attitude of hostility. It is affirmed that the sacrificial system of the Jews and their ritual were simply accommodations to and improvements on the bloody offerings and bloodless ceremonies of the nations and tribes by whom they were surrounded. What wonder! These offerings and these ceremonies were simply corruptions of what had formerly been embodied in a forgotten divine revelation, and they were purified and naturalized among the chosen people by a fresher and fuller revelation. In this sense the accommodation-theory is simply an acknowledgement of the supersession of an oral revelation, forgotten and corrupted, by a revelation more advanced and more permanent.

Let us pass over the other papers of the book with a brief remark or two. Mr Illingworth's Essay on "*The Problem of Pain*," in which the part played by human suffering in the progressive development of the individual and the race in its punitive, remedial and prophylactic character, together with its tendency to promote sympathy and approach to and union with God, is ably set forth, is a triumphant reply to the Pessimism which has come down to us from a remote antiquity, and which has been resuscitated and re-promulgated by weeping philosophers of the genus of Schopenhauer and Hartmann. Dr Talbot's Paper, *The Preparation in History for Christ*, is scholarly, as all the papers in the work are, and unexceptionable, though the place it gives to philosophy in the sphere

of preparatory processes is higher than it deserves Mr Moberly's *Incarnation as the Basis of Dogma* is a masterly reply to the variety of objections raised by what may be called the morbid anti-dogma spirit of the age The two Papers on *The Church* by Mr Lock, and *The Sacraments* by Rev Dr Paget, are written in a spirit so conciliatory and at the same time so reasonable and just, that even Dissenters might, without compromise of principle, subscribe to the main conclusions presented There is a ring of both truth and sincerity in the following declaration about the Church — "Amid the uncertainties of individualism, the fantastic services of those who tend to reduce worship to a mere matter of emotion, amid the sorrows and perplexities of modern life, the world needs the witness of a rational and corporate worship, which recognizes the deepest sufferings of human nature enshrined in its very heart, yet recognizes also the way in which suffering, when accepted freely, is blessed of God, which worships at once a crucified and a risen Lord Over against the divisions of race and continent, the Church raises still its witness to the possibility of an universal brotherhood over against despair and dispersion, it speaks of faith and the unity of knowledge over against pessimism, it lifts up a perpetual Eucharist" Mr Otteley's *Essay on Christian Ethics* is exhaustive, and gives prominence to its main characteristic, namely, that it is theocentric, that it presents a sinless example of character, and that it makes practical morality possible by placing recreative power within reach of fallen man And Mr Lyttelton's *The Atonement* is a very able exposition of the doctrine based on Jewish rites and Scripture phraseology, as well as on the deepest instincts of human nature, and it therefore steers clear of the sentimentalism which refuses to recognize a sacrificial, propitiatory and placatory element in it

Mr Campion's *Essay, Christianity and Politics*, is opportune and practically important, both in its clear enunciation of the principle that our religion is destined to enter into and vitalize one and all the phases of life, and its bold statement of the mistakes which have tended to make the Anglican Church unpopular and curtail its utility and beneficence A sharp line of distinction is drawn between religion and politics, and a tendency is almost universally shown to lodge them in two different air-tight compartments, to shelve religion in the sphere of politics and politics in the sphere of religion And that is the reason why politics has become a suspicious science, or is identified with diplomatic reticence, duplicity, dissimulation, state-craft and intrigue, with the arts and tricks of Machiavellianism Politics needs the plastic influence of Christianity more perhaps than any other science, and

the Church of England is, in this able paper, reminded of the mistakes she has fallen into in her attitude towards it, and earnestly called upon to rectify or atone for them. Her record of political achievements has been tarnished by her staunch conservatism, her failure to adapt herself to the progressive spirit of the age. Time was when she was the palladium of British liberty, when her Archbishops and Bishops courageously resisted the encroachments of the Pope, and facilitated the adoption of measures fitted to make his interference in the internal administration of their country impossible. But the glorious period of her political activity in behalf of the English people was followed by a period of degeneracy as regards her attitude towards politics, an epoch when she recognized the divine right of kings, sided with the royal party against the nation, and opposed popular aspirations and popular reforms. From this degeneracy of her political life she has scarcely been emancipated, and it is to be feared that the charge of systematic opposition to progress in the sphere of politics cast in her teeth or in the teeth of her clergy, by Buckle in his *History of English Civilization*, is too true to be denied. Her present unpopularity is not to be traced to her organic life, nor to her doctrinal standards and symbols of worship. Her superb organization has elicited admiration and praise even in quarters where some of its vital principles are not recognized, and her creeds no sensible Dissenter will hesitate to repeat with due solemnity. Her prayers and her services have, in sublimity of diction and pathos, in solemnity and impressiveness, never been surpassed, scarcely equalled. But her obstructiveness in the sphere of political development has been the main cause of the growing suspicion and distrust with which she is regarded, even within her own jurisdiction. Let her once more ally herself to the cause of progress, and firmly hold up her faith as a panacea for all the evils of life, as the only right solution of all the problems of political and social life, the economic questions that are segregating class from class, and the international controversies that are fomenting national disagreements and antipathies. Let her be once more true to herself in politics as she always has been in doctrine and ritual, and, instead of the cry down with the Church! she will hear the grateful prayer of a people regenerated in all the departments of life.—Long live the recognized Church of England and her Colonies and Dependencies!

The writers of the Essays which we have very imperfectly reviewed are giants in piety and scholarship, and they are true men in every respect. What a contrast between their lucubrations and the *Essays and Reviews*, which emanating from their own centre of influence, sent a thrill of astonishment and horror

through the Christian world upwards of thirty years ago. The object of those was to sap and undermine the foundations of the Christian Faith, while the object of these is to uphold and establish it amid the concussion of new forces that at first sight seem antagonistic to it. And though we have been compelled by a sense of duty to represent the concessions made by them to the genius of the age as both unwarrantable and useless, we cannot but look upon the joint production of these pious scholars as a marvel of erudition, moderateness of tone, closeness of reasoning, of purity of diction, grasp of thought and fervour of piety. Indeed, we have rarely read a book so entertaining as well as instructive.

RAM CHANDRA BOSE

ART XI—A REPLY TO MY CRITICS, OR WHAT IS HINDU RELIGION?

IN the course of three articles which appeared in this *Review* during the past year, and were subsequently collected and published as a pamphlet under the title of an "Introduction to the Study of Hinduism," it was maintained —

1st—That Hinduism is not a religious organization

2nd—That what the Hindus, or the major portion in a Hindu community, do is Hinduism

3rd—That Hindus are those people of India who belong to a hierarchy of caste

4th—That this caste system modifies itself according to the spirit of the times and surrounding circumstances

5th—That there is nothing in this caste system which renders it a bar to the growth of Indian nationalism

While these propositions have been favourably received in many quarters, they have in others evoked adverse criticism, which it is the object of the present article to answer

I have been told that I have disparaged Hinduism by saying "that it is not and has never been a religious organization, that it is a pure social system." My object was neither to disparage, nor to praise, but to state a truth. Yet it may not be amiss to ask, how the statement of that truth disparages the Hindu system. If it does any thing, it exalts Hinduism according to my humble thinking. Hindus oftentimes commit the error, in the heat of controversy, without seeing what they gain thereby, of likening their system to other systems of the world. Some of them have also, without examining our own system, or taking a lesson from existing facts, imbibed an occidental mode of thought, and they cannot get over certain ideas, not very broad, regarding religion, which they have learnt from the conceptions of the West. To them religion is objective and not subjective, it is not the real, living faith of individual man, but his nominal adherence to a set of beliefs alleged to be the common faith of a community. To some of them it, perhaps, implies a book for a guide, and a book which claims to reveal the words of God, and, when twitted by an opponent with the question what they have to appeal to, they say it is the *Vedas*, forgetting that, in thus placing the claims of these in opposition to the Koran, or the Bible, they make their own system as narrow as, if not narrower than, one of

these, and dependent on proofs,—moral, intellectual and historical—for the verification of such claims, and, while the Vedas, admittedly do not, like either the Koran, or the Bible, offer salvation to mankind at large on condition of the acceptance of their truths, those who set up their claims, can at best only claim that they are the guide of a portion of mankind, the rest being excluded from their benefit according to some canons of interpretation. And, even with this portion of mankind, the Vedas are not the only guide, as the Koran, or the Bible, would be for its followers, but are supplemented by other authoritative works laying down the rules of a Hindu's life, and claiming his faith as much as the Vedas themselves. Again, while these later works express the utmost reverence for the Vedas, as the inspired source on which they draw, they shelve the Vedas and make room for themselves, by saying that the Vedas, in their entirety, were good for the *satva yoke*, while they are the guide for the present age of feebleness. You come, by this excuse for their existence, from one another work to Perhaps all this marks the history of the evolution, or devolution, of Hinduism. Perhaps it marks the period when outside ideas were incorporated, or a glaring departure was made. Anyhow, if it is not the reflection of popular beliefs, popular beliefs have come to be in accord with it, and the people—those who know the Vedas (a very small number) and those who do not know them (a very large number),—while manifesting the utmost reverence for the Vedas, shelve their claim by saying that they are too good for weak people like themselves. Thus the existing facts in Hindu society are completely destructive of the position that the Vedas are the guide of the Hindus at the present day, as the Bible, or Koran, is of its followers.

The Vedic Gods, the Vedic rituals with but few exceptions, are not the Gods or the rituals of any portion of the Hindus. Unless one era is to ignore the evolution or devolution of centuries and completely forget the present, it is difficult to see how it can be said that the Hinduism of the day is the religion of the Vedic past. "Revive the Vedas, throw out the excrustation of centuries, the prejudices superadded to the original structure, you have what you want,—a national religion for the Hindus and a religious organization with social rites perfect in their nature as they were at the date of the Vedas." This, however, is a very large order, and, after all, it may not lead us to a very hopeful prospect, for, to say nothing of the fact that certain canons of interpretation of Vedas and Vedic rituals, favoured by the claimants of Vedic revival, might not be easily acceptable, it by no means meets the present need of India, as it makes exclusiveness, to our humble thinking, somewhat more exclusive. And what pros-

pect is there of the revival of the Vedas. Only the other day there was some talk regarding the establishment of a Vedic College in Calcutta. After some general discussion—which, as is the case with all such discussion, especially in Bengal, happened to be pointless—a gentleman present raised the questions, who were to be the professors, who were to be the students, what interpretation of the Vedas was the College to adopt, what portions of the Vedas were to be read. These were eminently practical questions, and no steps could be made in advance without first solving them. There was a miniature representation of all parties in the little assembly that had met—those who believe in a progressive state of Hindu Society, and its capacity for adapting itself to surrounding circumstances, the reactionists who would resist, if they could, this adaptability, and those who would revive the Vedas, as a counterpoise to current Hinduism, but with an object quite different from that of the reactionists.

The question, therefore, was a sort of test—a feeler whether there could be concerted action between these classes. All sides thought that they could meet here, as on a common ground, and agree to the establishment of a College. Perhaps it was not the intention of any one section to take in the other, as their leaving the most important questions unsolved, and with them, perhaps, future seeds of quarrels and divisions, might seem to indicate. But when the questions were thus forced on them, it seemed as if the reactionists would have the College, without the solution, and one of them proposed, as the only business for that meeting, the formation of a Sub-Committee to devise the ways and means. But, seeing what turn things were taking, the gentleman who had originally proposed the questions, moved that they be referred to the Sub-Committee and be considered before the question of ways and means. He succeeded in carrying his motion, and, in the discussion which followed, it was quickly discerned that the unanimity, which had previously existed, as to the desirability of establishing a Vedic College, was more apparent than real. When, however, the questions were about to be carried, in the way in which sensible people who would contribute to a project of this kind at the present day would have carried them, something like a threat was thrown out, that no Brahmin, to whom alone the knowledge of the *Vedas* was confined [with regard to *Sham Veda*, a Pundit telling the audience that the last man who knew it imparted the knowledge to him (the speaker) alone, and he had since imparted the knowledge to his brother and another of his pupils] would impart it to a Sudra, the project of the establishment of a Vedic College, remained in abeyance pending

a report of the projector, whose claim to the benefit of Vedic knowledge is yet doubtful, whether a Pundit could be found who would impart the knowledge of the Vedas to students who are Sudras. So much for the Vedic revival, and Hinduism of the day being a religious organization based, or to be based, on the Vedas.

Those who would not ignore existing facts, contend that, while the Vedas are the Old Testaments, the Puranas and Smritis are the New Testaments of the Hindus. If this affirmation were to be made with reference to a very small portion of the Hindus—say Brahmins and one or two other castes amongst the Hindus—the proposition, even thus limited, would not be correct, for the Puranas and Smritis, and add to them the Tantras, are not among them identical compositions, with different interpretations given to them by different sects, as in Christianity or Muhamadanism, but distinct compositions, one claiming to be as authoritative as the other, and sometimes one prevailing in some part of the country where the other has no authority, or sometimes a number of them dividing their authority in that smallest unit of space—the village, or in that smallest of organizations—the family.

In an Indian village community all are Hindus, from Brahmins to Chamars, Domes and Mehtars, who are not Musalmans.

The mistake begins in at once jumping to the conclusion that it is religion, that is to say—religious faith—which divides these Hindus from the Musalmans. Yet I know personally of a case, where, amongst people who pass as Hindu, there is one who believes in the revelation of the Koran, in the Kalma, and reads *Namajes* five times a day according to the orthodox Koran rituals. Amongst the Hindus not more than 15 per cent of the population are in touch with the Brahmins, the rest are below that touch. If the Vedas were to be revived, a number, but not the whole, of this 15 per cent, will have a claim, according to accepted canons of exclusion and inclusion, to a knowledge of the Vedas, Vedic worship and Vedic rites, at present, however, excepting the followers of Dyanand Saraswati (not even a perceptible percentage), who pass under the name Aryans, and who accept the Vedas as their only guide, under a canon of interpretation adopted by Pundit Dyanand, the rest of the 15 per cent have not much to do *directly* with Vedic worship, or Vedic rituals, and, so far as what my friends call the New Testaments, the *Puranas*, the *Smritis*, and *Tantras*, each and all, as we said, have their authority over divisions and sub-divisions in detail, so that, while the utmost diversity of religious faith prevails in this upper 15 per cent, it is hard to say that the religious faith of a particular individual of the community resembles, in all respects, that of his neighbour.

Of the remaining 85 per cent., though a considerable portion in Bengal are the followers of Vaisnav Gosains, he would be a bold man who should say that theirs is the religion of the Vedas, of any particular Puran, or of any known kind of Tantra. It is always changing, and it changes in a way unknown amongst the upper 15 per cent. In the district of Dacca, one Kalikumar Tagore became the centre of a religion, the like of which sway the masses every now and then. Kalikumar knew only the ordinary Bengali, which fitted him to be the gomastha of a rich widow, of the Kaestha caste, of his village. Beyond his Gyatri, he did not know anything of the Vedas, and, as for the Puranas, he knew as much as a Bengali Brahmin, or a *Bhadralogue* would know, from recitations thereof by others, and not by reading them in the original for himself. Nor was there any peculiar sanctity in his life, as the mode of business, un-Brahminic, which he followed, shows. Yet it came to be known that he had cured some cases of incurable diseases, originally by what process was not known. His fame spread, and, within a short time, his home became something like a splendid fair, where a vast mass of people congregated every day from all parts of the district some to get themselves treated for diseases, and others to have a look at a real live God—people called him *Hari*, and the earth on which he sat used to be scraped out as medicine. This faith, of course, became an efficacious faith treatment in many cases, for the prescribed mode of treatment, which is said to have been very successful, was nothing else than bathing three times a day believing in the divinity of Kalikumar Tagore, taking in a little ball of earth from Kalikumar's house, and giving a *Hari loot*. A warrant of arrest was issued by the Sub Divisional Officer, in connection with something which Kalikumar did with regard to his business as a gomastha, and, before it could be executed, he died, and the religion of which he became the temporary centre, died with him. At one time his followers could be counted by lakhs. This is merely an illustrative case. Such things happen almost every day in India, and nothing is more common than to find a pious or a good, man the centre of a small number of men who believe him to be inspired, or God-sent (নিম্ন পুরুষ * Such within the present generation, were, for the masses, as well as the upper classes, the *Mahapurushes* of Benares, Baiodi and Dakhineshwar, and many even now are to be found all over India. It is remarkable in these cases that, while these Mahapurushes are the centre of a faith in their persons, their religious beliefs are not the religious beliefs of those who follow them, nor do they ever try to convert their followers, to such beliefs. Some-

* The নিম্নপুরুষ of the Mahanirvan Tantra.

times, however, there are religious propagandas, some very aggressive in their character. Not to speak of the *Arya Dharma* of Dyananda Shastri, of the Brahma Dharma of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, the Anath Savda, or Sultanul Ajkar, of Rai Saligram, whose influence is mainly confined to the upper 15 per cent described above, and does not prevail much among the masses, we have the Satnam Dharma of Central India, which divides the Chamars, as a class some millions of men, into almost two equal halves. The Satnamies (followers of true name, or true God) should not have anything to do with idolatry, they consider all men equal, and they abstain from fish, flesh and intoxicating liquors, and smoking tobacco. Such, again, was the faith amongst the simple Sonthals, of which Durbi Gosain was the centre. Durbi Gosain (from Durbi grass, the juice squeezed out of a paste of which, with one chilli, forms his only meal) is a cripple Rajput by birth, and people think, though he has never been known to give out his place of nativity, that he was an inhabitant of Shahabad before he left his district for Sonthalistan and turned a fakir. From his ascetic habits, and the wonderful feat which he performs at times, of sitting at Dhuni,—that is, within a space not more than eight feet in circumference, surrounded on all sides by fire in large heaps of cow-dung, for eight to twelve hours,—he came to be considered a real object of worship by the Sonthals to whom his word was religion and law. He insisted on his followers abstaining from meat prohibited by the present Hindu form, as also from intoxicating liquors. He decided disputes amongst the Sonthals, but though, in all respects, his mission appears to have been very useful and commendable, the authorities, for some reason or other unknown, considered him a dangerous character, and ordered his deportation from Sonthal land. Yet his name and influence still survive there. Large classes of men are swayed by forms and faiths springing up from time to time,—forms and faiths, the original source of which is sometimes good and sometimes far from good. Thus even a woman with some pretension to sorcery, or some man who pretends to a knowledge of the art of incantation or exorcising the evil one, or some one even pretending to be possessed by the evil one, becomes sometimes the centre of a faith amongst the lower orders of Hindus (especially those of the Hill-tribes, which had been converted to Hinduism). Nevertheless all these are Hindus and are admitted on all hands as such, not because there is anything common which can be traced in their religious beliefs, but because they conform to certain social rules common to all people known as Hindus. Those who say that the Vedas are the Old Testament, and the Puranas, Smritis, &c, the New Testament

of the Hindus, and that Hinduism is a religious organization based on both, instead of begging the question as they now do, must show the common religious beliefs which prevail in their so called religious organization. I hope they will see that the false analogy of Old and New Testament, which they, without the establishment of this common basis, set up as an answer, as they conceive, to my position, is not so. But if my critics, who assail my position, that Hinduism is not a religious organization, have not yet defined on what common basis that organization stands at the present date, the task has been attempted for them by a foreign savant, and I ask them whether they are prepared to accept that definition and to hold that it comprises the whole extent of the Hinduism of the present day in India.

Professor Monier Williams, in his excellent little work on Hinduism, says "It is remarkable that with all these diversities (of race, language, and social usages) the Hindu populations throughout India have a religious faith. It is a creed based on an original, simple, pantheistic doctrine, but branching out into an endless variety of polytheistic superstitions. Like the sacred fig-tree of India, which, from a single stem, sends out innumerable branches, destined to descend to the ground and become trees themselves, till the parent stock is lost in a dense forest of its own offshoots, so has this pantheistic creed rooted itself firmly in the Hindu mind, and spread its ramifications so luxuriantly, that the simplicity of its root dogma is lost in an exuberant outgrowth of monstrous mythology." The great authority of the Professor makes one hesitate to question the correctness of any proposition which he lays down, nevertheless it strikes us, as it will strike any body, that in thus tracing out the root as it were of the mythological system of India in the philosophical doctrine of pantheism, he leaves out of account the Vedic mythology, when the philosophical doctrine of pantheism was yet unknown, and he also leaves out of account the popular polytheism of the present day, or any antecedent period, and such of the religious beliefs in India, refined or rude, as are not founded on the Vedas or the Puranas. A particular stone is deified, not because the atomic stone forms a part of that universe, which, taken or conceived as a whole, is God,—that may be the explanation of some of the Hindu philosophers when they conform to popular worship,—but because the votaries believe there is particular sanctity attaching to that stone, which sanctity does not attach to any other stone. The clay idol is worshipped, not because the idol clay forms a part of that universe which is God, but because, to the uneducated, the clay idol, after *Pran Pratista* (প্রাণ প্রতিষ্ঠা), becomes the object of his

worship, and to a class of educated men in India, one of the ways to attain to the Incomprehensible Deity is through a graduated process, the first being the worship of the idol of clay. Again, amongst the Vedics and Puranics, Advaita is not the only philosophical doctrine which prevails. "Ekam ca Advitiam," "there is but one Being, no second," leads to pantheism as well as to monotheism—the words being interpreted differently by the pantheist and the monotheist, not to say that philosophy, here as well as elsewhere, does not form the basis of religious faiths, except amongst the philosophers and their followers, and even among them the followers of Sankaracharya do not believe that he was God because every man, as forming an atom of the universe, is God (নরঃ ব্রহ্ম) in a pantheistic sense, but a wise man whose wisdom no other man could match. A reference to the Vedas and to the Upanishads will show that the Supreme Soul (পৰমাত্মা) is there considered as separate and distinct from soul (জীবাত্মা).

We find in the white Yajur Veda Samhita —

ন তু বিদাম য ইমা ঐজানান্যে যুস্মাকমন্তরং বভূব।

Do you not know Him who created all things? Though He is separate and distinct from all things, He lives in your heart

In Katoo Upanishad we find —

অত্রাত্মা কৃতাকৃতঃ ।

He is separate and distinct from the world of causes and effects

Again in Talav Karupanishad —

অদ্যদেব তদ্বিদিভাদেখ্যে অবিদিভাদধি

He is separate and distinct both from matter and spirit

In Manu Samhita —

উপাস্যং পরম ব্রহ্ম আত্মা যত্র প্রতিষ্ঠিতঃ

He in whom the soul has its rest, is the Param Brahma, the object of your worship

The doctrine of pantheism is to be first found in Vedanta Darshan,—a commentary of the Vedanta Sutra. Ramanuj Swami and Madhva Acharya interpret Vedanta Sutra to mean

dualism (দ্বৈতবাদ). It is not, however, the philosophical interpretation of texts that we are concerned with, the point to ascertain is whether the religious faiths of India have pantheism for their root. We have shown that it is not historically true, as pantheism came to be recognized as a philosophical doctrine only at a comparatively recent date, and we have also shown that, side by side with the philosophical doctrine of pantheism, we have the doctrine of dualism, and, examining the present

liefs of India, we find that whatever importance might be assigned by philosophers here or there to the doctrine of pantheism, the masses believe in a God, or Gods, as entirely separate and distinct from themselves and all other created things

It is not at all correct to say, therefore, that pantheism, to use the language of the learned Professor, is "the uncompromising creed of true Brahmanism, and this, according to the orthodox Hindu philosophy, is the only true Veda. This, at least, according to the belief of the generality of educated Hindus, is the only true knowledge to which the Veda leads"

The Professor then says "Popular Hinduism, on the other hand, though supposed to accept this creed as the way of true knowledge 'Jnana Marga,' which it admits to be the highest way of salvation, adds to it two other inferior ways —

1st — Belief in the efficacy of sacrifices, rites, penance, and austerities, which is the 'Karma Marga' (way of works)

2nd — Faith in personal deities, which is 'Bhakti Marga' (way of faith and devotion)

"Moreover, to account for its polytheism, idol worship and system of caste distinctions, popular Hinduism supposes that the one Supreme Being amuses himself variously as light does in the rainbow, and that all visible and material objects, good and bad, including gods, demons, demi-gods, good and evil spirits, human beings and animals, are emanations from Him and are ultimately to be reabsorbed into His essence"

So far as the last remarks offer an explanation of polytheism-idol worship in India, it is not the one accepted here as such. The passage represents the pantheistic, as also the theistic idea of the cosmogony, according to its different interpretations, the theists nowhere considering matter as co-existent and coeval with the Deity. We shall hereafter see what explanation the Hindu has to offer of the Indian polytheistic system. Leaving this for the present, if the Professor were to say that "Jnana Marga" merely means the "way through knowledge," without particularising that knowledge as that of pantheism, for which we have shown there is no warrant whatever, "Karma Marga" as the "way through performance of duties, whatever they are, without the desire of getting a reward," and "Bhakti Marga" as the "way through that discipline of mind, that development of faith, love, veneration and faculty of worship attainable by belief in a personal deity or humanity," not as alternative modes, but as simultaneous conditions, we should have no quarrel with him, but the analysis would be the analysis of the religious idea in man, not particularly of the Hindu. This analysis, with the corrections

we note above—Knowledge, performance of duty (निकर्तव्य), and faith and love and worship—shows only the universality of religious growth in India, its essentially eclectic character.

It is as much as saying that Hinduism is the religious idea in man in different stages of development, in accordance with the intellectual and moral conditions of different Hindus, and not a set of beliefs contained in a book. The "Jnana Marga" is not limited. It is only bounded by the conditions by which the subject mind is conditioned. But if this "Jnana Marga" is not confined to a book, or a certain set of dogmas contained in a book, it has no quarrel with any of them and if a Hindu choose to accept, in the middle of the path, Christian or Mahomedan creeds or beliefs, he might rest there, without even ceasing to be a Hindu. The same can also be said of the "Bhakti Marga." It might accept Christ, as it does Krishna.

The Professor himself says "Starting from the Vedas, Hinduism has ended in embracing something from all religions, and in presenting phases suited to all minds. It is all tolerant, all compliant, all comprehensive, all absorbing"—p 12

I did not read the Professor's book till my pamphlet was written and published. There is a great and striking similarity in thought, and even in expressions, which,—if to others who do not know the fact, it might seem to show that I have borrowed largely from the Professor's book without any acknowledgment—shows to me, that we can only arrive at the same truth by independent enquiry of our own, and that the expression of that truth would be in almost the same words, but though the premises are the same, and expressed almost in the same words, the conclusion differs. My conclusion from certain facts is, that though the Hindu is intensely religious, Hinduism (possibly because of that intense religiousness), is not a religious organization. The Professor finds nothing common in India, with its diverse races, diverse languages, diverse social customs and manners, and diversity of caste, but a common religion—a common faith,—I showed that Hinduism is not simply a social organization, but that what the Hindus, or the majority of Hindus in a Hindu community *do*, is Hinduism, that to be a Hindu, or to continue a Hindu, one must belong to a hierarchy of caste. That the caste hierarchy, which involves an admission, even at the present day, of the supremacy of the Brahmins, does not involve, or imply, a religious faith in such supremacy, any more than the admission of an aristocracy, either of birth or of wealth, would do in cases where such distinctions prevail.

In treating of modern castes (p 157) the Professor says: "It might almost, indeed, be inferred from the influence exerted by caste rules on the daily life of the Hindus, that the whole of their religion was centered in caste observances, and that Hinduism and caste were convertible terms, and, in point of fact, strictness in the maintenance of caste is the only test of Hinduism exacted by the Brahmins of the present day. In matters, of mere faith, Hinduism is (as we have seen) all tolerant and receptive no person, who is not born a Brahmin, can become one, but any person can be admitted in the lower ranks of Hinduism, who will acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmins and obey the rules of caste So long as a man holds to his caste, he is at liberty to hold any opinions he likes, even to accepting the doctrines of Christianity

" 'Perfection is alone attained by him who swerves not from the business of his caste' "—(*Bhagwatgita*)

I ask whether from the above premise—in which, however, we detect one or two statements not in accord with the present rules of caste, for instance, the reference to the great strictness with which rules of caste are said to be enforced by the *Brahmins* (the fact being that it is not the Brahmins, but caste people, who enforce the rules), but which does not affect the correctness of the premise in the main—it does not follow, as I have said, that Hinduism is not a religious organization, but a social organization, pure and simple, and whether this does not fully corroborate what I stated at page 13 of my pamphlet

"But when we say that all people, domiciled in India, who are not Christians, Musalmans, or Parsis, are Hindus, do we mean that there is any thing in their religious beliefs which would exclude these people from those from whom they are thus distinguished? We say no Suppose a Hindu were to believe in the revelation of the Bible, the doctrine of the Trinity, that of original sin and eternal damnation, the atonement and salvation through faith in a Saviour, he would be a Christian, but would not cease to be a Hindu, so long as he continued to be a member of the Hindu caste to which he belongs So he would be a Musalman by simply believing in the *Kulma* (words) 'God is great and Mahomet is his Prophet,' but he would not cease to be a Hindu as long as he was not thrown out of the pale of caste

"Here, then, is the essential characteristic which distinguishes the Hindu from the non Hindu races of India. All people who are known as Hindus are divided into castes, and there are no people incorporated with the Hindu system who do not belong to one caste or other The Hindu system is,

therefore, a hierarchy of caste, and those who belong to this hierarchy of caste are Hindus"

A recent incident illustrates my position to a great extent. In the Census Enumeration Form, divided into several columns --Name of the individual, age, married or unmarried, profession--there were the following heads "religion," "sect," "caste," "sub caste." In the instructions issued to enumerators, under head "religion," it was said that Jains, Brahmos and Sikhs, were not to be classed as Hindus, and examples of "sects" under Hindu religion were given as Vaisnav, Sakta, &c, as under Christianity, they were given as Roman Catholics, Protestants (we hope the Christian sects in India have not yet increased to 261, as they are now reported to have done in England)

Now, what special researches were made by the Census Commissioner into the social and religious conditions of India, and what is his definition of Hinduism, we are not told, the result will perhaps be that, for statistical purposes, he will have a large class of men put in a different class from the Musalmans, Christians, and Parsis, not that these men necessarily have--all of them--a faith distinguishable from the Christians and Mahomedans, for in those who will be returned as Hindus, I know for certain, of my own knowledge one man included, whose faith is entirely Mahomedan, another whose belief is entirely Christian. A further difficulty appears to have been created, because of his ruling that Jains, Sikhs and Brahmos are not to be classed as Hindus. The Jains of Shahabad, one of the most important Jain communities in India, protested in a Memorial which we publish below --

To The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal

SIR,—We the undersigned members of the Jain community, resident in Shahabad District, beg most respectfully to ask the favour of your laying the following memorial before His Honour the Lieutenant Governor

2.—In the forms of Returns of the forthcoming census, we have been classed as a people separate from the Hindus. Thus we pry his arisen from a misconception of our religious tenets, and of our social manners and customs

3.—We know and believe ourselves to be a sect of the Hindus just as the Vaisnavs, the Saktas, and the Smarths are. We observe the Hindu caste system and belong to one of the twice born castes, called the Agarwalis, who are representatives of the old Vaisyas, and among whom some are Vaisnavs, and some Jains. This is the only difference between us, which is more a difference of sect than of religion

4.—We observe the Hindu ceremonies of the investiture of the holy thread, the shudh and marriage in the Hindu way, and recognize the Brahmins as our priests. The same Brahmins who officiate at our ceremonies perform also the ceremonies of the other Hindus without any objection on their part, and they eat at our place without losing their caste, or ceasing to be Brahmins. If we are to be classed as non Hindus, these ministrations might cease

5.—It is true we worship in temples different from those of the Hindus, and that some of our Gods are not recognized by them as their Gods, but

such is the case with other sects of the Hindus also. The Vaisnavs have as great a repugnance to the horrors of the Sakta rites as we have of them. Still when a Sakta and a Vaisnav are regarded as members of the same community, we do not see why we are to be excluded from it.

6.—Moreover, if the different sects of the Christian religion, such as Protestants and Roman Catholics, and those of the Mahomedan religion, such as Sunnis and Shias, be grouped together as members of one religion, we certainly, who are nearer to the Hindus than they are to each other should be included in their community.

7.—By differentiating us from the Hindus, specially where Government does it, an unnecessarily social disturbance is created in our community, which may prove highly detrimental to it. At present there is intermarriage between the Agarwalas of Jain and Vaishnavite sect, which is necessary in our scattered and limited communities. If this is stopped, on the assumption that we are entirely aliens to each other in religion, it will entail a very great hardship on us.

8.—The highest Courts of Justice of the country have assigned us the Hindu Law of Inheritance, on the ground that we are a people not separate from the Hindus in religion and in social manners and customs, and that we never had, nor required, any separate Law of Inheritance. But when we are going to be distinguished from the Hindus, it is possible that complications may arise from such a ruling in the disposition of our property.

9.—There are thousand other little incidents, which will be tedious to relate here, that will disturb the harmonious and amicable relations that now subsist between ourselves and the Hindus, if we are separated from them, we therefore pray that, before adopting such a course, Government will be kind enough to seriously consider it, and if it thinks that our request in being considered as Hindus, be a reasonable one, we hope it will cause such alterations to be made in the Forms of Census Returns as will include us under the denomination of Hindus."

Similar memorials to Government have been adopted by Jains of the Patna District, and we hear that, in compliance with the request of the memorialists, they are to be classed under head "religion" as Hindus, and under head "sect" as Jains. A like representation was made by an influential section of the Brahmos, those of the Adi-Brahma Samaj, and the Brahmos, at least those who will choose, will come in, under head "religion," as Hindus, and under head "sect," as Brahmos. The Sikhs, too, are to be classed in this way, and the people of Kuch Behar, who were, under the ruling of the Bengal Census Commissioner, to be classed as Kuchis, or Kuch Biharis, are to be classed as Hindus, in accordance with their application in that behalf, the other non-Aryan Hill-tribes have also successfully preferred their claims to be classed as Hindus.

It must be a matter of agreeable surprise to all Hindus, that, though they do not spend a pice for evangelization, there is such a scrambling among all classes of people in Hindustan, excepting of course the Christians, Mahomedans and Parsis, to be recognized as Hindus, and when a better understanding comes on, we hope we shall have "Hindus" Christians, and Hindus Mahomedans.

But, the returns under column, "sect," of the Hindus will be

even at present an interesting study, and in a greater degree illustrative of our position. A large class of men in Behar and people elsewhere have been returned as Bhagwats. Primarily the word means भक्त (Sanskrit) devoted, secondarily the भक्त of Srimat Bhagwat, but in Behar and elsewhere in Northern India, the word has lost both its primary and secondary meanings, and it now means "people who abstain from spirituous liquors of all sorts, meat and fish." The word thus includes not only Vaisnavs, but all the Nanakpanthi followers of the early Guru Nanak, who abstain from fish, meat and spirituous liquors—according to his teachings, a very large number among the lower classes of Behar, as also some amongst the higher classes,—a large number of Kabirpanthis and other non-descripts, such as one or two converts to Hinduism from Mahomedanism, to our certain knowledge.

We shall have to examine the late census proceedings in connection with another position we referred to in our pamphlet, wherein, in showing the elasticity of caste rules, we observed that there is a general attempt at upheaval amongst the masses.

Now, we have Hindu Jains, Hindu-Sikhs, Hindu-Nanak Sahes, Hindu-Kabirpanthis, Hindu Brahmos, Hindu Sophists, Hindu-Agoris, Hindu-Positivists, Hindu Ghonds, Hindu-Bhils, Hindu-Sonthals, as well as Hindu-Vedics and Hindu-Puranicks. There is not the slightest obstacle, so far as faith is concerned, to our having Hindu Christians and Hindu-Muslims, and, as I showed above, we have even now some such amongst us.

The Vedas give evidence of a progressive religion. The Maha-Nirvan Tantra, one of the latest phases of religious systems in India, leaves room for any amount of addition to the Agam and Nigam. Moreover, it introduces into the system the doctrine of शिक्षपुरुष (inspired men), and, if outsiders have to teach us anything new in the domain of religion, let them give it to us as truths brought home to them by a शिक्ष पुरुष.

Now it follows that the definition of this Hindu religion, which has already absorbed so many systems, and which is prepared to absorb others, and, in fact, all truths whatever, from whatever source they come, must be as broad as that of the term religion itself. With an intensely religious people, like the Hindus, the question is whether a man is religious, not what particular religious belief he professes. Well do those who are Hindus call their religion the *Sanatan Dharma*—the eternal life giving religion—the religion of the heart.

A definition of Hindu religion by taking some common characteristic peculiar to itself, as distinguished from our general idea of religion, is, therefore, impossible, and those who try so to

define it, overlook its universality. Nor let a Hindu think that his religion is disparaged when it is said that the Sonatan Hindu Dharma does not admit of a definition, as the book-religions in the world do, and let him not bring in false analogy to crib and confine this one, progressive religion of the world. Let him be proud of a religion which is tolerant of all faiths, and which fully recognizes the different stages of development of religious faiths in men. It is, as the *Amritabasar Patrika* says, and the history of its development proves, "the most progressive and vigorous of all religious faiths," and "is prepared to receive any truth from any source whatever," and fully represent the religious idea and the growth and development of that idea in man. It is only men of no faith who, perhaps, will say, that it shall not have an everlasting lease of life, and that in its universality it shall not cover the whole world.

This capacity for progress is intimately connected with two grand truths, which the Hindu alone had the courage of his conviction to present as religious truths. These are the key-notes of the entire system prevailing in India, which, if the truth were to be candidly professed, would explain systems outside India as well.

Does not the idea of Godhead, in relation to subject mind, differ quantitatively and qualitatively (we hope we shall be excused for the use of these expressions), even in two Christians, or even in two Mahomedans, or even in the same Christian, or same Mahomedan, at different stages of his development, even though his idea is defined in a book? The Hindus take into account this relativity of our ideas of Godhead to subject mind, and the various shades of belief that are the consequence of this condition in the minds of men, and who will say, when metaphorically the Hindu spoke of 33 crores of deities, that he was wrong? If each of us has an idol of his own, not of clay but of mind, as our idea of Godhead, differing, as we said, not only quantitatively, but qualitatively as well, shall we not between the Unknowable, the Incomprehensible, the IHE IS, which the highest Jnana in India preaches, and which satisfies the eldest sons (কৈষ্ঠ), come to have 280 crores according to our latest census, not to take into consideration the idols of the ~~world~~ at large, the innumerable creations of the fancy of sons younger (কনিষ্ঠ)?

It is one of these eldest sons of India who said —

অধিকাংশভেদেন পশু বাছন্যতঃ প্রিয়ে ।

দেবা নানাবিধাঃ প্রোক্তা দেবে, হিঁ বহুধা প্রিয়ে ॥

ম নিরূপিতঃ ।

"There are different Gods and Goddesses, my beloved, according to the varying stages of development of the adhikari (owner man)"

And another said in consequence —

যে যথা মাং প্রপস্যাতে তং তথৌ ভজ্যমাংসং ।

ভাগবতগীতা ।

"In whatever form a man may worship me, I accept it in that form"

One said —

চিন্ময়স্যাহি তীর্থস্য নিষ্কলস্যাপরীকৃতঃ

উপাসকানাং কাৰ্য্যার্থং ব্রহ্মণো রূপকল্পনা ॥

রূপ স্থানাং দেবতানাং পুং স্ত্র্যাংশাদিকল্পনা ॥

শ্রী ভক্তিশ্রী যমদগ্নি বচন

"The devotee, for the purpose of devotion, imagines to himself a form of the Deity who is without form, without a denomination, without a second, and is all-wise When imagination is allowed play, the form imagined is that of man or of woman"

And another said —

রূপ নানাধিনির্দেশবিশেষণবিবৰ্জিতঃ

অপকল্পবিনাশাভ্যাং পরিণামতি ভবতিঃ

বৰ্জিতঃ শব্দ্যতে বক্তুং যঃ সদাস্তীতি কেবলম্ ।

বিষ্ণু পুরাণ ।

"The supreme soul is without the attribute of form or name, indestructible, and not subject to pain or birth The only thing that can be predicated of Him is, that *He exists*"

It is remarkable that the terms Hindu (Hinduism), Hindu Dharma and Hindustan, now invariably adopted by all classes of people inhabiting India, as applicable to themselves, with the exception of Musalmans, Christians and Parsis, are not to be found in any Sanscrit books pretending to any antiquity There are some people (followers of Dyanand Saraswati), a small number, who say that, because the name is of foreign origin and latterly applied by Musalmans as a term of opprobrium to the natives of the country, the name should be discarded, and the name Aryan adopted instead Some of the Brahmos, too, of the Sudharan Brahma Samaj, by birth Hindus, evince something like, horror at being called Hindus It is to be hoped that they will ennoble by their life examples the new names which they have adopted, but to the Dyanandi Aryans we say, the best way to rid a national name of its

opprobrium is to stick to it, and to ennoble it by the life example of those bearing the common name, and not by flying from one name to another. The Thebans, the Bœotians of the Greeks, even now a nick-name, stuck to their name, and became, when the glory of Spartans and Athenians had fled, the most prominent race amongst the Greeks. Does the name serve to explain in any way the position we started? I suppose it does. And that is why I advert to it. And, in this connection, we shall examine the origin of the term, under what circumstances the Hindus adopted it, and what it means at the present date.

It is just possible that the dwellers on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries, both Aryans and non-Aryans, were called by the people living more to the West, *Sindhus*, and they themselves passed by that name, as an appropriate geographical denomination of themselves. The Persians and their neighbours of the West pronounced *Sindhus*, Hindus, as latterly the Greeks, dropping the hard aspirate, called the Persian word Hindu "Indu," and the country they inhabited "India." The Persians calling the country "Hindustan" from the Punjab to Benares, the Musalmans extended the name first to all the country north of the Vindhya chain and then to the whole country from the Indus to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. Not that a common geographical name had not been given by the people of the pre-Mahomedan period to the country at large, though it was divided into several states. Bharat was such a name, and Arya Barta such another, and the conquering race called themselves Aryans, just as another conquering race in another country called themselves Franks, and the aborigines, Dasas or Dasyas (robbers), Krishna Vaina (black colour) and latterly non-Aryans (अनार्य). There must have been very sharp lines of distinction between the Aryans and non-Aryans at one time. The Aryans worshipped their own Gods, the non-Aryans theirs. The non-Aryans lived beyond the outskirts of Aryan settlements, and those who lived within were reduced to slavery, as the condition on which they were allowed to exist. Gradually, as time wore on, things mended a good deal. The Aryan influence extended not only by conquest and colonization, but also by conversion, marriages, and political alliances. With the acclimatization of the Aryans, they adopted some of the non-Aryan customs and manners, and introduced some of their Gods into their Pantheon. The non-Aryans did the same, but, as the Vedas were in a language known only to the Aryans, they had no means of attaining to a knowledge of the Vedas, which, afterwards, by a process of exclusiveness, was confined to the

Aryan class, or such of the non-Aryans as the Dravidan races, which by treaty alliances came to be held to be equal to the Aryans. The distinction engendered, of the inequality of conquerors and conquered, of Aryans and *Dasyas*, of white and black, of masters and slaves, and of the whites amongst themselves, on account of differences of knowledge, prowess, position and occupation gave place to caste distinctions, which began to grow, and with them fictions of a common origin from the same Brahma, or from the same Manu, but for different purposes. This, perhaps, was the earliest enunciation of an identity of race, vague and indistinct. At last, common danger from external foes, which overwhelmed the Aryans and non-Aryans, gave rise to a community of feelings and sentiments, and it was at this stage, it appears, that the common Hindu name was adopted, in the sense of a people all of the same country, "Hindustan," as opposed to the foreigners—Musalman invaders. It was not, as can be gathered from this historic origin, the name of a people having a common religion, but a people who adopted this common name, as a bond of union among themselves, to avoid a common danger and to repel a common foe. This common name indicative of complex ideas—geographical, social, racial, political—originated in the same way as a common national life has grown in any other geographical division. Mr Reill, in his exposition of nationality, says —

'A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality, if they are united amongst themselves, by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any others, which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same Government by themselves, or a portion of themselves, exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language, and community of religion, greatly contribute to it

"Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the *strongest of all* is identity of political antecedents, the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past. None of these circumstances, however, are either indispensable or necessarily sufficient by themselves."

The Aryans and non-Aryans of India forgot their differences and adopted a common name, which the Persians had given to them, in token of their common sympathy in view of a common danger, and co-operated with each other, however temporarily and however unsuccessfully, to keep up the

Government of their own, or a portion of their own. Their humiliations, their regrets, connected with their failure, as also the traditional pleasant reminiscences of the past to which Aryans and non-Aryans now equally laid claim as a people, however varying the religious idea amongst them—made them one. It is thus found that the term 'Hindu' originally signified a geographical Hindu, that is, people living in the same country, then the idea became more complex, and signified a national or political 'Hindu,' as applied by the Aryans and non-Aryans of India to themselves, as distinguishing them from their foreign invaders, and at that date Hinduism was a political and not a religious organization.

But a critic asks, what is my object in thus trying to make out that Hinduism is not a religious organization. I say to my critic that my object is simply to state a truth, but if he wishes to know what is the value of that truth, he, at least, I hope, will bear with me in the little digression that follows.—We have pointed out that the idea involved in the term was originally geographical; it afterwards came to be political, and it had nothing special of religion about it, except that it differentiated the class thus designated from the Mahomedans, who, out of contempt, called their foes—Aryans and non-Aryans, the wise Brahmins and the ignorant Bhils—*Kafirs*, that is to say non-believers, in a revealed book. Thus, even in the inception, so far as the *religious element* was concerned, a kind of negation came to be associated with the idea. The idea of a nationality in this sense came to be developed, when the Hindu-Sikhs rose to be a nation. The old idea which was prominently before those who had the forming of the Sikhs into a nation, could but include a portion of the then existing people of the Punjab, and this circumstance required that it should be such. This was the weakest point, and the growth was not at all healthy, but it succeeded to a certain extent, because it had effectually united the Aryans and non-Aryans in a common political body. Even the Mehtars (sweepers of the Hindus, the lowest of the low) had their position in the political body. They were formed into regiments, and had the term 'Sinha' applied to them, like other Sikhs.

The growth of the Mahratta power, the rise of another branch of the Hindu race demonstrates the same position. In so far as it produced a solidarity amongst the Aryans and non-Aryans of a portion of India, it grew. The Kambis, the Gaekwars, and so on—classes otherwise despised by Brahmins—came to have a recognized position, and the identity of aim made all co-operate in the same direction. Community of religion did not play much part in the fostering of that growth. All the Aryans and non-Aryans became politically developed.

Hindus, because it was their interest to be so,—but the weakness was latent. Both these movements were directed against an important section of the population of the country, which could not be effaced, and the result was partial growth and eventual collapse.

To avert common danger from foreign invasions, the Aryans and non Aryans coalesced under the common name Hindu, is it too much to expect that all the people of India will again coalesce under a common name, and this time avoid the errors of the past. The Hindus became a prey to foreigners, because, though they became one in name, it was at a very late hour of the day, when there was no time for solidarity, and afterwards, the idea, as it was at first associated with the name, became out of date, or capable only of partial development, as we find in the growth of the powers of Mahrattas and Sikhs.

Let not the error be repeated. It lies with the existing Government, as well as with the people, to avoid the mistake. True statesmanship, while assisting in the growth of this highest 'Indianism,' as securing the ultimate good of a vast portion of mankind, ought to avoid anything calculated to produce the least friction between party and party. The people, on the other hand, ought to understand and fully realize the truth, which is apparent, that it is not possible in the nature of things that any one of the existing sections of the population shall be effaced. There may be now apparent conflicts—there may be at times outbursts of fanatical intolerance, but there is much evaporation in our sunny clime of India. A critic was good enough to point out to me that Islam is as intolerant as ever, and the spirit of reaction is growing in European Turkey and Europeanised Persia, and in these days of rapid communication, by the aid of steamers, telegrams and newspaper, the reactionary move is coming on apace in India. I read in the *Contemporary Review* of February last, an interesting article on the subject of this reaction and its causes, by one of the highest authority on the subject, Prince Malcolm Khan. He says that this reaction is simply the expression of the resentment of *Islam* against the intrusiveness, or supposed intrusiveness of Christianity. To use his own words "the whole history of Asia Minor has been one long fight with Christianity. They (Persians) know well the history of the Crusades, and they think that your present policy is still a crusade, but only in a more civilized form. A crusade of science. It is still the Christian religion, which attacks Islamism, but instead of attacking it, as in past times, by arms, it attacks it by science, by policy, by trade, and by financial power. But the situation is just the same. Under these circumstances, anything coming from Europe is opposed and must be opposed." Wherever really there is no such

intrusiveness, wherever there is a brotherly welcome, as in India,* the intolerance, if any, supposed, without examination of the grounds thereof, to be inherent in Islamism, gives way, and a factious and *fictitious* reactionary move, even if stimulated by extraneous influences, soon disappears.

We showed, in a previous article, how this supposed intolerance gave way in India, and how all reactionary moves amongst our Mahomedan brethren in relation to Hinduism have been only temporary. In this connection we shall ask the curious reader to read further a few chapters of the early life of Chaitanya, his relation with the Mahomedan Kazi of Navadip, and the Kertan (singing procession) near about the Kazi's house. The conversion of Rup Sanatan the life of Kabir, the life of Nanak, and the life of many Mahomedans, Aelia Sophies of the present day, whose religious teachings sway the inner life of most of our Mahomedan brethren. But the further question is 'Is the spirit of Islam antagonistic to progress?'

Let us hear what Prince Malcolm has to say—(it may, perhaps, remind our readers, of what we said of Hinduism in April last year) —

"Islam as I have said is an ocean, in which are accumulated all the sciences of the past times of Asia—then for any new law or new principle you wish to promulgate, you can find in that ocean many precepts and maxims which support and confirm what you want to introduce. As to the principles which are found in Europe, which constitute the root of your civilization, we must get hold of them, somehow no doubt, but, instead of taking them from London or Paris, it would be easy to take the same principle and to say it comes from Islam, and that this can be soon proved. We have had some experience in this direction. We find that ideas which were by no means accepted when coming from your agents in Europe, were accepted at once with the greatest delight when it was proved that they were latent in Islam. I can assure you that the little progress which we see in Persia and Turkey, specially in Persia, is due to this fact, that some people have taken your European principles, and, instead of saying that they came from Europe, from England, France, or Germany, have said—'We have nothing to do with Europeans, ~~these~~ are the true principles of our own religion (and, indeed, that is quite true), which have been taken by Europeans, that has had a marvellous effect at once.'"

* The Hindu ascetic who used to be carried up by a ladder, and placed on a platform separate from the room where Akbar used to sit for his evening discussions, so as to avoid the touch of the Royal Melecha, yet taught him the high doctrine of toleration to all religious views.

A disregard of a like sensitiveness as regards extraneous influences by Government, and by people who wish to introduce reforms amongst the Hindus and Mahomedans in India, has been fruitful of mistakes, resulting in temporary reaction and arrest of progress.

So far as the Hindus are concerned, sometimes a reaction originating in an error (a common one) that to move the masses, to produce "a natural life" in India, religion must come in, and a religion common to all Hindus, has retarded progress. To move the masses and to produce a national life, are not, however, always convertible terms, and then, what is this common religion which the good meaning people intend to give us? It cannot, if what we have said in the preceding pages is correct, be the *Sanatan Hindu Dharma*. The keynotes of that *Sanatan Dharma* are harmonious to religious feelings in man, and their expression is always varied and varying.

We have said that Hinduism represents a progressive state of religious knowledge and faith, and that it is in these respects eclectic. We shall now show that so far as the *Karmas*—works (rituals and ceremonies)—are concerned, it is eclectic also. A few words of preface appear necessary. We showed, in a previous article, that out of the *Das Sanskar* (10 sacramental rites) the only two, the non-compliance with which brings on forfeiture of caste at the present day in the case of all Hindus, are marriages and *shraddhs*, that is to say, if a Hindu marries at all, he must marry according to Hindu rituals if he be *Dwija* (twice born), or according to rules prevalent in the caste if not a *Dwija*. Here, again, we meet with a broad distinction between *Dwijas* and non-*Dwijas*. The *shraddh* to be performed is that of parents and grandparents if parents are not living to do it, and of husband by wife, in cases where there are no children, and even in such cases, while the ritual is Vedic or Puranic in the *Jalchal* classes, it is regulated by custom (not at all Vedic or Puranic) amongst the other classes of Hindus. The *Upanayan* (investiture with the sacred thread) and tonsure are ceremonies compulsory amongst *Dwijas*, and *Dwijas* only, though this rule I have seen so far relaxed in particular parts of the country that, out of a number of Brahmin witnesses in an adoption case in Behar, almost half the number did not know the *Gyasti*. Local and family customs vary considerably even amongst classes where the Vedic ritual is to some extent followed, and more in marriages than perhaps in *shraddhs*. Thus East Bengal does not know the (গায়ে হলুদ) *Gai Huloot*, and (আইবর ভাত) *Eibar-u-Bhat*, and (বৌ ভাত, *Bawbhat*, with which West Bengal begins and ends the marriage ceremony, and the only features common to the marriage ceremony of Bengal

and the rest of India are the *Saptapadi*, the *Nandy*, and the marriage mantras amongst twice-born classes. It will thus appear, that, amongst four-fifths of the people known as Hindus, but who do not come under the class twice-born, or who did not at any time belong to that class, none of the *Das Sanskars* prevail, and they regulate the most important rites in life, by following a sort of local custom, changeable and changing from time to time. Those of my critics who say that Hinduism is the observance of Karma Kanda, and *Das Sanskars*, will, I hope, find the above a satisfactory answer. As the religious faiths of the Hindus do not very properly admit of a common definition, so too, their customs, with all local variations, do not admit of a common generalization in the way in which my critics suggest and to say that Hinduism is the observance of *Das Sanskars*, while most of them have no currency at the present moment, is as good as to say that Hinduism is the beef-eating, shome juice drinking Aryanism of ancient times.

I now come to my own definition. I said that what the Hindus, or the majority in a Hindu community *do*, is Hinduism—and I said that those people at present domiciled in India who belong to a hierarchy of caste, are Hindus. I analyzed caste and showed how even the caste rules were changeable and eclectic, and furthermore, that there is a general attempt at upheaval amongst the masses. An interesting illustration of this is furnished and transpired at the last census. People objected to be classed as *Chandals* by caste, the *Rajbansis* of Rungpur would not be classed *Kuchis* or *Kuch Beharies*, they prefer their claim to be *Khetrias*. Several classes prefer claims to be ranked as *Vaishya*.

I showed in accordance with facts which no one, I hope, can gainsay, that Hinduism is a moving and progressive entity, both in religious beliefs and social matters. A true Hindu would not revere anything that is old, because of its antiquity, but he would conserve any thing that is good which he might find in antiquity, or associated with it. The true Hindu would not tolerate an abuse because it is hoary, but would say, as *Vijayeshwara* of revered memory did say, of old, (*Mitakshara*, Chapter I Section III Verse 4) "~~Practise~~ not that which is legal under the sacred ordinances, but is abhorred by the world, (for) it secures not celestial bliss," and he would say this whenever necessary, only he would say it himself. He cannot allow others to say this to him. His *amour propre* is justly roused when this is done. The Hindus are thus essentially a custom-making people. Custom, of course, takes a longer time to grow and crystallize, and bears also a longer lease of life than a legislative enactment, and when it grows or dies, it grows or dies with the consensus

of a whole people. It thus undergoes the test (which summary legislative enactment, even under the best of circumstances, cannot) that it is either good for a whole community for the time being, or it is not. As a matter very intimately connected with this, let those who think that the time is not yet come for an expansion of our Legislative Councils by the introduction of the elective principle, note what the Hindus did, or what they do even now, in many matters affecting their well-being, and how they did it, or how they do it even now.

The first springing up of a custom must rest with the people, and with, perhaps, a section of the people. The matter which, of course, would need further sanction, or to which certain sanction would be attached, would have to go for such sanction before tribunals, or assemblies, vested with the powers of such sanction, and thus grew the customary laws of India primarily with the people, or a section of people, these finding their sanction in tribunals or assemblies of the people themselves, and it ultimately being codified in the *Sanhitas* or commentaries thereof. A description of these popular tribunals in ancient India, and how their decision used to be arrived at by a majority of votes, may not be amiss*. These were — 1st, Kings Council, 2nd, Assemblies of townsmen, 3rd, Companies of traders, 4th, Families. Families were assemblages of relatives, cognate connections and kinsmen, companies of traders were assemblages of persons of similar or various tribes exercising the same calling, assemblies of townsmen were assemblages of various tribes and various professions living in a town or village. A tribunal composed of families had a jurisdiction inferior to that of a tribunal composed of the companies of traders, and so a company of traders exercised a jurisdiction inferior to that of an assembly of townsmen, the tribunal of a higher grade exercising appellate jurisdiction over one of a lower grade. Over all these, was the court of the King in Council, presided over, in the absence of the King, by the Chief Judge (প্রাচ বিবাক), and composed of assessors taken from all classes of men.

The jurisdiction extended to all cases of a civil and criminal nature, and as the jurisdiction of the remnants of these institutions shows, to all social questions as well which came before these tribunals in the form, either of a civil or a criminal proceeding, the number of members, as we find in the case of the assessors composing the King's Council, was, in all these institutions, an uneven number, showing that matters used to be decided by a majority of votes. The members composing

* A complete description of them, their jurisdiction and their mode of procedure, is to be found in *Mitakshara*, Chapter I. Sec. 1.

each of these assemblies, as we find in the case of their remnants even now, were representative men.

With the subjugation of Hindus by foreigners, and the consequent loss of their political powers, these institutions fell into disuse, and only survived in some places as *Panchayats*, with jurisdiction extending only to social questions and to civil and criminal cases of not much importance. The only way in which the award of the Panchayat can now be enforced is by a deprivation of caste rights, or cessation of Brahminical ministry, for a time, or for ever. This has crystallized caste and Brahminical influence to a great extent, for whereas the assemblies, we note in the *Mitakshara* were composed, in cases of Councils of townsmen, of people of all castes, the present Panchayats are composed, in almost all cases, of men of one caste alone. In Bengal, as we said in a previous chapter, an informal sort of meeting of men of the *Bhadralogue* (gentlemen) class, Brahmins, Vaidyas, Kaisthas is now and then held to discuss and to take cognizance of matters pertaining to breaches of caste rules, but elsewhere in India these meetings are confined to the caste itself, which alone can enforce its order by the kind of sanction noted above.

The organization, in this changed form, is, however, found very much more developed in some parts of India than in others, and not so much among the upper classes as among the lower classes of people, and the reason for this is obvious. Customs amongst the lower orders have not been codified at all, they have always been left unwritten, so that while, with the loss of the political power of the Hindus, their popular institutions having ceased to exist, the higher classes, scarcely as we said 15 per cent of those known as Hindus, have fallen back more or less on these written codes, and the interpretation thereof by the Pundits,* the lower classes have still to depend on their Panchayat to declare what the unwritten law is, and the kind of sanction for

* The principal centres of these Pundits in Bengal are Nivadip, Tribeni, Vicrampur and Backla. The Pundits are either mere grammarians, (Vyakaranik), lawyers (Smartas), or logicians (Nyaeks). The Nyaeks hold the highest rank, next to the Nyaeks are the Smartas, and last comes the Vyakaranik. The Bengal Nyaeks obtain their title in the *toles*, by reading the *Nyashastra* (logic) the curriculum does not include any system of Durshan (philosophy), or any of the Vedas or Puranas or *Dharma Shashtra* (law). The Smartas read only the *Dharma Shastras* prevalent in the Bengal School—Dyabhaga and Raghunandan's compilation of Smritis. The Vyakaraniks obtain their title on account of proficiency in grammar and rhetoric. The Pundits subsist on alms. For reasons very similar to those which influenced our courts to disregard the Vyavasthas of the Court Pundit, when the Court Pundit was an institution in our court, the Samajiks disregard their Vyavasthas in many cases. In all parts of India the Pundits have to give Vyavasthas only in cases when the matter is referred to them by the caste people.

its non-observance. Nowhere is this Panchayat system found in a more developed form than among the lower orders of the people of Behar among the classes of Kairis, Kurmis, Kahars, Telis, &c. We find among them five grades of caste councils: Gawan, Jawar, Baisi, Panchmahal, and Chaurasi, of which the first is the lowest court, and the last the highest court of appeal. An appeal cannot go direct to the Chaurasi, but must pass through the intermediate courts. The Gawan Council consists of members chosen from two or more conterminous villages. The word Jawar, literally means "neighbour" but in this case signifies a tract of country composed of villages surrounding the family residence of some recognized person. Its extent is fixed, but, of course, there can be no rule regulating the number of villages which make up a Jawar. The term Baisi signifies a court consisting of 22 Panchayats but this number is not strictly adhered to. The Panchmahal has a still larger jurisdiction, and the Chaurasi is the supreme over all, its jurisdiction extending over several districts.

Every Panchayat has a Sardar, or headman, called Mahtan, whose office is hereditary. But, should the son be incompetent, the members of the caste proceed to elect another headman, and the office remains in the new family, except in the case above alluded to, or on failure of male issue. Offences triable by Panchayats may be broadly classified thus—(1) Civil claims, (2) Social offences in which the women of the family are concerned, and where exposure would be disgraceful, (3) Assault, abusive language, &c, (4) Theft, (5) Extortion, (6) "Maintenance." The punishments are fine and social ostracism. An aggrieved party first goes to the Sardar and makes his complaint. If he has a *prima facie* case, the Chhahi Sardar (Chaprasai) of the Panchayats is sent to summon the other members of the Council, and word is sent to the defendant that he is accused of a certain offence, and that the case will be heard on a certain day. Each party brings his witnesses. These are sworn, examined, and cross examined and so also are the parties themselves. The decision of the Panchayat is then given, and the party aggrieved thereby may appeal to the next Court. There are no published codes of law, but the rulings of the Chaurasi are preserved in MS and a copy is given to the Baisi Sardar. If the plaintiff wins his suit, he generally recovers all his expenses, together with some small sum to make up for the injury done to him. In cases of appeal, the appellant has to deposit travelling expenses. If the defendant refuses to pay the fine imposed, the course adopted is very simple, but very severe. The *huka* (pipe) of the defaulter is stopped, no one will dine with him or entertain him, his family cannot be married, and not even his kinsmen dare help him.

There is thus an amount of intolerance exhibited which would not have been the case if, on account of absence of legislative recognition, the sanction for its award were not confined to such sanction alone, as the caste, without making itself amenable to the criminal law of the country, could inflict, though in their nature they are by far harder than would otherwise be inflicted if they had a choice of sanctions, as they had when the institutions were political institutions of the land. This would also not be the case if the caste, sitting with people of other caste, had the benefit of their dispassionate thinking, as they would have had in ancient India in their assemblies of townsmen and King's Council. At present the Panchayat, being confined to the people of the caste alone, a dispassionate judgment, when the people of a caste are divided over a question, is difficult to attain. It goes without saying that, while there would be greater wisdom in a more extended Council, a more liberal view as to the well-being of the community would probably be taken, and this is not very possible under the present circumstances.

To all, therefore, interested in the welfare of India, we say, revive the ancient Councils of India. To Government we submit, "Why shall we not say again, as Vishesnawara said of old (Mitakshara, Chapter I, Section III Verse 4) 'Practise not that which is legal by sacred ordinance, but is abhorred by the world (for) it secures not celestial bliss?' only allow us to say it ourselves. It touches our *amour propre*, if others say it to us. If, with the modern theory of legislation, you cannot leave us in every matter to our good old system of custom-making, which *ex-necessitate* takes time, you can safely allow us, without any prejudice to any interests whatever with the protection of which you are concerned, to fight and wrangle amongst ourselves in a Council, the jurisdiction of which you may restrict as much as you like, watching our fight from your serene and august distance, and exercising your right of dissolving our Paddington Parliaments as often as you see that we do not rise to the height of telling our countrymen "Practise not that which is legal under your sacred ordinances, but is abhorred by the world at large, (for) it secures not celestial bliss," and sanctioning our decrees in your Supreme Council when we do. This at least, will save you from the pain of having your benevolent motives misconstrued and misunderstood.

To one section of my countrymen I say, we are moving, however, imperceptibly by ourselves, and it is not easy to move a whole nation, and the life of a nation is, at any rate, very long indeed. We cannot be moved by extraneous forces, or the whole social fabric is so framed that if you apply extraneous force at one part, there is a danger of the whole

coming to a dead-lock at another part. And if it ought not to touch our *amour propre* to be told to move by a legislature composed almost entirely of foreigners, we know that they do not understand us, our social system and our difficulties. Consider the above premises, when you seek extraneous aid, and if you wish us to move faster than we are doing at present, the first thing you should do, is to apply your head and heart to get some sort of voice in the Legislative Councils of India, or at best to get revived the Councils indicated in the Mitakshara, as Councils subordinate to the Supreme Councils, where you and your countrymen alone should decide what is for the good of your own social well being.

To another section of my countrymen, I say. Under no mood forget that the Sonatan Hindu Dharma is a moving and progressive system, and, so far as its social ethics are concerned, it is settled by the voice of people, or say a majority of people, with regard to surrounding circumstances as to their ultimate good. The expression of that voice differs from time to time as the changing circumstances differ, and there is a relativity, as in other ideas, in our idea of the ultimate good of our people. You have made your customs, and you make your customs even now, by adherence to the above premises, and while you should never cease to join with the rest of your countrymen in trying to achieve some amount of political freedom by getting a voice in your Legislative Councils, see that, with the limited and narrow powers you even now possess, you conform so well to the true spirit of your system, to the true spirit of the times, and to the surrounding circumstances, that you give not even the slightest excuse for any extraneous forces being ever brought to bear on you.

To all my countrymen I say, Join hands and proceed on your onward march.

GURU PROSHAD SEN

ART XII—THREE WEEKS IN CAMP.

THE trap is at the door, the bags and bundles are all packed in, the harness carefully inspected, and the reins put straight "Jump up," say P F, "and don't take long about it," and up we get, feeling slightly nervous as to how the new horse is going to behave. 'The Slogger' has only just returned from the trainer, and we have been warned that, although he is as quiet as a lamb, he likes to go. He begins fairly enough, waiting as patiently as a worn-out old cob horse until we are seated. Then, off we go, and our three weeks' camping has begun. How will our first morning's journey end? At our camp, or in the ditch? The Slogger evidently does like to go, and as the road lies straight and clear before us, we are well pleased to let him put his best foot foremost. How enjoyable it is to sit behind a really good goer, and feel the fresh morning air rushing past one's ears.

"I should enjoy it rather more," says P F, to whom I confide all my enjoyment, "if this beast didn't pull so hard. He is pulling my arms off."

As the arms were good strong ones, and The Slogger showed signs of settling into the steady pace that had earned him his name, I continued to enjoy myself. Bright sunshine, clear cold air, with no chilling fog lying over the land, such as spoils the cold weather mornings in Lower Bengal—creeping into one's bones, to sow the seeds of fever and rheumatism—ought we not to make the most of such rare blessings? It is good to feel one's face tingle with the cold and to draw deep breaths of the pure fresh morning air. Pure air?—wait a little, we are on the outskirts of a village, and it is, perhaps, as well to wait until we have left it well behind us before calling the air pure.

"*Khabardar!*" shouts P F, as a string of women trail slowly across the road, "*Khabardar!*" yells the syce, at a group of children, making mud pies in front of them—the women hardly care to quicken their pace until the horse is close upon them, and the wheel goes dangerously near the last of them, but the children scuttle off laughing and shouting. The probability of the smallest baby being left sprawling in the road, or of half the little urchins darting back in front of us, makes P F. rein in The Slogger, much to that animal's disgust. He has just settled down to his work, and strongly disapproves of having to walk quietly through the dirty narrow streets of a large village—or town, as it would be called in England,

if such a miserable attempt at a town could exist there Why, oh ! why, do all the old women—and their name is legion—crawl along the middle of the street? Why do mothers let their babies crawl there, and their cows and goats lie there? Why do men have their heads shaved just in the place where the wheels of any passing vehicle must shave their backs? Can anyone explain why anyone and everyone should be allowed to obstruct the traffic by utilizing the public street as a dressing-room, a cowshed, a stable, a market, a play-ground, a sleeping-place, a nursery, a goods' shed, and, worst of all, a dirt heap? One man has put up a rough shelter of mats to keep the sun off his stall of dirty sweetmeats, and the props that support it project several feet into the road, another has spread his small stock of grain on mats to dry, and a third is mending a broken ekka. As the street is about ten feet wide, these obstructions threaten to block the way. At the sound of wheels, the men leisurely remove their persons out of danger, and, if specially interested in the cows, poke their ribs to make them get out of the way. The cows turn their heads to the walls of the houses and allow their hind-quarters to remain in danger.

"Take care, P F ! That cow's tail was nearly off"

"*Hi ! hi !*"—shouts the syce—"Baba !" and a baby it is, right in the way, and no one looking after it.

"Take that child away," shouts P F to a couple of men who are within arm's length of the miserable little scrap of humanity. "It is not mine," replies one of the men, as they both move aside. I expect to hear the child's bones being crushed under the wheel, as The Slogger is pulled nearly into a sweetmeat shop to try to save it, but a woman manages to pull it away, and, dragging it up on to her hip by one arm, walks off with it unconcernedly. Then the syce is sent ahead, and shouts "*Khabardar*" until he is hoarse, and pushes the old women aside, and shoves the cows out of the way, and we reach the further side of the village with unstained wheels, as far as the blood of our fellow creatures is concerned. Within the next half mile we meet an unlimited supply of old women, who tempt their fate under the wheels—they have good reason to believe in fate, for surely nothing else saves these miserable, impassive old creatures from meeting the death they court, while our blood curdles at the sight of a grey-headed old woman meandering about the road under The Slogger's nose, and we crack our voices in shouting at her, P F having to pull the horse almost back on his haunches to save her from, shall I say, an untimely end? She herself is perfectly unmoved, she neither quickens her pace, nor moves a muscle of her grim old face. The younger women, and men, are nearly as bad—are they all afflicted with deafness, or are they so

careless of life as not to feel the ordinary instinct of self-preservation?

Every village is the same, and The Slogger gets accustomed to walking through them, instead of taking them at full trot. Fortunately, on a cold morning like this, one's olfactory nerves are not subjected to any unbearable shock, and the people afford endless "studies in brown." What wonderfully ugly faces the old women have! Coarse, hard, and ill-tempered, without the faintest shadow of a smile on them. Poor old souls! This cold weather, that stirs our blood so pleasantly and brings fresh life to our exhausted bodies, must be a bitter trial to them, to us it brings health and strength,—to them, aching bones and shivering misery. Why do we seldom or ever see any of these poor old creatures well clothed and comfortable looking? The family tie—is in some respects—very strong in India, but surely it can be nothing more than a mere outward show of respect that is paid to parents, when mothers and grandmothers are allowed to crawl about in thin rags, while sons and grandsons are warmly wrapped up in padded cloths and blankets. The number of old women to be seen in every village is astounding, but there are not nearly so many old men. The reason of this is, no doubt, the hard lives the women lead. They age much sooner than the men. Hard work, less food, and more exposure to the cold, cannot fail to have their effect. The men take the cream of everything, and the women subsist on what they can get. What wonder that they grow hard and sour looking, and that their tongues clack loudly on the slightest provocation? The beggars are well off compared with these miserably clad and poorly fed mothers and grandmothers. The privation they endure increases as they grow older. The younger women, who have children to rear, are better fed and cared for. The number of sturdy little rascals that swarm in every village show that the mothers must be fairly strong and healthy, it is after the first six or eight years of married life that they age rapidly. Some of the old crones may be childless widows, with no one to care for them, but not many, and they all look starved and miserable, a reproach to the men who allow their much respected mothers to shiver in the cold, while they themselves are warmly clad.

A few elderly women, sitting behind their baskets of saleable wares, have a somewhat better-cared-for appearance. Probably they are the more enterprising spirits who are strong enough to fight their own battles, and, instead of submitting passively to a life of semi-starvation, earn their own living by becoming shop-keepers on a very small scale.

The children are far pleasanter "studies in brown"—fat little babies, sturdy young rascals, and pretty little maidens

Dozens of them, of all ages and sizes, and in all kinds of queer costumes, swarm in every village. Nature's every-day suit is the favorite costume, but there are many wonderful garments displayed on the small creatures. Small jackets of curious shape and many colors are displayed for sale in a low shed at the corner hung on a string, and below the row of jackets a couple of *durries* sit, cross legged, stitching some more of the bright colored little garments. Close by another string is stretched across one of those low dens that are miscalled shops, and a score of curious little caps, with long ear-flaps, hang from it—red ones, bound with pink, green with mauve binding, every bright color contrasted with a still brighter one. When new and clean, these brilliant touches of color add greatly to the picturesqueness of the people, but alas! their brightness soon fades, and the accumulated dirt of many days reduces them to a uniform shade of oily dinginess. Dirty or clean, the small wearers are just as happy. Look at a group of a dozen or so of them, sitting on the floor of a somewhat better class of shop, sorting grain, they are laughing and chattering merrily, and, when they have earned a few cowries, will rush off and join their play-fellows in making mud pies, and flying kites. A School Board Inspector would, no doubt, be shocked to see these children playing in the streets, nursing baby brothers and sisters, or busily employed in sorting *dhal*, but we are not shocked. The healthy happy children are one of the pleasantest features in Behar village life, and fortunately there are as yet no School Boards to deprive them of any of the pleasures of their short childhood. Life grows hard for them soon enough. Do you see that pretty little creature with a red *saree* hanging in tatters round her?—What a bright, roguish face she has, as she cries ‘*Salaam, Salaam!*’ and dances about behind the trap. In a few years she will be toiling along with a baby in her arms and a basket on her head, a dirty cloth pulled over her head, and a shrewish look on her face. All the prettiness and brightness will have gone—there is no

Standing with reluctant feet
Where the brook and river meet
Womanhood and girlhood sweet

for her. In Indian women, this change from childhood to womanhood is always rapid. In the hard every-day life of the lower classes, it is much more so than amongst the higher classes, and it is noticeable how few young girls are seen amongst the women who are moving about the villages, or employed in the ordinary duties of agricultural or household life.

We are clear of the village at last, and The Slogger can move freely again. Good roads are the rule in Behar, as bad

ones are in Lower Bengal, and we get along gaily. The sun is tolerably high by this time, but the air is too cold for us to mind his mild attentions, and the country looks almost pretty, flooded in the subdued sunshine of a December morning. The mango topes are very fine, and redeem the flatness of the landscape from actual ugliness. The mustard fields are beginning to deck the land in a light veil of yellow. A few weeks later the color will deepen to a rich gold, and be more general, and the young wheat, that shows but sparsely at present, will spread a cloak of beautiful bright green over the red earth.

"*Hi!*" shouts the syce, breaking in upon a reverie of green fields and golden blossoms. "*Hi!* you with the basket." "*Hi!* umbrella. *Hi!* grass." This curious style of address is evidently understood by the various owners of the articles mentioned, for they remove themselves from the middle of the road to the side in an aggravatingly deliberate manner. "*Hi!* *gharriwan!* Go your own side?" but the string of carts in front of us crawl along as before—some on the right side, some on the left.

"Go to the side?" shouts P. F., and the last man on the last cart slowly turns his head, and, seeing us close behind him, gives a sudden dig to one bullock, twists the tail of the others, and turns his cart right across the road in the laudable desire to get to the wrong side of it. We have passed the end of it, and escape the wheel of the next one by a hair's breath. While I am speculating as to what verdict a jury (of the country) would bring in, if we came to grief through the gross carelessness of a miserable *gharriwan*, a new danger suddenly appears a few yards ahead of us. "Look out," says P. F., as he tries to persuade The Slogger to go gently. "Sit tight?" We sit tight, and the trap goes over a ridge in the road that is high enough to test the strength of the springs tolerably severely. The amiable rayat has a trick of carrying water across the road to irrigate his lands, by means of a gutter dug directly across. Sometimes he is good enough to cover the drain, but when he does, he displays an excess of zeal, and raises a ridge over it that threatens to break the springs of any ordinary trap, and bump the occupants half a foot into the air. But what can be expected from a man who has no springs to his own carriage and pair? If his conveyance happens to stick at a ridge, he digs his stick into one bullock, kicks the other, and bumps over it without caring for consequences. A gutter that is left open is a still greater nuisance than the covered one, and half a mile further on we see one before us. There is no avoiding it. "Gently, Slogger, gently?" Slogger may take it never so gently, but the jolt is enough to dislocate every joint in our bodies, and we

make some very uncomplimentary remarks about the amiable *ayat*

There are plenty of the species about at this time of the year. The crops require weeding, and the work of irrigation goes on more or less all day, although the afternoon is the time selected by the wise man for distributing the water over the carefully prepared surface of his land. *Creak, creak* goes the simple apparatus by which water is drawn from the wells—*creak, creak*, the bullocks trot down the steep incline that has been made for the purpose, and a large skin, full of water, makes its appearance above the level of the well, and is emptied into the main gutter, which, leading into many smaller gutters, conveys it to the crops. Sometimes the water is allowed to flow into a natural reservoir formed by a dip in the ground, and thence it is distributed over a very confined area by means of a large basket-work shovel. Where but in this land of expedients, would such a sight be seen, in the nineteenth century, as men irrigating their land by flinging water broadcast from a shallow pool by means of a shovel-shaped basket? A small company of paddy-birds stand expectantly by, in hopes of securing a few small fish for their breakfast. The rough wooden wheel that acts as a pulley for the rope by which the water is drawn from the well, gives forth an appalling sound, the bullocks slowly creep up the incline, the big skin bag descends into the well and fills. Then the bullocks turn and run down the incline, the wheel again utters fearful sounds, the rope passes over it, and the big bag of water is slowly drawn up, pulled to one side, and the water poured out. Truly a primitive mode of irrigation for this country that boasts a National Congress. How long will it be before a patent pump replaces the rough pulley and bullocks, or the long bamboo with a huge dab of mud on the end of it, that serves the same purpose?

"Look!" says P. F.,—and we look. A ruffian of the tribe of *fakirs* is passing by. His tangled mass of hair is dyed red, his body, and the scanty rag that constitutes his clothing, are covered with ashes. But this repulsive looking object is not what has attracted P. F.'s attention. He is followed by a small boy, evidently a disciple of the noble *fakir*. The small boy's body is clothed in nature's every-day garment, plentifully besmeared with ashes. He looks a sharp young sprig of eight or ten years of age. His eyes peep out inquisitively from a small ash-covered visage. An *aesthetic* would probably describe his mouth, as a red splash, edged with pearls, on an ash-colored ground, but it is merely a red gap, with lips drawn out into a grin of intense satisfaction, showing a set of fine white teeth. The cause of his satisfaction is evident, for he looks from us

to his feet, and struts along very proudly. Lo ! has he not reason to walk proudly ? his feet are clothed, though his body is not and very magnificently clothed, too, in a pair of brand new patent leather Oxford shoes. We were silent, after passing this interesting couple, that boy is too much for us.

A gleam of white under the shade of a large mango tree marks where our tents have been pitched, and, as we drive up, doggie rushes frantically out to greet us. The cloth is laid for breakfast, and an appetizing sound of frizzling and frying from the cookhouse fire bears evidence of a savory dish being in course of preparation. What a wonderfully ingenious contrivance that cookhouse fireplace is ? A few holes dug in the ground, with three straight sides, and one sloped, an iron grating mudded in over each hole, and a mud wall a few inches high, raised all round the grating, to rest the kettles and pans on, and the cook is perfectly content, the finest kerosene stove in the world would not please him half so well. The sloped side allows the draught to get into the holes, and the charcoal on the iron grating burns clear and bright. When we move our camp, the mud walls will be broken down and the iron grating taken out, to be mudded up again at the next halting-place. What sort of breakfast could an English cook serve up from such a stove ? It is lucky there is no globe-trotter present, to see what a good meal our native cook can send to the table, as he would assuredly publish a glowing account of the luxury of Anglo-Indian life. The fact that good meat and vegetables are obtainable only in the cold weather—that is to say, for about three months out of twelve—would not impress itself upon him, but a twelve miles drive in a delightfully cold morning would add greatly to the flavor of the good things set before him. With good roads and easy communications, fresh provisions can be sent out from headquarters to any part of Behar during the three months from the middle of November to the middle of February. Before and after that time travellers fare very differently. Meat will not stand a journey even in the end of February, unless packed in ice. Butter turns to oil, and vegetables are becoming very scarce. Therefore let us enjoy the good things of life while we may, and partake thankfully of the feast prepared for us.

Breakfast over, is it not pleasant to sit idly under the trees, reclining, or talking, as the spirit moves ? It is delightfully cool still, though the sun is warm, the foliage of the mango trees throws a deep shade, through which gleams of sunshine fall softly on the clean swept ground. The camp is very quiet ; the servants are enjoying the rest they have earned, and the tinkling of the bullock's bells is too far off to be disturbing. What an opportunity for dreaming—not the dreams

of sleep, over which we have no control, but beautiful day-dreams, in which the whole scene changes. The tents the tall grasses fringing the road and waving gently in the breeze, the tired bullocks resting beside the empty carts, the horses quietly munching their grass—all grow dim and fade away. The mango tope becomes an English wood, where we have spent many a happy summer's day, and

"Where the drooping boughs between
Shadow dark and sunlight sheen
Alternate come and go"

Is it the "green trees whispering soft and low"? or do I hear the sound of children's laughter rippling softly in the still air? Little feet pattering about among the wood anemones, long-limbed boys reaching down the straggling branches for the girls to pick the blackberries.

The vision has gone. The graceful trees are only sturdy mango trees. Again the tall, silver grey grasses are waving where the blackberry bushes were, and, instead of children's laughter and chatter, a discordant cry of *Babu! Babu!* grates harshly on my ears. A poor miserable cripple has crawled to the edge of the camping ground and is raising her monotonous cry with the regularity of a machine. We bibe her to silence, and she crawls away, but our day-dreams have fled and we rouse ourselves to begin the work of the day. Charity is very praiseworthy, no doubt, but has its disadvantages and it is generally advisable to restrain one's desire to indulge in it until on the eve of departure for a fresh camping ground. Ten minutes after the departure of the first beggar, another came, and then another and another. One woman was so afraid she would be late for her share of our bounty, that she forgot she was lame until within a short distance of her new found "*Mr bap*," then, after dragging herself painfully along for a few yards, she flopped down on the ground and favored us with a specimen of beggar eloquence. Shall I confess that we hardened our hearts and had her removed to a distance. She went away, and again forgot her lameness in her anxiety to seek a more profitable place.

Then silence settles on the camp once more, until the tall shadows of the trees grow taller, and the sunbeams flicker with a fading light. Then the camp awakes, the syces busy themselves about the horses, the servants steal sleepily out of their resting places, and the sound of tea-cups clattering on the table, suggests that it is time for Tea. When is a cup of tea not welcome? We enjoy it in the early morning, whether the thermometer is at 60 or at 90°, in the scorching days of April and May, in the damp and enervating misery of the rains, it acts as a reviver of sinking nature, and may be con-

sidered as one of the necessaries of life. Now, in the cool December afternoon, with quivering flecks of pale sunshine dancing on the white cloth, and a flood of rosy light spreading faintly upwards from the sinking sun, softening the defects of the landscape and rousing the busy *minahs* to a perfect rapture of excitement, tea is a luxury.

"I think," says P. F. contentedly, "this is not at all bad, but I should enjoy it more if there were no big black ants about."

In spite of the ants we enjoy it, before our third cup is finished, the rosy light has vanished, the last flicker of sunshine has passed away, and a chill shadow creeps over us.

How cosy it is inside the tent with the *purdahs* down and the lamps lit. The cold creeps through the walls of our "Calico room" by degrees, there are no draughts to trouble us, and with a box of new books and a comfortable chair each, we find the evenings none too long. Camp life is certainly pleasanter for two or three, than for one alone. A game of Chess or Backgammon, *Ecarte*, or even *Reversé*, helps to pass an idle hour—if there is one, and a solitary dinner certainly is apt to have a depressing effect on the diner. By ten o'clock the cold begins to assert itself, and the idea of getting under the blankets suggests pleasant reflections on the subject of early hours. Strange to say our ideas on that subject undergo a change during the night, and we do not feel very keen on getting up early in the morning. Imperceptibly as the cold creeps through the walls of the tent, it is in full possession in the morning, and the water in the *gunjals* is cold enough to remind us of the bitter mornings in the old country, when our small fingers were numbed, but not always cleansed, by a hasty wash in a basin of cruelly cold water.

Outside, the servants are shuffling about with rounded shoulders and clasped hands shivering and miserable. The cold has no charms for them, and the Behari does not understand how much he has to thank his native climate for making him so much healthier and stiffer than his less fortunate neighbour, the Bengali. Until the sun shines out and warms them up, the camp followers are numb and wretched, unless they bustle about and take something to warm them. A merciful man is merciful to his beast, and a few ounces of tea have a wonderfully good effect on the servants. They appreciate a cup of hot tea in the early morning as much as we do, and attribute manifold virtues to the fragrant beverage. A small supply of good strong flavored tea tends to keep the camp establishment contented, and a contented establishment adds very considerably to the pleasure of camping.

A halting day is a day of rest for man and beast. We finish our *chota hasree* at our leisure, and start for a journey of

inspection round the camp. The horses greet us with low whinnies of welcome, and the syces make a great show of being busily employed in attending to their comforts. It is bad for the syce whose horse has no grass, or insufficient bedding, and it is always necessary to look after the creature comforts of one's animal very closely. The temptation to shirk their work is great at all times to those laziest and most troublesome of under-servants, the grass cutters, but in camp they appear to consider it a hardship that the horses should require grass at all. The day of rest is often a day of trial to the honest syce, whose feelings are hurt by the suspicion implied in a too close inspection of the stable arrangements. It is—in his eyes—a mean proceeding to look into the buckets and ask to see the grass provided for animals that are in his charge. But it is impossible to please everyone, and The Slogger shows visible signs of improvement in condition and capacity for work, when his master occasionally looks into his bucket, and insists on his bundle of grass being carried past for inspection every day.

Near the horses some cows of a very diminutive race are tied up, waiting to be milked. They are hardly larger than donkeys, and so thin and poor that when one seer of milk is produced for our inspection as the joint product of three animals, we are surprised—not at the smallness of the quantity, but that they have given any at all. When will the rayat begin to grasp the idea that it is as easy to rear good cows as bad ones, and that good ones are much more profitable? A little trouble would produce great results in improving the quality of the country-bred cows. In some villages in Behar fine, straight backed cows are often seen, the descendants of English cattle imported many years ago. But they are the property of well to do traders, or zemindars, who take no trouble to perpetuate the breed. The village cattle suffer severely from want of fodder in the dry season. Even at this time of the year there is hardly a blade of grass to be seen, and how can they exist throughout the whole of the cold and the dry season? A certain amount of fodder is provided for them, as the leaves and stalks of various kinds of *dhal* are dried and stored for them, but there is little or no nourishment in this description of fodder. Silos would answer well in such a dry soil as that of Behar, and provide the cattle with ample and nourishing food all the year round, but I have not heard of any enterprising zemindar who has as yet attempted to introduce them.

When only one seer of milk can be obtained from three cows, the owner of the cows is not to be trusted. He will assuredly water the milk, unless closely watched, even in the places where milk is more plentiful, and the cows yield the average amount of from one to two seers each, it is never safe to use the milk

unless the cows are milked in the camp. "Death in the milk-pails" is a fatal fact in India, where any filthy pool is resorted to, in lieu of the cow with the iron tail.

"What have you got in these baskets?" I ask, as the cook brings two curiously shaped baskets from the tent that serves as a cookhouse. There is a small round pole, with a cover well tied down on the top of each basket, which is very broad and low, and made of closely-woven bamboo. The cook lifts the cover cautiously and drops in some grain, and we peep in. "Quail!"—" *Ji, hā!* " Yes, it is quail, fifty or sixty of them in each basket. Poor little prisoners, how miserable they must be! "Why do you buy so many at once? they will all die."

"If they get food, they will not die, unless they are kept in the light. If they are not kept in the dark they kill each other, they fight very much," the cook explains.

He proceeds to put in a small tin of water, and some more grain, and, peeping at them cautiously through the small opening at the top I see the pretty little prisoners pecking away at the grain quite busily. Nevertheless it is cruel to keep them shut up in baskets, and I should enjoy my breakfast more if I had not seen them.

A drive, ride, or walk is one of the occupations of a halting-morning, and we start off as a matter of course, although there is little to be seen. The country is not very interesting. A dead level covered with young crops a few inches high, with wide stretches of land divided into neat squares, like so much brown toffee. P. F. explains that the neat squares will hereafter be covered with poppy plants. The groups of trees are of a uniform shade of green at present, and there is none of the variety of foliage that at other seasons charms the eye. A few weeks later and some of the trees will be dressed in new garments of delicate green, and various beautiful shades and tints will appear on others. The crops will cover the low bare ground and make the landscape somewhat more attractive. At present the only objects of interest we can see, are the birds and the passers by. The former are not numerous. King crows, seven sisters and a few *munahs*, are generally to be seen and occasionally a Griff's pheasant and a beefsteak bird. But there are plenty of passers by. The men trudging along, wrapped up in a variety of cloths, while the women shiver in their cotton garments that flutter in the cold wind.

The halting-day is over, and we have a journey of twelve miles to our next camping ground. The scene that meets our eyes, as we leave our tents early on the morning of a marching-day, is very different from that which meets them on a halting-day. Our tent is already down, and everyone is bustling about, packing up the innumerable etceteras that hamper our move-

ments, but add to our comfort. When there is a good deal of camping to be done, it is just as well to do it comfortably as uncomfortably. A man's work certainly stands a better chance of being satisfactorily performed if his camping arrangements admit of his doing it comfortably. Therefore our array of camp gear looks somewhat formidable when accumulated in front of the tents. After the first few moves, the men begin to settle down to the work, and each one knows what he is to do, and which cart to place the various packages on. But the loading of the carts cannot be accomplished in a hurry. The awkward shape of a country cart necessitates very careful adjustment of the load. Tables and chairs do not fit into their places very happily, and if there be any live stock in the shape of goats or kids to be provided with accommodation, it is a little awkward. But everything is stored away at last and the cavalcade moves slowly off. Twelve miles is quite enough for a day's march, when tents have to be pulled down and re-pitched. The bullock carts travel at the rate of two miles an hour only.

Having resettled ourselves for one day at least, we enjoy an hour of undisturbed *dolce far niente* and watch the tents being re-pitched. A faint buzzing sound, that has been growing in depth and volume for some time, attracts our attention, and, curiosity overcoming laziness, we rouse ourselves to find out where it comes from.

"This is *haat* day" (market day) explains the Chowkidar of the Bungalow, near which our tents are being pitched, "in the village close by, and everything is being sold."

"Then let us go and see everything that is sold."

Ten minutes' walk brings us so near the uproar that we feel doubtful of the wisdom of venturing into it, not that the noise of many voices would hurt us, but contact with the many owners of the voices might be unpleasant. However, the curiosity that brought us thus far must be answerable for taking us further, and we feel reassured as we see two *Red pugri-wallahs* on the outskirts of the crowd. Under their guidance, we venture boldly into the seething mass of humanity before us. Crowds of natives from the neighbouring villages are pushing their way through the groups of sellers, all of whom are seated on the ground. There are no stalls or booths. As each vendor arrives, he or she selects an unoccupied spot, and sitting down, they proceed to arrange their wares in front of them. These wares consist of a few baskets of grain of various kinds, potatoes, the size of marbles, bunches of vegetable and herbs, baskets full of glass bangles, lumps of rock salt, and here and there a collection of things that look very comical in the midst of such surroundings,—small looking-glasses, boxes of shoe-

blackening, matches, reels of cotton, odds and ends of dresses, buttons, a packet of cocoa, a bottle of scent, and a bar of yellow soap! The latter articles remain unpurchased, although they are badly required by the general public.

A broad faced, good tempered looking woman is driving a brisk trade in native remedies. In front of her are ranged dozens of small open-mouthed bags, baskets, and packets, each containing a small quantity of some popular drug, or herb. She is no vendor of quack medicines prepared according to her own receipts and foisted on her fellow creatures, the simple remedies she sells are genuine and very curiously assorted. Besides a number of roots and herbs, which she probably collected and dried herself, and each of which is supposed to possess some special virtue, we see many familiar drugs and spices. One of the largest bags is full of large, coarse senna leaves—there is no mistaking that *but none* of our childhood,—and I quite expect to see some Gregory's powder next to it, indigo, sulphur, antimony, verdigris, alum, ginger, long pepper, round pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and many other spices and powders that are quite new to me.

"What is this?" I ask, being afflicted with a spirit of curiosity that troubles me at all times and places, "and what is this and this?"

"That is a fever medicine," replies the broad faced woman, laughing and showing off her wares with great delight, "and this is a cold medicine, and this a hot medicine, and this is one for making men well and this cures cows."

Happy woman! Has she not a cure for every ailment under the sun? Her face is a good recommendation, it is the brightest and healthiest in the *hüt*. She has a word and a laugh for everyone, and her cheery voice and face is in strong contrast to all the worn, hard ones around her. There are very few soft, even among the faces of the younger women, and, as usual, there are many more old than young. Look at those two, selling glass bracelets. They neither smile nor joke, as they fit the unyielding ornaments over the hard hands of the purchasers. The bracelet is forced over the knuckles, and three out of four break in the process.

"There is nothing more," says the *Red-puggri-wallah*, and I think he is right, there is nothing more. Let us leave the people to sell and buy, to talk at the top of their voices, to sit about promiscuously, and shove each other hither and thither, let us get away from the dirty, noisy crowd, and return to the peaceful shade of our mango tope.

When our three weeks' camping is over, we wonder how the time has passed, and regret that the end has come.

ESME'

THE QUARTER.

THOUGH, owing to the isolated position of Manipur, the political importance of the disaster of the 24th March last is comparatively slight, nothing that has happened in India since the Mutiny of 1857 has stirred the public mind quite so deeply, or produced so painful an impression upon it.

The details of the tragedy are so fresh in the memories of the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, that we shall make no attempt to re-tell the melancholy story, but confine ourselves to a critical examination of the more salient of the questions raised by it.

The Manipur catastrophe raises primarily two distinct questions. Was the policy of the Government of India in the matter a right and proper policy? Were the means adopted to carry it into effect right and appropriate means? Then, should either of these questions be answered in the negative, there comes the subsidiary question of responsibility.

In considering the first of these questions, we must guard against any bias that might be created by the terrible eventualities which arose from the attempt to carry out the policy of the Government. The mere fact of a particular policy ending in failure, however disastrous, is, in itself, no proof that it is a wrong policy. If a policy contains within itself the seeds of inevitable failure, or if it involves risks obviously disproportionate to the object in view, then it is a wrong policy, no matter how excellent its object may be. It would thus be a wrong policy for a weak Power like Portugal, in no matter how just a cause, to make war, single-handed, against a strong Power like England, for the disparity would stamp the enterprise as essentially hopeless from the first. But the recent policy of the Government of India in respect of Manipur was obnoxious to no such patent objection as this. Good or bad, it was beyond question, in the power of the Government not merely to carry that policy to a successful issue, but to execute it in so masterful a way as, probably, to have prevented all serious opposition.

The right of the Government of India to interfere in the domestic concerns of Manipur having been disputed on the ground that it was an independent State, it will be convenient, *in limine*, to dispose of the question of the political status of the country. At the same time, it should be premised that

this question, so far as it concerns the subject of our enquiry, is one of fact alone, and not of right. If, when the rebellion of September last occurred, Manipur was *de facto* subordinate to the Government of India, then the question of its position *de jure* may be dismissed, as one of purely academic interest, and not of practical politics.

Now it seems abundantly clear, from the Despatch of the Court of Directors of the late Honourable East India Company of the 15th May 1852, taken together with the subsequent course of events, that, while, up to that time, the Government of India had treated Manipur as an independent State, they, shortly thereafter, as a consequence of their undertaking to uphold the authority of Kirtee Chandra Singh, the then Rajah, successfully asserted a right of control over its administration which practically converted it into a dependent State.

The Despatch referred to runs —

'You have made a very material alteration in our relations with Manipur. Influenced by a desire to put an end to frequent attempts by the exiled members of the Rajah's family to effect a change of Government, you have authorized the Political Agent to make a public avowal of the determination of the British Government to uphold the present Rajah, and to resist and punish any parties attempting hereafter to dispossess him. Considering the very unfavourable reports of the Rajah's administration hitherto given by Captain McCulloch, we feel considerable doubt of the propriety of your having bound yourselves to his support. The position, however, which you have thus assumed of pledged protectors of the Rajah imposes on you, as a necessary consequence, the obligation not only of attempting to guide him by your advice, but, if needful, of protecting his subjects against oppression on his part; otherwise our guarantee of his rule may be the cause of inflicting on them a continuance of reckless tyranny. The obligation thus incurred may be found embarrassing, but it must, nevertheless, be fulfilled, and while needless interference is of course, to be avoided, we shall expect that, as the price of the protection afforded him, the Rajah will submit to our maintaining a sufficient check over the general conduct of his administration, so as to prevent it from being oppressive to the people and discreditable to the Government which gives its support.'

The subsequent course of events leaves no room for reasonable doubt that the instructions contained in this Despatch were actually carried into effect, and, in the absence of proof to the contrary, the Rajah must be held to have assented to the position thus created.

If we had to consider the case as one of right, it might be a knotty question whether the undertaking to uphold Rajah Kirtee Chandra Singh was not of a purely personal character, so that it would have expired at his death, for it certainly contains no mention of his successors. There is nothing, however, to show that the death of Kirtee Chandra Singh was actually followed by any change in the relations between the Government of

India and the Manipur Darbar, and even if there were only this negative evidence to go upon, it would be reasonable to assume that Sura Chandia the ex-Maharajah, succeeded to the gaddi on the same terms as those on which his father had occupied it from 1852 to the time of his death. But, there is something more than this to go upon. There is a positive acknowledgment on the part of the ex-Rajah that he ruled his State under the protection of the British Government.

This being the case, two consequences inevitably follow: 1st, that, in the absence of sufficient cause to the contrary, the Government of India was bound to uphold the authority of Sura Chandia, and 2nd that the action of the late Senapati, Tikendrajit, and his followers in resorting to force to subvert his authority, was virtually rebellion against the British Government. The right of the Government of India to interfere, whether for the purpose of reinstating Sura Chandia on the gaddi or for that of punishing Tikendrajit is, therefore, indisputable.

The Government did not think fit to interfere to restore Sura Chandia, but they did interfere to punish Tikendrajit, by deporting him from Manipur, and the question is, whether this was a just and proper policy.

It has been challenged on two grounds. On the one hand, it has been urged that the Government ought to have reinstated Sura Chandia. On the other, it has been argued that, having decided not to adopt that course, but to recognize the late *de facto* Rajah they ought not to have punished, or, at all events, they ought not to have deported, Tikendrajit, who had headed the rebellion which placed him on the gaddi.

As to the first point it is evident from the official correspondence that has been published, that the Government not only gave full consideration to the claims of Sura Chandia to reinstatement, but were favourably disposed towards him, and that it was only owing to the strong representations of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and the Resident at Manipur, that they finally decided against him, on the ground that he was constitutionally weak and incapable.

It may be that the views of the local authorities regarding Sura Chandia's capacity and conduct were erroneous, and that an independent enquiry on the spot would have led to a different conclusion. But, unless it can be shown that the Government of India were in possession of facts which would have warranted them in distrusting Mr. Quinton's judgment in the matter, they can hardly be blamed for having been guided by what they would justly regard as the best advice available on the subject. We say nothing of the act of abdication performed

by Sura Chandra, or of the opinion of the Chief Commissioner that his reinstatement would be strongly opposed by the Manipuris, for there can be no question that the abdication was virtually extorted by violence, while, had Sura Chandra been fairly entitled to reinstatement, no fear of opposition would have justified the Government in refusing to fulfil their obligation to reinstate him. The allegation of Sura Chandra's hopeless incapacity, it may be added, finds a certain amount of confirmation in his abject conduct during, and immediately subsequent to, the *emeute* of last year.

As to the contention, that the determination of the Government to recognize the *de facto* Maharajah implied any sort of obligation on their part to abstain from interfering with Tekendrajit, it is difficult to see on what principle of logic, ethics, or politics, it is founded. Rebellion is none the less rebellion because the state of things which it creates is preferable, in some respects, or in every respect, to that which it replaces. In the present case, the authors of the rebellion are not even entitled to the benefit of the plea that it was a last resource. For, even if the rule of Sura Chandra was so intolerably bad as to necessitate his deposition, the alternative of an appeal to the paramount Power was open to them.

The only question that can arise is, whether there was anything in the past conduct of Tekendrajit which ought to have induced the Government to condone his offence, or whether, from condoning it any political advantage was likely to arise in the future, of sufficient importance to outweigh the inconvenience and danger of the precedent that would have been created, by allowing an act of grave rebellion and usurpation of the authority of the British Government to go unpunished.

As to the past conduct of the man, so far from there being anything in it to entitle him to special consideration, he had acquired an unenviable reputation for turbulence, and had only recently been convicted of an act of savage cruelty. With regard to the other point, it has been urged that he was the only capable man in the State, that the stability of the new *régime* depended upon his support, and that the proper course would have been for the Government to use such a man, rather than to banish him. But, even if such a course would have been consistent with the dignity of the Government, which, we maintain, it would not, it is not at all certain that it would have succeeded. Certain it is that any punishment short of banishment would have been worse than none at all.

On the whole, then, we are inclined to think, not only that the Government was perfectly justified in determining to remove the Senapati, but that it exercised a wise discretion in doing so. At least we think every candid critic who con-

siders the question in all its aspects, will admit that, if the decision of the Government was a mistaken one, the reasons which made it so were not so obvious, that it can be seriously blamed for having failed to see them

Were the means adopted to carry out the policy of the Government of India, right and appropriate means? Reserving, for the present, the ethical question that has been raised in connexion with the resolution of the Chief Commissioner to arrest the Senapati in Darbar in the event of his not surrendering, let us consider how far the arrangements made for enforcing the decision of the Government were such as, under all the circumstances of the case, might reasonably have been regarded as adequate for the purpose

It is, perhaps, open to discussion whether the Government did not act with undue precipitancy in sending a representative with an armed force into Manipur, in order to be in a position to deal immediately with a contingency which might not occur, and which, if it should occur, could be effectively dealt with at leisure

The decision of the Government, it will be remembered, was that the *de facto* Maharajah should be recognized, and the Senapati deported, and, as the right which it exercised over the State was that of controlling the administration of the Maharajah, and not, except as a last resource, of superseding his authority, it might seem that its natural and proper course was to announce its decision to the Maharajah, and require him to carry it into effect, and that it would have been time enough to have recourse to ulterior measures, on its becoming evident that he either would not, or could not, comply with its requisition

It may be that the Government knew enough of the state of affairs in Manipur to be convinced that there was little or no chance of its decision being executed without, at least, a display of force, and such an estimate of the probabilities of the case would certainly not have been unreasonable. On the other hand, it is not obvious why it should have been considered an object of supreme importance, that the orders of the Government should be announced and executed in the same breath; and, if the object was to minimize the chance of resistance, all that can be said is that, in such a case, hasty action was at least as likely to precipitate resistance as to prevent it

But, not to press this point, as to which there may have been strong arguments on both sides, let us turn to the question of the adequacy of the military arrangements themselves

That the force placed at the disposal of the late Mr. Quinton, which consisted of 400 Ghurka Rifles, or, including the Residency Guard, 500, was numerically altogether inadequate to the task it was ultimately called upon to perform, and that

its numerical inadequacy was immensely aggravated by the insufficiency of its supply of small arms ammunition and the absence of guns, is shown conclusively by the event. But the question is, whether those responsible for the composition and armament of the force ought to have known that it was insufficient.

This question seems to us to admit of but one answer, inasmuch as the facts which stamped the force as insufficient, either were, or ought to have been, well known to all the responsible authorities, from the Government of India down to Colonel Skene.

The probability of opposition was fully understood, and formed the subject of consultation between the Chief Commissioner and the General Commanding in Assam. It was well known that the person to be arrested had at his disposal the entire military resources of the State. The strength of those resources was well known. Especially the important fact, that the Senapati possessed guns, was known. The extent of the Pat, or palace enclosure at Manipur, together with its topography and its facilities for defence, were, or ought to have been well known. It ought to have been foreseen that, if it came to blows, the enemy, unless surprised, would in all probability elect to fight behind walls, and that, consequently, it was highly probable that it would be necessary to force an entry into the Pat, to carry on a difficult struggle amidst a labyrinth of streets and lanes, and finally to assault masonry buildings of considerable strength.

Such were the contingencies for which the force had to be prepared, yet they set out on their task with only forty rounds of ammunition in their pouches, and none in reserve, without guns, without scaling ladders, and apparently with light hearts. This was the first stage in the long chapter of blunders.

We do not know enough of the circumstances to be able to say whether the plan decided on by Mr. Quinton, after full deliberation, and apparently as the result of a consultation between himself, Colonel Skene and Mr. Grimwood—the latter dissenting,—of arresting the Senapati in a Durbar to which he was to be summoned to hear the orders of the Government, was the most hopeful plan that could have been adopted for the purpose of carrying out the instructions of the Government, not to give the Senapati the opportunity of forcibly resisting.

A more hopeful plan might possibly have been to arrest the Senapati when he met the Chief Commissioner on the road with two regiments which would probably have offered no serious resistance in the open. But Mr. Quinton may not have been prepared for this opportunity, or there may have been insuperable political objections to his availing himself of it at a

time when the orders of the Government had not been formally announced. As to the possibility of other plans for the purpose, all we know is that Mr Gumwood had declared himself unable to suggest any.

While again, it will probably seem to most people that, when Mr Quinton found that the Senapati failed to attend the first Darbar, he might reasonably have concluded that all chance of surprising him, or inducing him to submit, was at an end, and that, if he was still determined, in the last resort, to employ force to arrest him, the sooner the attempt had been made, the more likely it would have been to succeed, we do not know enough of the circumstances to justify us in condemning him for deferring the attempt in the hope that the Senapati might still be induced to surrender.

What we do know is that, when, on the afternoon of the 23rd March, the fact was at last realized that the choice lay between deferring the execution of the Government programme to a more convenient season, and carrying off the Senapati from within the Pat *à et armis*, all the contingencies which, as we have just said, the force ought to have been prepared to deal with in the last resort, but which it was wholly unprepared to deal with, had become certainties. It was then positively known that the Pat swarmed with armed men, and that ammunition had been served out, the gates closed, the walls manned, and every preparation made for a determined resistance.

Nothing, surely, but a conviction that there was no other means of saving our force and the Europeans in Manipur from imminent destruction, could have justified Colonel Skene in assuming the offensive under such circumstances. So far, however, from there being any ground for such a conviction, it might have been confidently anticipated that, had the force retired to a suitable position and remained on the defensive till reinforced, or withdrawn, the Manipuris would not have ventured to leave the shelter of their walls to attack it. Yet in the absence of any such necessity, or of any object that could for a moment be compared with the desperate risk incurred, it was decided to force an entry into the Palace enclosure with 250 men and arrest the Senapati in the midst of his army. This was the second cardinal blunder committed.

Into the details of the contest that followed within the enclosure, we need not enter. Enough to say that, after capturing the Senapati's house, only to discover that he was not there, but in the Regent's palace, to attack which was recognized as hopeless, the force, finding its ammunition running short, was compelled to retreat to the Residency to save itself from certain annihilation.

Things had now clearly reached a stage when all further

action should have been guided by purely military considerations. The Residency, being almost within point blank range of the enemy's guns, which were now brought to bear upon it from behind embrasures in the walls of the enclosure, and being wholly incapable of withstanding the effects of artillery fire, was admittedly quite untenable. On the other hand, almost any place beyond cannon range from the palace walls, provided only it did not afford unassailable cover for the Manipuris, would have been easily tenable against an enemy incapable of fighting with effect in the open. Yet, instead of promptly evacuating the Residency and retiring to such a defensible position it was decided to remain there, to be shot at and shelled, without any opportunity of returning the enemy's fire, and though our men had only a few rounds of ammunition left. Here was the third cardinal blunder.

It appears to have been about 4 P. M. when the whole of the force collected again within the Residency, which had been subjected to a more or less severe musketry fire from a much earlier hour. From 2 P. M. the enemy had brought two of their guns, the gift of the British Government, to play on it, and, as evening wore on, the upper part of the building became riddled with shells, and an incessant fire of musketry was poured in upon its defenders.

By 7 P. M., when the ammunition of the men was reduced to its lowest ebb, and retreat had become an infinitely more hazardous operation than it would have been three hours before, it dawned at last upon some one, that the further retention of the position meant the certain destruction of the whole party, and the question of retreating to the open was discussed.

Then another fatal and inexcusable blunder was committed. At the instance, it is said, of Mr. Quenton, it was resolved to ask the triumphant enemy for terms! A letter was accordingly written to the Regent, who in reply, promised to order the firing to cease, only on condition that our troops threw down their arms.

Presently, however, a messenger came over from the Senapati, with a request that the Chief Commissioner would come and hold an interview with him outside the walls of the enclosure, and then was committed the greatest blunder of all. The Chief Commissioner, accompanied by Colonel Skene, Mr. Grimwood, Mr. Cossins and Lieutenant Simpson, went, entirely unarmed and unescorted, to the main gate of the fort, and eventually, after a long parley, entered the palace enclosure with the result which we all know.

It remains to consider the question of responsibility.

For the political programme decided on, it can hardly be

questioned, the Supreme Government was exclusively responsible. It would have been so technically in any case. But it is quite clear, from the published correspondence, that, as far as the question of the treatment of the Senapati is concerned—and this is the main point to be considered,—it acted entirely on its own judgment, in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Gumwood and with only the half hearted acquiescence of the Chief Commissioner.

As to the numbers and composition of the force employed, and the absence of artillery from its equipment, the primary responsibility rests with the General Commanding in Assam, but the inadequacy of the force was so palpable, the blunder of sending it without guns was so glaring and the occasion was so important, that it is impossible to acquit the Government of India of the ultimate responsibility, except on the wholly untenable assumption, that its duty in such matters is finally discharged when it has referred them to the General Commanding a district.

As regards the insufficiency of the small arms ammunition taken by the escort an attempt has been made to fix the entire responsibility on Colonel Skene by showing that he was given a free hand. The escort, it appears, was, in the first instance, ordered to take 40 rounds in pouch and 50 in box, but subsequently General Collett, being given to understand that there were 13,000 rounds at Manipul, countermanded the ammunition in box. Afterwards, for reasons which are not explained, he appears to have become anxious on the subject, and wired Colonel Skene to use his discretion in drawing for a further supply upon a large store of ammunition at Kohima. This is called giving Colonel Skene a free hand. The matter, however, was one in which General Collett should not have given Colonel Skene a free hand. Colonel Skene, for reasons which do not appear to be known, but which, it is faintly suggested, may have been scarcity of transport, did not take any reserve ammunition from Kohima. The heaviest part of the responsibility rests, no doubt, with Colonel Skene, for scarcity of transport was a wholly inadequate excuse. But we cannot agree with the Commander-in-Chief, that General Collett 'took every precaution which the circumstances seemed to demand.'

For the desperate plan of attacking the Senapati in the Pat at Manipur, Colonel Skene, and Colonel Skene alone, must be held responsible, and the same must be said of the retreat to the Residency and the retention of that position for several hours, when any one with the slightest military insight must have seen that it was untenable from the first, and that every cartridge fired in attempting to defend it, must bring the force sensibly nearer to a condition of utter helplessness.

The same, too, must be said of the extraordinary action of this officer in leaving his command, to accompany Mr Quinton to the parley. He would have adopted a much more reasonable course had he told Mr Quinton that the position had ceased to be, in any sense, a political one, and forbidden him to leave the Residency compound, otherwise than with the force, under pain of arrest.

That is what a strong man would have done, but then, with a strong man matters would never have reached that stage, and, even had they done so, with a strong man, Mr Quinton would never have persisted in advising a parley with the enemy.

There is something however, to be said in extenuation of the blame attaching to the several Military authorities concerned, for the inadequacy of the force and its equipment. Though they knew, in a general way, that they might encounter resistance, and though they knew, or ought to have known, what the resources of the enemy were, they were dependent entirely on such information as they might receive from the Civil authorities for the means of estimating the kind and amount of resistance probable, and it seems beyond doubt, that both the Government and Mr Quinton himself entertained a wholly inadequate idea of the magnitude of the risk throughout.

The blame for this ignorance would appear to rest on the shoulders of Mr Quinton, who had he taken the Political Resident into his confidence, would probably have been fully enlightened on the subject, but who for whatever reason preferred keeping his own counsel and making his arrangements in the dark till it was too late.

As to the question of treachery, it seems to us that, when it is admitted, as we understand it to be admitted, that the object Mr Quinton had in view in summoning the Senapati to the Darbar with the intention of arresting him there should he refuse to submit, was to deprive him of the opportunity of forcibly resisting, then it is virtually admitted that the plan was a treacherous plan in the sense in which plain men understand treachery. If Mr Quinton believed, or if he hoped, in whatever degree, that the plan would fulfil the object in view, then his belief, or his hope, great or small, presupposed a corresponding belief, or hope that the call to the Darbar would create in the mind of the Senapati a sense of security which he (Mr Quinton) knew to be illusory. If, on the other hand, he entertained no hope that the plan would succeed, then the holding of the Darbar, along with the elaborate preparations for the arrest of the Senapati there, was a mischievous farce, the only result of which must be to give the

Senapati so much time to complete his preparations for resistance

It seems beyond question that the plan of the arrest originated with Mr. Quinton, and that it was not formed, or, at all events, not finally decided on by him till the 21st March, the day previous to his arrival at Manipur. Though it was part of the instructions of the Government of India to Mr. Quinton that he should endeavour to effect the arrest in such a way as to give the Senapati the least possible chance of forcibly resisting, this fact furnishes in itself, no ground for holding them responsible for the plan actually adopted, or even for concluding that they contemplated recourse to any kind of deceit. At the same time, in estimating the degree of blame that can fairly be attached to Mr. Quinton in the matter, it is only just to remember that these were his instructions, and that, failing to hit upon any other means of fulfilling them, he may have felt that he had no discretion in the matter.

There are the strongest reasons for believing that Mr. Grimwood not only disapproved of the plan, but protested against it, and if the published correspondence contains all that passed between Mr. Quinton and the Government on the subject, the presumption is that it was not communicated to the latter.

We have dwelt on the principal issues raised by the Manipur disaster at such length that limits of space compel us to deal very briefly with other events of the Quarter.

The subsequent operations against Manipur have been chiefly remarkable for the heroic defence of the fort at Thokal by Lieutenant (since Major) Grant and his little band, and the complete collapse of all resistance and precipitate flight of the Darbar from Imphail on the approach of the combined forces. Regarding the trial of the Senapati and the other prisoners, we shall at present say nothing, except that we think it questionable whether a grave political blunder has not been committed in not showing more regard for the principles which govern the procedure in criminal trials generally under British rule.

The serious *emeute* which took place at Benares in the middle of April in consequence of the threatened destruction of a Hindu temple, in order to provide a site for a pumping station in connexion with the water-works there, shows how little education has yet done in India to diminish the danger of offending the religious susceptibilities of the mass of the people, or the ease with which they may be offended. The conduct of the mob, who, not satisfied with destroying an engine belonging to the department and part of the works in the neighbourhood of the temple, attacked and plundered the Telegraph office and Railway station and the house of a Hindu of position who

had taken a prominent part in advocating the appropriation of the site, was symptomatic of a strong feeling of hostility to authority, and admits of no palliation. At the same time, it must be confessed, the Municipal Commissioners showed throughout the business a lamentable want of judgment and consideration.

Seeing how dangerous a step it is to meddle with a temple, for however excellent a purpose, they ought, at whatever cost, to have avoided selecting a site occupied by such an edifice. It is true, they acted on what was very likely a correct belief, that the idol was of the moveable class. But idols which are moveable for those in charge of them, are apt to become rigidly fixed when any attempt is made *ab extero* to have them moved. Though, too, it is true that, when the riot occurred, the question had been re-opened by the Municipality, and no final decision had been come to, it should be remembered that in the meantime, they, or their subordinates, by interfering with the approaches to the temple and removing the steps, had unfortunately acted in a way eminently calculated to irritate the people.

The fact is, the system of local Self-Government, so called, and the additional taxation by which it is commonly accompanied, is extremely unpopular with the mass of the population, and widespread antipathy to the institution and its works, had probably a good deal to do with the formidable dimensions assumed by the disturbance.

The spirit of opposition to authority is contagious, and it seems not improbable that the *emence* at Benares had something to do with the very serious riot which occurred on the 16th ultimo at Sham Bazar in Calcutta, and which arose from a similar cause, *viz*, the threatened demolition of a place of worship, though under widely different circumstances. In this case the religious element was much more obviously of a factitious character than in that of the Benares riot. The building which formed the *terribile causa*, a Muhammadan mosque, being a recent structure of the most tumperry kind, partaking rather of the character of a private prayer-house, erected by the tenant of the land for his own convenience, than of a public place of worship.

The occasion of the contemplated removal of this hut, which had probably been invested with its religious character with an eye to founding a claim to a right of permanent occupancy, was also of a private, and not a public character, the proprietor of the land, who had recently purchased it, seeking to oust the tenant who had erected the so-called mosque, and having obtained a decree of the Civil Court for the purpose.

In another noteworthy respect, the case differed from that at Benares, no overt steps having been taken by the decree-holder

to get possession of the mosque or even to hinder access to it. The armed mob that assembled, apparently did so in anticipation of an attempt being made to execute the decree, or possibly under some misapprehension as to what was intended. From their numbers, it is evident that they reckoned on having the police to contend against, and were determined to be equal to the occasion, and it is significant that it was the mob who, on the approach of the police, assumed the offensive.

Probably only an infinitesimal fraction of those who took part in the affair had any real interest, even of a sentimental kind, in the subject of the dispute, and the fact that one or two firebrands were able to get together an armed mob of some two thousand men to do their bidding, and defy the constituted authorities, possesses, under these circumstances, a most serious significance.

The terrible tragedy, which has very reasonably thrown the entire Parsee community of Bombay into a ferment of horrified excitement, is too completely shrouded in mystery to suggest a moral. The theories of murder and suicide seem almost equally beset with difficulties. The theory put forward by the Parsees, and endorsed by the Coroner's jury, will hardly commend itself to unbiased people. It seems more probable that, if murder was committed, it was planned beforehand and due to jealousy. The epithet said to have been shouted after the poor girls, on their way to the tower, by Manackjee Aslajee, would seem distinctly suggestive of hostility.

The proceedings of Parliament during the past three months have been unusually devoid of interest. The fair prospect with which the Government entered upon the business of the Session has been miserably blighted, no one exactly knows why, unless that a profound lethargy has taken possession of the Conservative Party. Though the Opposition in the House of Commons has been altogether contemptible, the obstructionists have been allowed to have very much their own way, and the House, since the Easter recess, has been almost entirely occupied in plodding through the clauses of the Irish Land Bill, which has only just been passed, though, with a moderate display of vigour, it might have been disposed of in a fortnight.

The Budget, which was introduced by Mr. Goschen on the 23rd April, was a remarkably tame production. The year 1890-91 closed with a surplus of £1,756,000, in the place of an estimated surplus of £233,000. The estimates for the current year showed an anticipated surplus of £1,990,000, of which £1,000,000 is to be devoted to free education, £500,000 to barracks, and £400,000 to the withdrawal of light gold from circulation.

On the 10th April, Sir Joseph Pease was allowed to snatch a ridiculous vote in favour of a Resolution condemning the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised, and urging the Government of India to cease granting licences for the cultivation of the poppy, and to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory. The motion was carried by a majority of 160 to 130, but was subsequently rendered abortive by Sir Joseph Pease consenting to the introduction, by way of a rider, of a Resolution in favour of England making good the resulting loss of revenue, on which it proved impossible, owing to the operation of the midnight rule, to take the sense of the House.

There have been an unusually large number of bye-elections during the Quarter, which, on the whole, have gone very badly for the Government.

A considerable sensation, and a great deal of very astonishing and unreasonable dissatisfaction has been caused by the decision of the High Court of Appeal in what is called the Clitheroe case, in which the Lord Chief Justice and two other judges held, that a husband cannot legally imprison his wife in order to compel her to cohabit with him, even though he may have obtained a decree of restitution of conjugal rights. The judgment, however, has had the effect of setting the intolerably anomalous state of the English Marriage and Divorce laws in a painfully glaring light.

In foreign affairs, the most important event is the conclusion of the long deferred Convention between England and Portugal regarding their African territories.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the names of Earl Granville, Von Moltke, Sir Madhava Rao, Archbishop Magee, the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia, Barry Sullivan, the actor, Edwin Long, the painter, Gaspare Gozzio, the eminent Sanskritist, Thomas Hare, Mdme. Blavatsky, and J. T. Barnum, the celebrated showman.

16th June 1891.

J. W. F.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Records of the Geological Survey of India. Vol XXIV, Part I, 1891.

THE February number of the Geological Survey's Records contains Dr King's Annual Report for 1890. Coal is the staple of the discourse, Dr King's interest in the exploitation of gold-fields having been apparently extra departmental. Mr. Foote was engaged with possible Tom Tiddler's grounds in the Madras Presidency, but the Report tells us very little about his work, and that little is of the nature of dry bones. Mr Foote's forthcoming memoir on the Bellary district has probably occupied much of his time. In it we are promised description, in detail, of sundry "occurrences" geologic.

Geologic experiment and judgment thereon are not always infallible. During the construction of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, a seam of coal was struck in the foundations of a bridge over the Ib river, which was not thought much of departmentally, and was considered of too inferior a quality to encourage further exploitation. Mr Foote writes —

"The Ib bridge find was, however, followed by the digging of a small pit, whence a reported trial of the coal gave such favourable results, that arrangements were made for me to visit once more this field, in which I had myself failed to strike any sufficiently promising seams. This small pit furnished continuous samples of 8 feet of apparently uniformly good coal, on which I advised a system of boring should any of these samples be favourable, but, after all, even this coal was found to be not of much better quality than that already known in the field. Still, its uniformity and thickness are in its favour and, above all, it was certainly better than the coal then being used on the railway from the Warora colliery."

In view of the demand for coal, fresh research has been entered on in the Daltongunj field. Trial borings for coal in the Hura field of the Rajmahal tract near Semra have been abandoned, Dr King being reluctantly of opinion that there would be no gain in prosecuting any further search in this part of the country. Here are some of Mr Oldham's remarks about "striking oil" in the Bolan —

"During his examination of the Bolan pass in February and March, Mr Oldham was led to make the following remarks on the oil locality near Kirta — 'At the foot of the hills west of the dāk bungalow, there are extensive deposits of travertine which have evidently been deposited by hot sulphurous springs, which have now ceased to flow, though warm gas still oozes up through the travertine, and can be recognized by its smell. It is difficult to say why these

springs issued there; no certain indications of a fault can be found, and one of the springs issued formerly from the hillside, 250 feet above the top of the talus fan at its base. They occur along the outcrop of the band of sandy limestones and calcareous sandstones with *belemnite*-bearing shales at their base.

These travertine deposits are impregnated to a marked degree by petroleum, and on the strength of these surface indications a bore-hole was sunk in the spring of 1889. It penetrated the *belemnite* shales, and at 360 feet a copious spring of hot sulphurous water was struck, and a small amount of oil obtained. The derrick was shifted, but no second boring was put down.

In view of the importance of discovering petroleum in workable quantity near the line of railway, it is important to discuss the probability of its so occurring near Kirta. A careful examination of the outcrops has convinced me that the petroleum which impregnates the travertine and surface soil was not derived from any rock now exposed at the outcrop, but was brought up from below with the hot water of the springs. Further, from the occurrence of an abundant supply of hot sulphurous water, which when released by the bore hole, flowed freely at the surface, it would seem that these springs have ceased to flow owing to their channels having been blocked up by a deposit of travertine. If this conclusion be correct, any boring sunk along the line of these old springs would be likely to be troubled with hot acid water, which would rapidly corrode the casing of the bore hole."

Progress Report on Arboriculture in the Punjab, for the three years 1887-88 to 1889-90

THIS is one of the next Triennial Reports. From which it appears that, at the close of the year 1889-90, 6,124 miles of road and canal avenue had been planted with trees by District Municipal Boards. During the same period, P. W. D. Canal and Road officers added 476 miles more. The total area of groves and plantations amounts now to 21,378 miles. The area appropriated for nurseries is 288 acres in districts, 48 acres on canals, and 18 acres on provincial roads.

Punjab agriculturists naturally enough fail to appreciate the beauties of having road-side trees close enough to their fields to kill with shade two three *luggee*-lengths of crop. Accordingly, we find in this Report, lamentation over destruction of full-grown trees in the Rawal Pindi District. Here is an extract from the Resolution accompanying the Report which is noteworthy from more than one point of regard —

"The desirability of enlisting the sympathies of the people in favour of arboricultural operations should not be lost sight of by District Officers. In Mooltan the Deputy Commissioner speaks of an old custom, now in force in one tahsil only, of getting the zamindars to water road-side trees near their wells, receiving payment at a fixed rate for each tree alive at the end of the season. This plan is mentioned in the Arboriculture Manual and is recommended for adoption where possible, as being much less expensive than watering by hired "bistis". The attention of the Commissioner of Derajat is invited to the remarks in the Bannu District Report regarding the

appropriation by certain 'influential persons' of water allowed at settlement for arboricultural purposes. Some of the persons referred to are members of the District Board, which body is said to take no interest in arboriculture. Tree growing on road sides in this district also meets with opposition from the adjoining Zamindars, and in fact the position of affairs is anything but promising. The Lieutenant-Governor fails to see why this state of things should be accepted as inevitable, especially as it would appear that arboriculture was in this district at one time carried on with success."

It is further written *à propos* of another side of the subject —

"Taking the Punjab as a whole, arboriculture must be regarded as an object upon which expenditure is to be incurred, and not as a source of revenue. The Lieutenant Governor, therefore, agrees with the Conservator that the Commissioner of Delhi is wrong in depreciating expenditure upon road side avenues on the ground that they do not pay financially, but there is of course much to be said for his argument, that money can be more profitably spent in many districts in making groves and plantations which will pay financially and also improve the fuel and fodder supply of the country. Colonel Grey takes much interest in the afforestation of Rakhs, Birs and waste lands, and under his guidance an interesting experiment is being conducted in one of the Hansi Birs by a native gentleman of Hansi. Moreover, in the more favoured districts of the Province, avenues do pay from a commercial point of view. An instance in the Delhi Division itself is the Umballa District, which during the triennial period under review yielded a surplus of income over expenditure amounting to Rs 1,264, the total income being Rs 10,587. In Sialkot the income from the sale of road side trees and loppings amounted in the three years to Rs 37,478 as against an expenditure of Rs 21,266. In the older Canal Divisions, as might be expected, a very handsome profit is derived from the sale of timber and fuel, and on the recently constructed canals it is only a question of time for arboricultural operations to prove a fair financial success. In the drier districts of the Province tree growing can of course never be expected to yield a profit. In the case of these, what is to be looked for is that the results should in some degree be proportionate to the expenditure incurred."

Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1889-90 Madras Office of Superintendent, Government Press

THIS is a voluminous report, too voluminous for lucidity, and somewhat too rosy-hued, though it may be granted that it is on the whole a record of steady progress and substantial gains to the educational cause. It tells us that, during the last decade, while the number of all pupils taken together has increased by 57.7 per cent, the corresponding figure in the case of girls is no less than 142 per cent. That we take to be the most salient and interesting fact recorded in the Report. As to girls' schools, there was an increase last year over 1888-89 of from 891 to 921, and the total number of girls under instruction rose from 69,873 to 78,344, an advance of

12.1 per cent. against 66 per cent in the previous year. During the last decade Native Christian (girl) pupils have increased sixfold, Mahomedan and Hindu threefold, and "others," including Pariahs, fourteenfold, *a'propos* of this subject, Mrs Brander writes —

' Ten years ago there were seven High departments with 31 pupils. Now there are 17 with 102 pupils. Then all the High departments were for Eurasians and Europeans. Now 3 are for Hindus and 5 for Native Christians. In 1880-81, there were 17 Middle departments with 223 pupils. Now there are 58 with 727 pupils. Then, with the exception of 2 for Native Christians and one for Hindus, all the 17 Middle departments were for Europeans. Now 21 are for Native Christians, 11 are for Hindus, and 2 are for Mahomedans. It will be seen that the number of High departments has multiplied more than fourfold, (this should be twofold), and the number of pupils in them more than threefold. Both high and middle education has been extended to Native Christians and Hindus and the latter even to Mahomedans. Considering the impediments that lie in the way of the higher education of women, the progress above recorded must be considered satisfactory. Out of 43,563 girls, 178 were in the High, and 2,113 in the Middle departments, against 144 and 1,978, respectively, in the previous year, the increase in the former being 15 and that in the latter 6 per district. The improvement in the attendance of the High school classes is especially encouraging. Nearly 80 per cent, however, of those reading in the Middle departments were Eurasians or Europeans and Native Christians. The Hindu and Mahomedan communities have not yet shown any general and strong desire for the education of their girls, even in the primary standards, and the time is probably remote when any decided step will be taken by them in the direction of secondary education. The establishment, and, what is more important, the successful working of Home education classes may, by creating a thirst for knowledge among the women of the household help to bring about a change in the attitude of Hindu and Mahomedan parents with regard to the higher education of their daughters."

The girls have not so far distinguished themselves in Examinations, but that is not to be wondered at, affordance to them of opportunities for higher education cannot be said to have passed out of the experimental stage yet.

Another hopeful part of the Report is that dealing with Mahomedan education, though decline in the case of secondary schools is regretted. But the figures for primary public institutions are good, and the number of pupils studying in private institutions last year was more than three times greater than it was three years ago. Though the Report does not say so, the short attendance at secondary schools is a result probably of hard times, and the ever-increasing and broadening pressure of competition, necessitating educationally premature starts in life. Physical education is said to have taken a hold on student inclination "which will lead to its speedy development." An increase is noted in the number of degrees conferred in the Arts and Engineering Faculties.

The latter fact seems to us matter for congratulation. The utilitarian side of education is the side that has hitherto been weakest in our schools and colleges, the side most likely to lead up to a strengthening of intellectual backbone, of which the Indian character stands much in need.

We are told that —

“Very satisfactory work was done by the Art class attached to the Kumbakonam College. The attendance rose from 72 to 181, of whom only 24 were College students. The artisan community contributed 53 pupils, while the Town and Native High Schools and the Government Girls School sent 43, 26 and 35 pupils, respectively. For the Drawing branch of the Middle School examination, 24 went up, of whom 14 passed. Seven of those who went up and 14 of those who passed were College students, the rest belonged to the artisan class. Two artisan students also passed the higher examination in Drawing, one of them, M. R. Ry. Mukkanasari, being a member of the local Municipal Council. He joined the class as a regular student, and appeared for, and passed, the public examination chiefly for the purpose of setting an example to the members of his community.”

In the schools of agriculture pupils are reported to have made fair progress, and practical instruction received increased attention.

On the unrosy side, it appears from a Secretariat Resolution published with the Report, that the inclusion of statistics relating to private institutions—many of them petty village schools of a very elementary type and no real avail—vitiates the departmental song of triumph over the general advance of the educational cause along the line. Then, with regard to University Examinations, although the Government does not attach much importance to slight decline in the number of candidates presenting themselves, it does consider a marked deterioration in the results of the examinations a serious matter. And the Government finds it difficult to believe that the candidates themselves are altogether responsible for a deterioration in results which has made itself apparent in all classes of institutions. If not due to capriciousness in examination, it must indicate deterioration in teaching. Again, mention is made of the insufficiency of the standard of general education required of students in the Medical College preparing for the L. M. S. degree. Here is another extract from the Resolution —

“The unprecendently low proportion of successful candidates in the F. A. examination is the result of the failure of a very large number of candidates in mathematics, and the Director, it is observed, ascribes this last fact to a general deterioration in the teaching of this important subject. In certain individual cases, however, the results of the examinations speak by no means well for the instruction afforded, thus more than 50 per cent of the candidates appearing for the B. A. degree from the Presidency College failed in mathematics, and out of 60 candidates sent up from the Rajahmundry College for the F. A. examination, no fewer than 53 were unsuccessful in the same subject,

even allowing that the mathematical papers were unusually difficult, these figures can hardly be regarded as creditable to the institutions concerned, and an improvement in the mathematical teaching staff of the Rajahmundry College seems to be called for "

The results of Middle School Examinations are pronounced "by no means good" Deterioration of mathematical teaching is noticed in connection with schools sending pupils to the Middle School Examination The teaching staff of the Normal Schools generally is adjudged much below what it should be in educational attainments One more quotation, and we have done —

"It is to be feared that technical classes are too often opened without due consideration and without proper provision for efficient instruction, and that the effect of this and of the want of any real interest on the part of those managing them, is, that after a brief existence, they languish The sudden increase of such classes cannot therefore as yet be safely viewed as correctly gauging the growth in the demand for technical instruction, and it is not likely that these classes will advance rapidly for some time to come, inasmuch as the Government has now distinctly laid down that the expenditure of local bodies should be concentrated on general primary education The number of teachers in industrial schools who hold no certificates is very large, but this is natural in view of the recent introduction of technical education, and no considerable immediate improvement in this direction can be looked for "

Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1889-90 Madras Office of Superintendent, Government Press

THE last year of Lord Connemara's tenure of office in Madras was high-politically uneventful In the matter of practical politics his Lordship set a shining example to high officialdom at large, by leaving Ootacamund in the hottest of the hot weather to personally inspect famine-afflicted tracts in Ganjam and other distressed parts of the country, and to inaugurate Relief measures Lord Connemara did a deal of difficult touring and seeing things with his own eyes in the course of his governorship And he had eyes that could see, and were determined to see, and a great deal of sturdy common-sense, to boot—a useful gubernatorial faculty that was conspicuously lacking in his much cleverer and much less successful predecessor

"Revenue settlement operations were in progress during 1889-90 in the districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Vizagapatam, Madura, Tanjore, South Arcot and Malabar. The total area classified was 1,584 square miles Settlement rates were introduced into three taluks of Vizagapatam, into the remainder of the Tindivanam taluk and part of the Tiruvánamalai taluk of South Arcot, as well as into the Ochterlony Valley,

Nilgiris. The total expenditure was Rs 3,12,016, and the total cost of the Department up to the close of the year Rs 92,88,667. The net increase of revenue due to settlement operations amounts to over 31¼ lakhs, or a return of 34.25 per cent. on the outlay and of 11.2 per cent. on the total outlay incurred by the Survey and Settlement departments together.

"Survey proceeded, during the year, in 12 districts, *viz.*, Kistna, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore, Kurnool, Coimbatore, Salem, Malabar, South Canara, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura. The total area of the Madras Presidency is estimated at 141,162 square miles, of which the cadastral survey of 62,924 square miles and the topographical survey of 56,349 square miles had been completed on the 31st March 1890."

Four Acts were passed by the local Legislative Council during the official year under review. Act II of 1889 amends the Madras Jails Act of 1869, by conferring on Jail warders the same powers of arrest with regard to non-cognizable offences as were previously held by police officers under section 57 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1882. Act III provides for prevention and control of petty nuisances outside the town of Madras. Act IV consolidates the Salt Revenue Law. Act I of 1890 makes provision for levy of duties on tobacco brought into the city. The proportion of police to the whole population was 1 to 1,620—in towns 1 to 619,—and in rural parts 1 to 1,792.

The general proportion of police to area was 1 to 6.7 square miles, and the average cost of a policeman Rs 172¾. We are reminded that the police concerned in the alleged torture case at Kumbakonam were honourably acquitted. The proportion of men in the force able to read and write was 76.9.

"There were 12,282 deaths from violent and unnatural causes, 11,934 being the number in 1888. The increase was mainly under the head of 'accidental deaths'. 9,887 fires were reported, causing the loss of 143 lives and an abnormal loss of property valued at nearly 31 lakhs, of which nearly 13½ lakhs were destroyed by the great fire at Cochin in January 1889. The number of known depredators, suspects and wandering gangs registered was 43,165 against 47,686 in 1888 and 65,663 in 1887. The number of old offenders sentenced to enhanced punishment was 1,521. 110,716 cognizable offences under the Penal Code and special and local laws were dealt with, being an increase of nearly 3,500 cases as compared with the previous year. 69.3 per cent. were prosecuted to conviction. More than 465,000 persons were arrested, and 58.3 per cent. were convicted—a slight improvement on the figures

for 1888 Of $14\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of property lost, a little more than 3 lakhs was recovered Madras City exhibited the best results in all respects, followed closely by Jeypore Detective results under special and local laws were, as usual, satisfactory, and showed a slight improvement There were 350 murders reported against 381 in 1888, of these, 98 or 28 per cent were detected, the murderers committing suicide in 58 cases There was slight decrease of 12 cases in the number of dacoities 314 cases of robbery were recorded against 301 in 1888, of these, 125 or 39.8 were detected against 382 in the preceding year Property lost by these offences was nearly the same as last year, but the amount recovered was not so satisfactory The number of house-breakings reported was 7,298 against 6,534 in 1888 The total number of grave cases against property was 7,811 against 7,046 in the previous year, the percentage of detection remaining at 31 per cent The increase was chiefly due to scarcity in the Southern districts in the latter part of the year, and to grain riots in some places 2,414 cattle thefts were registered against 2,274 in the preceding year, detection of these improved slightly Ordinary thefts numbered 13,781 against 13,667 in 1888 Detection, however, rose from 39 per cent to 41.3 In Ganjam, 319 thefts were directly attributable to the famine The number of cattle poisoning cases was 52 against 48 in 1888, half of these were detected 4,521 cases were referred by magistrates to the police for inquiry and 15,260 by the police to magistrates for orders against 5,044 and 14,224, respectively, in 1888 Out of 75,958 cases prosecuted by the police, 4,112 or 5.4 per cent were found false after trial 7 persons were convicted of infanticide, of whom 2 were sentenced to death "

Exercising criminal jurisdiction in the mofussil there were "7,135 Village Magistrates', 168 Third-class Magistrates', 455 Second-class Magistrates' and 129 First-class Magistrates' Courts with 20 Courts of Session, and at the Presidency Town 2 Presidency Magistrates', 1 Police Commissioner's and the High Court The increase of crime, which began in 1887, continued during the year under report, the total number of offences returned as true being 212,365 against 206,793 in 1888 Under the Penal Code, however, it was very slight, the bulk of the advance being due to special and local laws False cases were most abundant in Tanjore, Malabar and Cuddapah. Of the 706 offences affecting life, 251 were cases of murder. The Nilgiris alone was free from dacoity The ratio of grave crimes to population was 1 to 1,636, the districts in which the ratio stood the highest being Madras, Vizagapatam Agency, and the Nilgiris. The total number of persons under trial was 371,240 as compared with 363,481 in 1888, these figures in-

cluding 79 and 136 European British subjects respectively. The percentage of convictions under the Penal Code and under Special and Local Laws was 21.4 and 79.5 respectively. The total number of original cases before the Courts was 216,480, of which 38,383 were contributed by the Presidency Town. The total number of appeals preferred was 6,558. Regular Magistrates' Courts in the mofussil disposed of 165,952 cases affecting 320,252 persons, the percentage of persons convicted being 36.9 against 36.2 in 1888. The average fine was Rs 4.6 per head as against Rs 4 in the previous year. The number of appeals instituted in these Courts was 5,265 against 5,070 in 1888. Sessions Courts disposed of 998 original cases, affecting 2,562 persons, the percentage of convictions being 44.8 against 41.6 in the preceding year. They also dealt with 700 appeals against 614 in 1888. The percentage of sentences of Magistrates confirmed by Sessions Courts was 65.3, the High Court confirming 58.6 per cent of the Sessions Courts' sentences. The number of cases instituted before Presidency Magistrates diminished from 40,860 to 38,350, of these, only 2 were left pending the percentage of convictions being 80.4. The number of cases disposed of at the High Court Sessions was 33 and the percentage of convictions rose to 69.8. 19 cases in which Sessions Judges disagreed with the verdict of juries, were referred to the High Court, as also 60 cases of sentences to capital punishment for confirmation. Of the 78 persons concerned in the latter, 52 were convicted, 37 sentences being confirmed. The number of appeals instituted in the High Court was 590 against 620 in 1888, and the number disposed of 484 against 521. The High Court also disposed of 625 revision cases, and perused 2,035 calendars during the year."

With reference to Jails, we note that there were 49 escapes against 33 in 1888. There were 1,173 Burmese convicts. No prisoners were employed on unremunerative labour. There was diminution in the number of Jail offences and punishments, and 230 prisoners are said to have "benefited" by Jail education—it is not explained in what way. The average death-rate in all Jails was 38.53 per mille.

The Registration Department results of the year were the best hitherto attained, the number of registrations having risen to 727,395 over the results of 1888-89, or by 5.9 per cent. Most of the wills registered were those of Hindus. The average fee was Rs 1-2-9.

Bubble companies find the air in the Southern Presidency congenial —

"There were 296 joint-stock companies in existence at the close of the year 1888-89. Of these, 30 had no capital divid-

ed into shares, while the rest were working with an aggregate nominal capital of Rs 3,72,80,720. During the year 60 companies were wound up, 50 having a nominal capital of Rs 30,87,557 and the rest none. 21 companies increased their capital during the year by Rs 13,57,334, none of them reduced it. 27 new companies were registered, 24 of these possessed an aggregate nominal and paid-up capital of Rs 31,71,857 and Rs 11,42,101, respectively, the remaining 3 having no capital. The net result at the close of the year 1889-90 was a total of 263 companies at work."

Some definition of the meaning to be attached to the word "work" would seem to be desirable here.

The strength of the British Army was 13,006 men, of the Native Army 28,306. "A new Volunteer Reserve Corps was formed in the Kistna district. Vizianagiam was substituted for Berhampore as a regimental station for Madras Infantry. About 400 men of the Pioneers were employed on the Periyar project. Field operations were conducted in the Chin Lushai country by 2 companies of the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners, 50 men of the Burma Sappers and Miners, 300 men of the Cheshire Regiment, 400 men of the King's Own Scottish Borderers and the 2nd Madras Infantry, the whole force being under the command of Brigadier-General W. P. Symonds. A number of smaller expeditions were also undertaken by Madras troops. The general health of the British troops was not so good as in the previous year. The death-rate rose by 3.91 per mille, and the average daily sick-rate, the invaliding-rate, and the admission-rate all showed a considerable increase. There were 27 cases of cholera amongst the men. The most unhealthy station was Secunderabad, where enteric fever was especially prevalent. The health of the Native army was also bad, the death-rate rising by 3.91 per mille, and the admission rate by 66.39. The invaliding-rate, however, fell nearly one-half. As usual the Burmese districts were the most unhealthy. Owing to the repeal of the Contagious Disease Act, the lock hospitals were practically empty, and those at Wellington and Cannanore were closed during the year."

Trade statistics for the port of Madras show increase in the number and tonnage of vessels, and in respect of all other ports a large decrease in the number, and a slight decrease in tonnage and dues, the decrease being almost entirely confined to native craft. The total value for the Presidency excluding treasure and transactions on account of Government, amounted to 27 crores and 16½ lakhs, against 25 crores and 14¾ lakhs in the preceding year. This advance (nearly 202 lakhs) was made up of increases of nearly 110 lakhs under exports, and nearly 92 under imports.

"The total value of the external trade, *i.e.*, the trade with foreign countries, with Indian Ports not British, and with British Ports in other Presidencies, amounted to over 23 crores and 70 lakhs, an advance of 159½ lakhs, as compared with 1888-89. Exports contributed 14 crores and 38 lakhs, or 60.67 per cent of the total value of this trade. Compared with 1888-89, the exports increased by 90½ lakhs or 6.73 per cent, and the imports by nearly 69 lakhs or 7.99 per cent. The increase in exports was mainly with the United Kingdom, France and Ceylon, and in imports with the United Kingdom. The exports of Indian produce and manufactures increased by over 91 lakhs or 6.85 per cent, while those of foreign merchandise decreased by nearly 1 lakh or 6.4 per cent. The more important exports of Indian articles, *i.e.* those the annual value of which exceeded 50 lakhs, were raw cotton, hides and skins, coffee, indigo, seeds, grain and pulse, sugar, spices and oils, which together contributed nearly 81 per cent of the total exports of Indian produce."

The total value of the coasting trade amounted to over 6 crores and 2 lakhs, nearly 4 lakhs more than in the previous year.

People who admire white elephants will be glad to hear that Sir Alexander Rendel, K.C.I.E., after careful investigation of the Madras Harbour Works, expressed approval of the plans and arrangements adopted. As to other Public Works, it is written that the Bangalore and Ootacamund water-supply schemes were "investigated." Furthermore "the artesian boring in the Kortalayár valley was abandoned, and operations recommenced at Tuticorin. The Arsenal workshops building at Bellary turned out a failure as also the Gopálpur pier, both of which works were abandoned. The brick-work of the first and second floors of the new Law Courts, Madras, was completed during the year, together with all the out-buildings. The famine relief works in the Ganjam district set on foot in the previous year were continued as such till November 1889, when the pressure of famine ceased. The Rushikulya project was then continued as an ordinary protective work and the Boppayapuram gedda, which had been nearly finished, was ordered to be completed by the Public Works Department. The Ganjam-Gopálpur canal, on which about Rs 1,30,000 had been spent, was not considered worth completing, as the expenditure to be incurred would be heavy, and the work itself running parallel with the proposed East Coast Railway would be of no special advantage. A Military Works Department was constituted during the year, and the Public Works in the stations of Madras, Poonamallee, Vellore Fort, Wellington, Bangalore and Bellary placed under its control."

Public Works do not appear to be Madras's strong point. Even the actively restless Duke of Buckingham never got much beyond driving a locomotive with his own august hands. The period of sanction accorded by the Secretary of State to the Periyár project having expired, the Government of India had to be begged, in February 1890, to extend the sanction for a further period of five years. Work on the Ganjam-Gopálpúr tidal canal started in January 1889, was stopped at the end of November, the advantages to be gained from completing it not being deemed commensurate with its probable cost.

Working expenses in the Buckingham canal amounted to Rs. 76,172 more than its receipts.

No extensions were made in the Madras or South Indian Railways, and no progress was made with the Nílگیر Railway. On the Madras Railway there was a development of goods traffic, resulting in a net profit of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on outlay. There was an increase of 7.28 per cent in passenger traffic.

"The total capital expenditure on the Bezvada Extension Railway up to 31st March 1890, was Rs 13,62,985, being at the rate of Rs 64,904 per mile, and the net profits for the official year under review were Rs 15,167, being at the rate of 1.11 per cent, on the outlay. This line was opened for traffic on the 10th February 1889 and is worked by His Highness the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway Company as part of their system."

Post Offices continue to flourish and multiply. 392 miles of telegraph lines were constructed, bringing the total mileage up to 5,291 miles.

About Local Self-Government and the conduct of Municipal affairs very little is said. The matter seems to have been slurred over. Is that because of the unsuccessfulness of the fad?

On the subject of education in the Southern Presidency, we have commented on another page.

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GENERAL LITERATURE

The United Service Magazine A Monthly Review of all Questions affecting National Interests March 1891

IN this issue Lord Wolseley discourses on *The Study of War*, and there are two informing papers anent Australian interests and habitudes. But the interest of the number centres in a *German View of the Defence of India*, a translation from the *Militär Wochenblatt* by Captain E. S. May, R. A. The essay concludes thus —

“The result of a Russian descent on India is by no means so certain as all those who wish to treat with Lord Salisbury pretend. They examine the territory lying between Russia and England on a map drawn to a small scale, and, therefore, deceive themselves as regards the immense distances involved, and the arduous nature of the marches which would have to be made. Neither, however, can the defeat of the Czar be predicted with the certainty which characterises the utterances of some prophets of English invincibility. England must be on her guard, in spite of all the intervening mountain ranges and extensive tracts of country. For she must remember that it is only for her that the struggle on the Indus will be one of life and death—a fight for one of the chief pillars of her position as one of the greatest powers. Russia, on the contrary, even if she were defeated and lost every man of her army of invasion, would merely be politically where she was before, and after some years might again advance with fresh forces to the combat.”

The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature
Edited by Professor S. D. F. SALMOND, D. D. Edinburgh
T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street

WE have to thank the publishers for sending us the first two issues of this new *Review*. Its theology is of the Evangelical type but neither narrow nor sour, its views on philosophy, although undogmatically eclectic, appear to be, to a great extent, affiliated with modern German schools of thought and criticism, the *odum theologicum* has no place in its pages, its contributors—some of them clerics, some of them laymen—write like gentlemen as well as like scholars. All contributions are signed, and the array of names they present is more than respectable. In a preface to the first number the Editor writes —

“The Magazine will not be the organ of any particular section of the Evangelical Church, but will be conducted in the interest of all its branches. It will study the wants of clergymen and students of

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Theology, but it will also address itself to all, whether lay or clerical, who give intelligent attention to the religious questions of the day."

* The Master of University College, Durham, contributes an article on Dollinger's Letters. From one of which, a reply to the Papal Nuncio, dated 12th October 1887, the following extract is quoted —

"I know from a number of irreproachable witnesses, from statements which they have let fall, that the Council of the Vatican was not free, that the means there used were menaces, intimidations, and seductions. I know it from bishops, whose letters I hold, or who have told it to me by word of mouth. The very Archbishop of Munich who excommunicated me, came to me the day after his return from Rome, and told me certain details which left in me no doubt. It is true that all these prelates have made their submission, they all agreed to say, by way of excuse, 'We do not wish to make a schism.' *I also do not wish to be a member of a schismatical society. I am isolated.*"

Here is another noteworthy quotation from a critique on *The Life and Letters of the Rev Adam Sedgwick*, by J W Clark and Professor Hughes. —

"The position occupied by Sedgwick was in some respects unique. He was a pioneer in science, yet a devout and conscientious clergyman, at a time when teachers of Science and of Theology were too often in conflict. A simple minded man, who enjoyed nothing more than a romp with children, while at the same time he was a successful courtier and an honoured friend of the Queen and Prince Albert.

"In his character were combined many contradictory traits. He was patient in his geological investigations, yet fierce and unreasonable in controversy, broad in his sympathies, but narrow in his religious opinions; liberal and large hearted in his sentiments, yet so conservative in his beliefs in matters of scientific reasoning, that he is usually to be found strongly opposing any novel results of deductive inquiry—witness his attitude towards the views of Agassiz and his followers as to glacial action. He was a man of athletic frame, yet a valetudinarian, a University Professor who never failed to do far more than the specified duties of his office, and a Canon of Norwich, who was equally conscientious in the discharge of his Cathedral functions."

No. 2 of the new *Critical Review* opens with a discriminating analysis of the bent and scope of Cardinal Newman's mind, a questing out of the secret of his power over other men's—and the most dissimilar men's—minds and affections. In the following passage Principal Fairbairn touches on a peculiarity in Newman's career, which we have not seen pointed out in any of the books dealing with his life or any of the many obituary notices of him that have been published —

"What is curious is that in spite of his changes and the invincible logic by which they were worked, his power remained specifically Anglican, never became distinctively Roman. While his influence outside his own communion was immense, inside it was but small, at least till within a few years of the end, and even then it was due less to its intrinsic force than to his extrinsic reputation, the honour then done him was an act of homage to the honour in which he was held by

those who were without. He was happy in the home he had made for himself, but he was so potent as to be a real and effectual presence only in the home he had left. The men with whom he had real affinity, and for whom he entertained true affection, were for the most part the friends of his Anglican period, the men who had either accompanied him to Rome, or who only loved him the more that they had lost him."

Reviewing *The Golden Bough*, Professor Macallister writes —

"We have been accustomed now to see the fluctuations of opinion in questions of comparative religion according to the popularity of some dominant hypothesis. Time was when Bryant and his school reduced all legendary lore to the symbolic remembrance of the Deluge and the Ark. Then we had the unsavoury school of Knight and those who regarded the central idea in mythology as the reproductive powers in nature. Then, when comparative mythology became allied to philology, we were taught that the whole circle of the gods were but personifications of solar phenomena. And now Mr Frazer has made out quite as good a case for his great vegetative myth as any of his predecessors have done for theirs."

The above extracts from the pages of the new *Review* will, we take it, better than any commentary of ours could, give readers interested in the subjects it deals with, an idea of the manner in which they are treated.

Rulers of India The Earl of Mayo Edited by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTLEY, KCSI, CIE, MA, LL.D., Oxford Clarendon Press, 1891

A *LIFE of Lord Mayo* is one of the latest additions to the "Rulers of India" series in course of publication under the auspices of the Oxford Clarendon Press.

Sir W. W. Hunter is the large minded Viceroy's biographer, and the years have brought to him no abatement of literary power or the faculty for condensation and grasp of salient points. This life of Lord Mayo is a work admirably done. It claims to portray a memorable stage in the process by which these dominions, old and new, were welded together into the India of the Queen. It was Lord Canning's business after the Mutiny, Sir John Lawrence's after him, out of the wreck of the East India Company's rule, to gather together and consolidate a new and imperial system of administration. To Lord Mayo fell, as his Biographer says, the more beneficent work of conciliation: the task of infusing into the old sense of self-interest new sentiments of loyalty, and of awakening new conceptions of solidarity between the Feudatory Chiefs and the Suzerain Power—a work of conciliation not confined to the Princes, since it embraced also the peoples of India, with whose disabilities and downtroddenness Lord Mayo felt an inborn generous sympathy. Moreover, he had been deeply impressed, both in his

native Ireland and during a tour in Russia in 1845, by the political dangers arising out of such an excluded class as he found the Mahomedans, the exiling class, then neglected and degenerating into effeminacy. Conciliation, then, was one main object he set before him to accomplish, and for the task he had special gifts. As Lord Derby said "It was with him not a matter of calculation, but the result of nature." He was always one of the most amiable of men, and he was well beloved, in consequence, by all with whom he was brought into personal contact.

It is by his foreign policy, and by his able control of Foreign Office affairs at a critical time, that Lord Mayo will be best known to history. With regard to the former, his biographer says —

"Lord Mayo arrived at a juncture when the pre-existing methods had come to their natural termination. Lord Dalhousie's annexation of the Punjab in 1849, by throwing down the Sikh breakwater between British India and Afghanistan, brought closer the boundaries of Russian and English activity in the East. Our Asiatic relations with Russia passed definitely within the control of European diplomacy, and during the next twenty years, the Indian Foreign Office pursued a policy of *laissez faire* towards its trans frontier neighbours on the north west. This policy, deliberately adopted and justified at its inception by the facts, had manifestly ceased to be any longer possible, shortly before Lord Mayo's arrival. The dangers of isolation were become greater than the risks of intervention. The task set before Lord Mayo was to create a new breakwater between the spheres of English and Russian activity in Asia."

How well he succeeded in this endeavour, readers of the *Calcutta Review* will not have forgotten yet. In the matter of internal administration, he deserves credit for wisdom in having recognized the necessity for decentralization in Government, and for great tact and ability in reconciling it with the need for consolidation. Again, his bold Railway policy deserves commendation. During the five years that preceded his assumption of office, only 892 miles of railway had been laid down. Thanks to his inauguration of a new system of State and Guaranteed Railways, during the five years which followed 1869-70, 2,013 additional miles were opened. The old system of Guaranteed Railways had, from its inception in 1853, constructed a total of 4,265 miles only during the 17 years ending 1869-70. Thanks to the new system devised by the energetic and practically-minded whilom Chief Secretary for Ireland, the total railway mileage open in 1887-88 had risen to 15,245 miles. He took great interest in all public works, and thoroughly reorganized that bloated, untrained staff corps officer continued establishment that had, during the previous 12 years, "rushed to the front of the spending departments

in India," and that on all sides stood convicted of blunders and extravagance —

"Lord Mayo, alike on his tours and in his Cabinet, set himself to remedy this state of things. 'There is scarcely a fault,' runs one of his Minutes on a certain undertaking, 'which could have been committed in the construction of a great work, which has not been committed here. Estimates a hundred per cent wrong—design faulty—foundations commenced without the necessary examination of substratum—no inquiry into the excess of cost over estimates during progress.' In another case 'I have read with great sorrow this deplorable history of negligence, incapacity, and corruption, negligence in the conduct of every superior officer who was connected with the construction of these buildings from the beginning, incapacity to a greater or lesser extent on the part of almost every subordinate concerned, corruption on the part of the contractors.' Elsewhere 'I have read the report on the barracks. It is quite dreadful. There is not a man referred to who seems to have done his duty, except one who was unmercifully snubbed. This report will assist me in the reorganisation of the Department.'"

The blame for blunders and extravagance lay more with the system in vogue than the individual officers concerned. The brain power of the Department was overworked and inspecting officers were held responsible for a larger area than they could possibly give attention to, a series of vast works were at one and the same time scattered over the whole Continent without any corresponding additions to the staff, Executive Engineers were overwhelmed with clerical office work, which glued them to their desks and precluded them from overlooking their real work. We are told that the Viceroy's visit to certain Railway works under construction by private contractors, and about the same time to a building being erected by the Public Works Department, forced this last defect of the system strongly on his mind. He always preferred seeing things with his own eyes, to being instructed, in the routine Anglo-Indian, by reports and minutes. In the instance referred to —

"At the private contractors' works he saw three European gentlemen, umbrella in hand and then heads roofed over by enormous pith hats, standing out in the hottest sun, and watching with their own eyes the native workmen as they set brick upon brick. In the building under erection by the Public Works, he found only the coolies and bricklayers, without supervision of any sort. On inquiry, the engineer in charge pleaded office duties, the subordinate engineer pleaded the impossibility of looking after a great many works at the same time throughout a considerable district, and the net result was, that Government had to put up with loss of money and bad masonry. Lord Mayo exclaimed, 'I see what we want—good supervision and one thing at a time.'"

He was able to see also that extravagance in Public Works was largely due to the facility of obtaining loans for their construction, and accordingly he laid down a strict rule that

all ordinary works—works not of a reproductive nature—must be constructed out of current revenue. It is a golden rule ‘pity ’tis that ’tis not always as strictly followed now as it was in Lord Mayo’s time.’ Sir William Hunter points out that by stringently applying his principle of ‘first finding the money and improved supervision,’ he not only effected a large saving during his own Viceroyalty, but rendered possible the subsequent expansion of the Department without financial disaster to the country.

At the same time he fully accepted the responsibility of the British Government to prevent famines, and he believed that the best means to this end were Railway construction and completion of great irrigation works.

Lord Mayo did not believe in the ‘filtration downwards’ theory as applied to matters educational —

“ ‘I dislike,’ he wrote to a friend, ‘this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Bábús at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employ. In the meanwhile we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. The Bábús will never do it. The more education you give them, the more they will keep to themselves, and make their increased knowledge a means of tyranny. If you wait till the bad English, which the 400 Bábús learn in Calcutta, filters down into the 40,000,000 of Bengal, you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retired judge. Let the Bábús learn English by all means. But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R’s to ‘Rural Bengal.’ ”

Lord Mayo did much to promote education amongst Mahomedans, and a still more backward class, the Poor Whites. For a more backward class still, the Chiefs, he also made provision in the institution of special colleges, &c. He organized a Statistical Survey of India and created a Department of Agriculture and Commerce on common-sense lines, realizing the folly of imagining that Western-world bred agricultural faddists can teach the Indian husbandman his own trade by means of steam ploughs and ammoniac manures. “I do not know,” he once wrote, “what is precisely meant by ammoniac manure. If it means guano, superphosphate, or any artificial products of that kind we might as well ask the people of India to manure their ground with champagne.”

The most interesting chapter in the book is that entitled “The Man,” and dealing with his life from his childhood upwards. We are in it introduced to the homely, happy, pious family life at Hayes, an unpretending country house in Meath, about 22 miles from Dublin, and the system of primary edu-

* Referring to *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, which he had read in his voyage out to India.

cation pursued there, and which included walking expeditions, long rides, cricket, and swimming matches in the Boyne—a training which led up in after life to his very successful mastership of the almost moribund Kildare hounds. Says one of his brother sportsmen: ‘Those who saw him at Downshire jump into a trap filled with water will not easily forget his joyous whoop when we ran to ground, and his fine manly figure and happy face as he scraped the mud off his coat.’ Students of heredity may like to know that “the talent at Hayes came from the mother.”

One of Lord Mayo’s brothers writes —“Often have I thought that poor Mayo inherited from her that conscientiousness in the discharge of minute duties which to me seemed one of the characteristics of his official life, both in England and in India.” Here is a vignette of the two years that followed Mr Bourke’s coming of age, previous to which he had travelled on the Continent and in Russia —

“The next couple of seasons, Mr Bourke devoted to the art of making himself agreeable in London society. A fragment of drift wood, cast ashore from the old letters of the period, shows in what guise he flitted before contemporary faces. ‘A very young man, with a fine bearing, one of the best waltzers in town, and a great deal made of.’ By this time his frame had expanded itself to the commanding stature with the air of robust strength, by which he was known through life.”

Sir William Hunter’s biography is, by the way, prefaced by an admirable likeness of Lord Mayo, in his robes as Grand Master of the Star of India.

We recommend all our readers to buy and read this most interesting book. It is interesting from the first line to the last, and no student of Indian politics and Indian history can afford to ignore it.

Rulers of India Edited by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, KCSI, CIE, MA (Oxford), LL.D. (Cambridge) *Lord Cornwallis* by W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq. Oxford Clarendon Press 1890

INTIMATELY associated as the name of the Marquess Cornwallis is with that *Doanri Bundobust* enacted a hundred years ago, which still continues to be a bone of contention between rival politicians and political economists even in our own time, few men, better qualified to set forth its bearings and interpretations, could have been found than Mr Seton-Karr, *ex-Judge* of the Calcutta High Court, and Editor of those carefully-culled selections from antediluvian *Calcutta Gazettes*, wherewith the torpid livers of so many of us have been titillated. No inconsiderable portion of the book now before us is occu-

pied with definitions and expositions of the perplexingly different land tenures that a hundred years ago obtained in India. In its pages we find discussed and determined the relations of a Zemindar to Government, and of a Ryot to a Zemindar, with interludes ancient peshkash and nuzzerana, the arcana of Shikmi talooks and Sayer, Julkur, Bunker, &c. Here is an *ex* High Court Judge's opinion as to the main issue involved in the matter of Land Settlements —

"It has been asserted at several epochs that as Cornwallis declared the Zamindars, with whom his Settlement was made, to be the 'proprietors of the soil, and assured to them in his own language 'the possession of their lands,' and the profits arising from the improvement thereof, he intended to vest, and did vest them, with an absolute and exclusive right of ownership as we understand that term in England. But this is by no means the case. It is quite clear from the language of his Minutes and Letters, as well as from his legislation, that he only recognized in them a limited and not an absolute proprietorship, that he clearly perceived, and was prepared to protect the rights and interests of other parties in the soil, and that the terms in which he speaks of Zamindars as proprietors, must be taken in the Oriental and not in the English sense.

"He could not practically override what for centuries had been the common law of the country. Sir George Campbell, who has the advantage of familiarity with land tenures in the Punjab, in the Upper Provinces, in Oudh, and in Bengal, pointed out some years ago that land in India was a possession in which two and more parties had very distinct, separate, and permanent interests, and that much of the confused and erroneous language applied to the subject had arisen from overlooking and disregarding this elementary fact.

Cornwallis was wise in his generation. he was able to see that a landed gentry class, dependent for existence on the favour and prestige of a British Government, would be a serviceable buttress to the stability of its rule. and so he sought to weld the two interests together. Shore's wisdom looked further afield. had prescience, was averse to a leap in the dark, maintaining that the capabilities of the land to be arbitrarily "settled" for all time had not been ascertained, that means for ascertaining it did not presently exist, that on the part of high-handed Zemindars, great abuses of the virtual power delegated to them to levy abwabs and cesses prevailed, that, in short, before committing the Honorable East India Company to an irrevocable settlement in perpetuity, it would be prudent, politic, and proper to wait till some certainty of knowledge could, by means of careful enquiry and investigation, be arrived at. There was, 100 years ago, a great deal to be said on both sides of the argument. there is still much to be said on both sides in this year of grace 1891. Possibly, wisdom has been justified of both her argumentative children. To one man's mind's eye what his fellow calls *black* may seem *white*, and *vice versa*, and yet there need be no question of

mental colour blindness on the part of either party to the controversy Mr Seton-Karr says —

"The judicial rent, now familiar to English readers from its recent introduction into Ireland, was the law of the land in India a century ago. It has never been shown how this necessity of a resort to a judicial tribunal could be compatible with any theory of absolute and unlimited ownership."

Chapter IV of this book treats of Cornwallis' reform of the Civil Service of his time, and of the administration of Civil and Criminal Courts—a labour Herculean—diametrically opposed as it was to backstairs influence at the English Court, to the sinecures sacred to Dowry, to the breeches-pocket interests of all the Company's servants in the East, high and low. The labour was surmounted, though not without toil, difficulty, and display of moral courage. Let this extract from a letter to Lord Sydney bear witness —

"I think I told you how much Lord Ailesbury had distressed me by sending out Mr Ritso. He is now writing in the Secretary's Office for 200 or 250 rupees per month, and I do not see the probability of my being able to give him anything better, without deserving to be impeached. I am still persecuted every day by people coming out with letters to me, who either get into Jail or starve in the foreign Settlements. For God's sake do all in your power to stop this madness."

To an English peer, soliciting an appointment for a protégé, the Governor-General wrote that he would be glad enough to appoint Mr Beecherost to a Commercial Residency, if the said Mr Beecherost were likely to succeed in it, "but here, my Lord, we are in the habit of looking for the man for the place, and not for the place for the man." The Prince of Wales was similarly rebuffed. Cornwallis had a very adequate conception of duty and its obligations, a conception in advance of his time and surroundings. The "Cornwallis Code," whether for revenue, police, criminal and civil justice, or other administrative functions, defined and set due bounds to authority, created legal procedure, by a regular system of appeal, strove to fend off miscarriages of justice, and laid the foundations and inaugurated the noble traditions of the Indian Civil Service of to-day. It was "dictated by an anxious desire to conciliate Hindus and Muhammedans, to soothe their feelings, to avoid offence to religious and social prejudices, and, at the same time, to substitute order, method, and system, for anarchy, chaos, and the irregular and uncontrolled exercise of judicial power." It is noteworthy, taking into account the high Tory times in which Lord Cornwallis lived and the abject subjects he was set to govern, that he should have laid down, as a rule absolute, that the official acts of Collectors and District officers, and local satraps at large, might be challenged in the Civil Courts,

that Government might be sued in the Courts, even as any private person might be, for illegal exactions, or for infringements of the rights of landholders and rayats, and that such suits could be cognizable only by Judges who had no direct or personal interest in enforcing the financial claims of Government. My Lord Cornwallis was a deal more conscientious in the exercise of his power than his snug English employers at the India House in Threadneedle Street deemed it needful or convenient for any one to be

It is to Cornwallis's credit, that, 100 years ago, he was able to understand the advantage of that amalgamation of Royal and Company's troops into one army which did not become an accomplished fact till three quarters of a century after his first term of office as Governor General. An extract from a letter from Warren Hastings, dated the 22nd of April 1790, is creditable to both statesmen. It runs —

“Of thanks I have a large debt due from me to your Lordship for many and substantial favours for your great goodness to my old domesticks, for your distinguished notice of my friends, and for the liberal manner in which you were pleased to proclaim your allowance of the testimonials which were subscribed in my favour, and to authenticate them by the transmission of them to the Court of Directors. You might, my Lord, have done more to indicate your countenance of those subscriptions, had I been entitled to such a proof of your personal good-will, but though I should have felt as I ought for the motive, I should have regretted that you had yielded to it. Such a proceeding would have been construed into a transgression of the line of public duty, and have defeated its own purpose, by inducing a suspicion that the testimonials were extorted by the influence of authority. Considering the subject in its relation to your Lordship, I applaud the nice discretion with which you tempered a conduct impelled by a desire to promote the redress of an injured character. Regarding it merely as it affected myself, I am thankful for what you did, and for stopping precisely where you did stop.”

Hastings' successor in the government of India thought better than Lord Macaulay did of the great man to the legacy of whose acts and policies he was immediate heir and successor. Is it not likely, under the circumstances, that Lord Cornwallis was very much better informed, and in very much more of a position to judge fairly than Lord Macaulay was fifty years afterwards? It is noteworthy that in Lord Cornwallis's correspondence there are to be found “uncomplimentary remarks about Impey” which, being interpreted, mean that honest men don't like skunks.

Voluminous and more or less inutile reports were not the official order of the day in Lord Cornwallis's time. In his time the Simla Capua had not been invented, Calcutta was the focus of Government authority, and fashion, and Calcutta was damnably dull. Wherefore, we find the greatly bored

but indefatigable Governor-General writing to his son at Eton —

That life in the City of Palaces was mere clockwork “ I get on horse back just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon after my return from riding in doing business, and almost exactly the same portion of time every day at table, drive out in a phaeton a little before sunset then write or read over letters or papers on business for two hours, sit down at nine with two or three officers of my family to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes ten I don't think the greatest sap at Eton can lead a duller life than this ”

That last sentence conveys a touch of nature one would hardly have expected from the author of the *Perpetual Settlement*. It is written — “ Cornwallis, though he did not anticipate the ceremonial and show of Lord Wellesley, who attended public worship on Sunday in his robes of state, and who issued an order prohibiting all servants of Government from horse-racing on Sunday, set an excellent example of public morality ” With reference to which excellent example we may perhaps be allowed to enquire with all due humility whether it is better to cleanse the outside of cups and platters or the inside? Unlike Lord Lawrence and the Queen-Empress, Lord Cornwallis paid regard to the duties of hospitality appertaining to his high office, and was always willing to prove, by a loosening of his own purse-strings, that he held it obligatory on the part of a recipient of large sums of public money devised for public entertainment—to entertain

In 1792 we find him writing to his brother that the war with Tippoo Sultan had put him considerably out of pocket “ I spent £27,360 reckoning the current rupee at two shillings, between the 1st of December 1790 and the 31st July 1792, besides the wine from England, and two Arabian horses for which I am to give English hunters ”

Lord Cornwallis we are told, either does not appear to have found the time, or did not acknowledge the necessity of many visits to the interior. Office work is easier to clerkly minds than inspection work. Cornwallis, living in the spirit of the age he lived in, was to a certain extent melodramatically inclined, not averse to posing on quasi-theatrical stages, as prime mover in movements he had very little to do with really. He appears to have been a very tame sportsman —

“ Allusions to sport occur occasionally. The partridge shooting at Culford was good, especially in November and December. And as the practice of driving birds was then unknown, it may be presumed that there was more cover in the fields than we see anywhere at present. But we do not find any mention of a tiger, a deer, or a buffalo hunt in any of the most familiar correspondence, though districts now entirely cleared of trees and grass jungle, numbering countless villages, and containing a population of 500 souls to the square mile, were then the haunts of deer, wild boars, leopards, and tigers ”

Over and above his sporting proclivities, my Lord Cornwallis was by way of being a traveller —

“ In the year 1787 he visited Benares, going up the Ganges in the State barge, and it was justly considered a marvellous rate of progress, when an editor could record that including stoppages at divers stations on the river, Krishnagar, Bhágalpur, Patná and others, he arrived at Benares in a month. One result of this visit was that he prohibited not only Europeans generally, but persons in the Civil and Military Services, from proceeding beyond Baksar without an official pass. The tour also brought to his notice the melancholy fact, that many of the subalterns in the army had got deeply into debt, owing to dissipation and extravagance ”

A'propos of the settlement of Benares, here is a significant extract from a letter written by the Governor-General in 1787 —

“ ‘ Ill as I thought of the late system of Benares, I found it, on enquiry, much worse than I could have conceived. The Resident, although not regularly invested with any power, enjoyed the almost absolute government of the country without control. His emoluments, besides the thousand rupees per month allowed him by the Company, certainly amounted to little less than four lakhs a year, exclusive of the complete monopoly of the whole commerce of the country, with the power of granting *farmanas*, &c. It has been generally supposed that in return for all these good things, the Residents at Benares have not been ungrateful to the friends of the Governor-General. I have no reason to suppose that Mr — took more than his predecessors— God knows what he *gave*, but as he was on bad terms with the Rájá and his servants, and as new measures are more likely to succeed with new men, I thought it better to remove him. Although many persons were desirous, nay even importunate, to show their zeal for the Company's service by undertaking this office, it was not very easy for me to find a successor to my mind. For I could not venture to lower the authority of the Resident too abruptly, from apprehension of losing our revenue, and as the Rájá is a fool, his servants rogues, every native of Hindustan (I really believe) corrupt, and Benares 600 miles from Calcutta, there was a danger, unless it was put into good hands, of the old system being in some degree continued.

“ ‘ As I had the prosperity of Benares most exceedingly at heart, and as I felt that nothing could tend so much as a good management of that Province to raise our character and reputation in the remotest parts of Hindustan, I determined on this occasion to make a very great sacrifice, and, much against his own will, appointed Mr Jonathan Duncan, the Secretary of the Public and Revenue Departments, to that office. Perhaps you are not acquainted with Mr Duncan's character: he is held in the highest estimation by every man, both European and native, in Bengal; and, next to Mr Shore, was more capable of assisting me, particularly in revenue matters, than any man in this country. I am sorry to say that I have every reason to believe that at present, almost all the Collectors are, under the name of some relation or friend, deeply engaged in commerce, and, by their influence as Collectors and Judges of Adalat, they become the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interest, and the greatest oppressors of the manufacturers.’ ”

Rulers of India Akbar By COLONEL G B MALLESON,
CSI Oxford Clarendon Press 1890

INEVITABLY, Colonel Malleeson's *Akbar*, the latest addition to the *Rulers of India* Series in course of publication by the Clarendon Press, challenges comparison with Von Noer's *Emperor Akbar, a Contribution towards the History of India in the 16th Century*, commented on in last October's issue of this *Review*. Colonel Malleeson's book is more compact, better adapted to school-board uses and the needs of elementary education than Von Noer's more elaborate and scientific book was. As a lifelike presentment of events and the causes that led up to them, a history throwing light on, and giving insight into, the beginnings of Indian Imperialism and the conditions of life and law 300 years ago, with all that makes such a chronicle worth reading, Von Noer's painstaking, sympathetic record is, it seems to us, likely to be of infinitely more value to the student of history, who looks for something beyond dates and barren data, than this constrainedly condensed, and cigo somewhat bold, attempt at paraphrase of a great subject.

Colonel Malleeson starts in his excursus with a patronizing notice of Babar and his dreams of conquest, this man being recognized as greatly in advance of his time, albeit, in his connection with Hindustan, "but little more than a conqueror," and even as to that subordinate rôle in the world's fair, "it is a question whether the central idea of Babar's policy was not the creation of an Empire in Central Asia rather than of an empire (with a small e) in India." In support of which guess at truth no attempt at proof is made, though it is written that, subsequently, Humayoon ruled for eight years in India "without contributing a single stone to the foundation of an Empire." Von Noer, with keener, because more sympathetic and understanding interest in the subject, was able to see that memories and traditions of Babar, his chivalry, his unselfishness, his intrinsic nobility of character—all the grand qualities that worldly people in their shortsightedness look upon as folly—played no insignificant part in the formation of the youthful Akbar's character, and so *did* materially help afterwards towards a substantial building up of Empire. As to Humayun's policy, Colonel Malleeson—invidiously to our thinking—maintains that conciliation of the millions of Hindustan did not enter into his system. He was content to govern by camps located in the districts he had conquered, and his Alsace-Lorraine policy is by Colonel Malleeson imputed to him for unrighteousness. In our school days we used to be taught that such was the way in which old world Roman conquerors dealt with the peoples who, unfortu-

nately or fortunately for themselves, found themselves ranged in opposition to *Senatus populus que Romanus*, and its attendant eagles. Later on in the world's chronicle Norman conquerors of Saxon and Dane freeholders on English soil, were not particularly careful to conciliate the fallen—if history tells a true tale. When, in the whirlgigs of the world's history have conquerors ever gone out of their way to be extra civil to the conquered? *Vae victis* is a policy deep rooted in human nature, yesterday, to-day, for all time. Humayun was by no means the exception to orthodox patterns of human nature. Colonel Malleon assumes him to have been. Circumstances were against him.

As to the matter of standing camps, that is made a reproach to Humayun, if, *circa* the fourteenth century, he had been able to see his way to doing without them, he would have been glad enough to be absolved of the trouble. It is so easy to say wise things after the event—*Eventus stultorum Magister*.

Colonel Malleon has, he tells us in his preface, divided his life of Akbar into three portions. The first, is sacred to Babar, the second monopolized by Humayun, while what is left of the perspective is supposed to relate to Akbar. Colonel Malleon says, "I have described him as a husband, as a father, as a man who, despite of a religious education abounding in the inculcation of hostility to all who differed from him, gave his intellect the freest course, and based his conduct on the teachings of his intellect." This declaration notwithstanding, we are told nothing about Akbar's marital relations to the six or seven thousand women he used to maintain in his zenana. On a possibly wider-reaching subject, we are told, with reference to Akbar's marriages, with Rajputni princesses, that "that there was, he well knew, no such equalizer as marriage." That is a quite novel reading of Mahomedan law; a reading peculiar to Colonel Malleon, we take it.

Colonel Malleon thinks Akbar never knew of the share his son Selim, (afterwards the Emperor Jehangir), had in the murder of Abulfazl. Colonel Malleon would appear to be in entire sympathy with Akbar's assumptions of godhead and infallibility and encouragement of learning.

"He never pardoned," writes Professor Blochmann, "pride and conceit in a man, and of all kinds of conceit, the conceit of learning was most hateful to him." Hence the cry of the class affected by his action, that he discouraged learning and learned men. He did nothing of the sort. There never has flourished in India a more generous encourager of the real thing. In this respect the present rulers of India might profit by his example. One of the men whose knowledge of history was the most extensive in that age, and who possessed great talents and a searching mind, was Khan-i-Azam Mirza, son of his favourite nurse. For a long time this man held fast to the orthodox profession of faith, ridiculing the new religion of Akbar, and especially ridiculing Faizi and Abulfazl, to whom he applied nicknames expressing his sense of

their pretensions. But at a later period he had occasion to make the pilgrimage to Mekka, and there he was so fleeced by the priests that his attachment to Islam insensibly cooled down. On his return to Agra, he became a member of the Divine Faith. He wrote poetry well, and was remarkable for the ease of his address and his intelligence. One of his many aphorisms has descended to posterity. It runs as follows: 'A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to, a Khorasan woman for his housework, a Hindu woman, for nursing his children, and a woman from Marawānnahr (Turkistan) to have some one to whip as a warning to the other three.' We commend the concluding portion of this extract to the tender attention of modern women's rights advocates.

Sketches of Some Distinguished Indian Women By MRS. E. F. CHAPMAN, with a Preface by the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, London W. H. Allen & Co, Limited, and at Calcutta, 1891

MRS. CHAPMAN'S *Sketches of Some Distinguished Indian Women* contains short memoirs of the lives of Pandita Ramabai, Dr. Anandibai Joshee, the Maharane of Kooch Behar, Toru Dutt, and Cornelia Sorabjee. These names may, without cavil, be accepted as a fairly representative list of Indian women who have become distinguished of late years, though we cannot agree with the author in thinking them typical instances of the results of civilization and educational influences on different races and classes in Indian society. Civilization with Mrs Chapman appears to mean following after Western rules of conduct and etiquette, educational influences are interpreted as acceptance of the tenets of the Evangelical School of Protestantism. We take leave to think that there have been in the immediate past, and are at the present time, in our midst, women quite as "distinguished," albeit not Christians, as Cornelia Sorabjee, or the Maharane of Kooch Behar. Sir John Ellesmere, in *Friends in Council*, said he considered it a mistake to have the reciprocity all on one side. Similarly we incline to think that this would have been a better book had its author been able to see and frankly acknowledge that there may be things good, and beautiful, and of good report and repute, even outside the pale of Evangelical Christianity and its feeble, facing-both ways shadow, Brahmoism.

Ramabai's story is known to everybody. It is fairly well retold in these pages. From the story of Dr. Anandibai Joshee's career, we cull the following extract —

"In 1885 Gopal Joshee arrived in America, but his coming only proved what her friends had feared it might do, a source of embarrassment to his wife. He began talking and writing in a quite unaccountable manner, speaking slightly of women and their capacity for education, and, at the same time, showing himself quite ready to take every advantage of his wife's exertions, and of the kindness which

her friends showed him for her sake. His presence added to his wife's difficulties in every way, and his conduct and conversation were calculated to strengthen the belief, already held by many people, that the *average* Hindu is not likely to be benefited by visiting Europe or America, and that it will take years of education and experience to counteract the effects, on the minds of Indian men, of the belief in their absolute superiority to women, in which they have been trained for so many generations."

America would appear to be the promised land of all strong-minded woman's rights advocating Indian women. Who does not know the sad story of the graceful and sympathetic singer Toru Dutt? who does not, in recalling it to memory, recall therewithal the tender, loving epitaph of the old-world Greeks "Those whom the Gods love die young!"—Toru Dutt's sympathies with regard to European literature were affiliated to French styles and French modes of thought rather than English. She put Victor Hugo on a higher poetical throne than Shakespeare. Her real, innate genius for poetry saved her from imitating his turgid, ranting, mock heroics. Mrs Chapman's memoir adds nothing to our knowledge of Toru Dutt's life and life-work. An English gentleman resident in Calcutta, once, we are told, paid a visit to the sisters Aru and Toru, and, in the course of conversation, asked them what were their favourite books—

"Oh! novels, of course," replied the younger sister, who was almost always the spokeswoman.

"Novels!" exclaimed their visitor, "I am sorry to hear that. You should read history."

"Oh, no!" was the answer, "for history is false, but novels are true."

The Indian Church Quarterly Review April 1891 Edited by the REV H J SPENCE GRAY, M A London Messrs J Masters, 78 New Bond Street Calcutta Oxford Mission Press 3, Gaustin's Place

WE more than doubt whether any utile account of the philosophical systems of the Hindus can be given in 30 pages octavo. The Rev Father Goreh, S S J E, attempts it in the April number of *The Church Quarterly Review*. Here is a quotation from his article with which we agree—

"Want of common sense is the great characteristic of the learned men of India. They were not ignorant of the rules of reasoning, but their fault lies in accepting false maxims, and they have not the common sense to perceive the monstrousness of the conclusions to which they are brought, starting from those maxims, and never suspect that perhaps those maxims were false."

The Bishop of Jerusalem's contribution, *Christianity in the Holy Land*, is liberal-minded, catholic in the best sense of the word, and exceedingly interesting. The key-note of a paper on the case of the Bishop of Lincoln reads thus—"On the whole, is not an attempt to revive a quasi-papal autocracy in a Metropolitan something of an anachronism?"

Two Essays on Theology and Ethics By HIRALAL HALDAR
M.A., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Assistant
Professor of English Literature, Rajchunder College, Bansal
Calcutta 1891

THE author of this book, in his preface thereto, advertises that materials for it have been largely gathered from *The Indian Messenger*, which is it appears, "a weekly journal published from Calcutta." Whether it is published in Calcutta does not appear.

Baboo Hiralal Haldar says that "his object is to supply an introduction to the Neo Kantian or Neo-Hegelian Philosophy of Great Britain", though he entertains "no hope that by reading his book students will be able to form any clear idea of the leading positions of that philosophy." Since he is possessed of that idea, it occurs to us that his book might as well have been unwritten, all the more so since he says explicitly that, in his essays, "certainly no original doctrine is to be found."

Report on the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Note and Appendices By SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, M.D.,
K.C.I.L., C.S.I., I.I.D. (Second Reprint) London W.H.
Allen & Co., Limited, and at Calcutta 1891

FROM the many-sided Sir George Birdwood we looked for something a good deal more picturesque and interesting than this somewhat bald calendar. At least 204 pages, out of the 316 of which it consists, would have been more fitly designated in Index than a Report. The book is gorgeously bound, illustrated and emblazoned, quite an *édition de luxe*, but that is the best that can be said of it, three-fourths of the printed matter contained in it was not worth printing, either from an antiquarian, an æsthetic, a politico-economical, or any other point of view. Apologists for Sir George Birdwood may urge that he had, to a great extent, to do his literary brickmaking not only without straw, but with very little clay either. For a great many records that ought to have been preserved were not. There are years and years of gaps in the file of Court Minutes. Marine Records are altogether "missing." With reference to very early records, we are told that a book has recently been discovered in the India Office containing letters and other documents up to 1616. After which date there is an absence of letters till—1659. Under such circumstances we think the Curator of the Indian Museum might, with advantage to himself and the public, have devoted his versatile talents to some other and more fructuous work of literary ex-

plotation. He is of a contrary opinion, however, and says in an introductory note to his book —

“Quite apart from the extraordinary history of the East India Company, every fact recorded in these papers has its significance for the student of the past. It would be useless therefore to attempt to make a selection from them, for what one enquirer might overlook as of no interest, another would find of the highest importance. For instance, what I have found most interesting in these records are the entries illustrative of the history of articles of trade,—such as the mention made of tea, opium, indigo, gum lac, gamboge, and kino, and of shawls, carpets, and the like—which to most persons would seem trivial, if not altogether worthless.”

Here is a passage from the body of the work illustrative of the early history of trade from England to the East Indies —

“In 1621 Sir Thomas Mun, Deputy Governour of the Company, published his *Discours of Trade from England to the East Indies*. In this he showed that the annual consumption in Europe of the following articles from Southern Asia then was —

	lbs
Pepper	6,000,000
Cloves	450,000
Nutmegs	400,000
Indigo	30,000
Mace	150,000
Kaw silk [Persia]	1,000,000

“This, by the old overland route, would have cost 1,465,000*l*, but by the new sea route cost only 511,458*l*. Moreover the English consumption of these articles being about one tenth of the Continental, the original price paid for them by the Company was more than recovered on the portion of them re-exported to the Continent besides which the entire cost of the ships, wages, provisions, and insurance, was paid out of the gross profits of the Company's trade to the English people. In fact, the only bullion exported by the Company out of England was but a fractional portion of what was imported into the country from the Continent of Europe in payment of their re-exported cargoes of pepper and other Indian spices.”

Sir George Birdwood deems it notable that the English East India Company, in 1769, enjoined on their employes in India that “channels of trade should be in every respect free and unconstrained.”

Every degree of restraint is contrary to the fundamental principles of trade and commerce.

All monopolies are to be discouraged.” Very pretty on paper, but can one believe that the smug pagoda-worshipping merchant adventurers who promulgated this commandment really intended their factors in the East to abide by it? Would it not have fared ill with the man who did scrupulously abide by it? In these our days of the one-and-four-penny rupee, 'tis an odd irony to find the Worshipful East India Company, 200 years ago, enquiring of its servants in the East “whether the scarcity of silver is general, and whether it is owing to exportation, or to the fatal consequences of the

gold coinage " What these fatal consequences were is not apparent, perhaps some anti-bimetallist will inform us

Some of Sir George Birdwood's foot notes are opportune and informing, *e.g.* and *à propos* of Sir Joseph Pease's late motion in the House of Commons and the ensuent triumph of cant over common sense and equity, read this one —

"It was not until 1773 that the Company undertook the supervision of the manufacture of opium in Bengal Behar and Orissa. In 1797 the cultivation of the poppy for opium was restricted to Behar and Benares and continued in Bengal. An immense trade had been going on between India and the surrounding countries in this drug long before the Company monopolized it. Thus Barbosa [1516] mentions that the Chinese ship on their return voyages loaded at Malacca with much *aufian* which we call opium. Valentijn [1726] writes — Java alone consumes monthly 350 packs of opium each being of 130 *catis*. And Hamilton [1727] — 'The Chiefs of Calcut for many years had vented between 50 and 1,000 chests of Bengal opium yearly up in the inland countries where it was very much used. The regular exports of the Company from Bengal began in 1796. Opium smoking is known to have prevailed in China at least fifty years before this, and the artistic elaboration of the opium pipe of the remote parts of that country points backward to very remote centuries as the date of the cultivation of the habit. This however, is a mere inference, and the recent contemptible evidence of the extension of the use of opium from Egypt and Asia Minor renders it probable, that its introduction into Persia and India at least was due to the Mahomedan traders of the 9th and 10th century A.D. If this was actually the case, we owe to them at once the provision of alcohol as the special stimulant of the western and northern nations of the Old World and of opium as the favourite narcotic of its southern and eastern populations. For the New World there was tobacco, and it is likely in time to everywhere supplant both ardent spirits and opium as the popular *φάρμακον υπερβής*. In packet 14 of the collections of India Office Records enumerated in the Statistics and Commerce Departmental List No 2337 there is a letter written in 1711 from Vizagapatam to Mr. Thomas Wootley, who was then in that twenty years Secretary to the United [East India] Company, concerning the uses of opium to vegetarians. It will be found reprinted in the *Times*, 27th July 1886."

Between pages 242 and 248 may be found an exhaustive critical note on the charge of bribery brought against La Bourdonnais by some historians

Our author is of opinion that there is no conclusive evidence of the truth of the charge, and there can be pertinent remarks " Bribery has always had an interest for minds given to searching out mean and sordid causes for the great results of history "

Full Notes on Grant's Xenophon Indian University Series
With Introduction, Index, Question Papers and Plans By
S RADHAKRISHNA AIYAR, B.A., First Assistant, Maharajah's
College, Pudukota Madras V Kalyanaram Iyer 1891

TIME was when Mr. E. Lethbridge, whilom of the Indian Educational Service, used to deluge the School book market with primers, abridgements, annotations, &c, on stock subjects, stamped with his imprimatur. His market monopoly

has fallen apparently on the shoulders of Mr V Kalyanaram Iyer who has to be thanked for notes published by him on *Grant's Xenophon*, for yet another new edition of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, and yet another presentment of Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. Xenophon wrote history, and it will do Indian students no harm to learn that history by heart. As to the other two books, oriental sympathies have no more affinity with Bacon and Chaucer, than *ghce* has with English ideas as to the soap and water rites proper to be observed in bathing and cleansing one's body from impurities.

The National Review May 1891 London W H Allen & Co, Limited, 13, Waterloo Place

A CAPITAL number this. The Clitheroe case serves as text for the first article on *The Law relating to the Married*. Mr Baiham although conspicuously out as to his political forecasts, gives a good deal of curious information as to the ways and means of the hillmen around Manipur. *How I became a Conservative* is a most amusing political squib, and not less amusing is the record of *A Modern High School Girl*. Mr C F Buckland contributes a chatty article on his *Jail Experiences in India*.

Thacker's Reduced Survey Map of India By J G BARTHOLOMEW, F R G S, with Index

AN excellent map, not the least merit of which is its handiness.

It has been corrected up to date, and gives in detail all the leading features of the General Survey Sheets and also results of the latest frontier and geographical scientific exploitation. To the map is prefixed an Index giving the location of each one of the 10,000 names appearing on it.

Mr Bartholomew's name is a guarantee of accuracy and good work.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

- Statistical Tables for British India* Compiled in the Statistical Branch of the Finance and Commerce Department Calcutta Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India 1891
- Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries* For the eleven months, April 1890 to February 1891, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1888-89 and 1889-90
- The National Review* For March and April 1891 London W H Allen & Co Limited, 13, Waterloo Place
- Kant's Principles of Politics* Including his Essay on Perpetual Peace A contribution to political science, edited and translated by W Hastie, B D, Edinburgh T and T Clark 38, George Street 1891
- Pre Organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God* An exposition and criticism, by Chas Chapman M A, LL D, Principal of Western College, Plymouth Edinburgh T and T Clarke, 38, George Street 1891
- Philosophy and Theology* Being the First Edinburgh University Gifford Lectures By James Hutchison Stirling, LL D, Edinburgh T and T Clark, 38, George Street 1890
- Contents and Index* of the first twenty Volumes of the Records of the Geological Survey of India, 1868 to 1887 Calcutta Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India 1891
- The Indian University Series* Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales with Introductory Notices, a modern Prose version of the Poem, Notes, Questions and Glossary By J Creighton Madras V Kalyanaram Iyer 1890
- Bacon the Advancement of Learning* Edited by F G Selby, M A (Oxon) Volume I Madras V Kalyanaram Iyer 1891
- The Indian Magazine and Review* Vol XXII, No 244, April 1891
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- Reports on the Jails of the Punjab* For the year 1890 By T E L Bate, Surgeon Major, Inspector General of Prisons, Punjab Published by Authority Printed at the Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore 1891

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No CLXXXVI

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I — GENERAL LITERATURE—

- 1 —The Soul of Man An Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology By Dr Paul Carus With 152 Illustrations and Diagrams Chicago, Ill The Open Court Publishing Co 1891 xxii
- 2 —History of the Punjab From the remotest antiquity to the present time By Sayid Muhammad Latif, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Gunderpur, &c, &c Calcutta Central Press Company, Limited 1891 xxv
- 3 —The Organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God An Exposition and a Criticism By Charles Chapman, M A, L L D, Principal of Western College, Plymouth London T & T Clark, 38, George Street 1891 xxviii
- 4 —Philosophy and Theology Being the First Edinburgh University Gifford Lectures by James Hutchison Stirling, LL D (Edin), Foreign Member of the Philosophical Society of Berlin, Gifford Lecturer to the University of Edinburgh, 1888-90 Edinburgh T & T Clark, 38, George Street 1890 xxix
- 5 —The Indian Church Quarterly Review, July 1891 Edited by the Rev H J Spence Gray, M A London Messrs J Masters, 78, New Bond Street Calcutta Oxford Mission Press, 36, Ballygunge Circular Road xxxiii
- 6 —Kant's Principles of Politics Including his Essay on Perpetual Peace A contribution to Political Science Edited and Translated by W Hastie, B D, Translator of Kant's 'Philosophy of Law' Lloyd's 'Philosophy of Right, etc' Edinburgh T & T Clark, 38, George Street 1891 xxxvi
- 7 —Bacon The Advancement of Learning Edited by F G Selby, M A, Oxon, Late Scholar of Wadham College Principal and Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Deccan College, Poona, Fellow of the University of Bombay Vol I, Second Edition Madras V Kalyanaram Iyer 1891 xxxvii
- 8 —Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales (The Indian University Series) With Introductory Notices A Modern Prose Version of the Poem, Notes, Questions and Glossary by J. Creighton, Tutor to Minors under the Court of Wards, and Examiner in English to the University, late Principal, S P G College, Trichinopoly, and Inspector of Schools, London Madras V Kalyanaram Iyer 1891 ib

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- 9—Journal of the East India Association Published
under the authority of the Council No 2,
Volume XXIII, May 1891 Westminster
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W H Allen & Co, 13, Waterloo Place, S W xxxvii
- 10—Tales from Blackwood, Third Series, No XI
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& Sons xxxviii
- 11—Travel, Adventure, and Sport Blackwood's
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and London William Blackwood & Sons xxxix
- 12—A Sanskrit English Dictionary, based upon the
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Luzac & Co, Great Russell Street, W C
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No 186 — OCTOBER, 1891.

ART I — THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY

HISTORY is the mirror of the past and the beacon of the future. It shows us the life of the human race, as a biography shows us the life of the individual man. It shows us the life of the nations who have preceded us, their origin and growth, their rise and their prosperity, their decay and their fall. It shows us the gradual development of political institutions, from the patriarchal to the monarchical, from the aristocratic oligarchy of a Dorian republic to the Parliamentary majority of a modern democracy. It tells the tale of the eternal war between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, between the wisdom of the few and the passions of the many. It tells us of the sufferings of the martyrs of progress, and of the martyrs of prejudice, of the fate of the few who died for the truth, and of the fate of the many who died for the falsehood that they believed was the truth. It tells us of the ceaseless struggle for existence, of the striving of race with race and of nation with nation, of the triumph of the strong, of the annihilation of the weak, and of the survival of the fittest.

Its study is the study of man, "the proper study of mankind," and its science is as necessary to the philosopher as it is to the politician, to the statesman, and to the diplomatist. For, broadly speaking, the branches of history not only include the record of political movements, the lives of kings and conquerors, and the story of the growth and decay of nations, but treat of all the many and various arts and sciences of human invention which have been, or are, useful and necessary to mankind. We have histories of civilization, of

architecture, histories of music and of painting, histories even of the fashions in costume. It may be well believed that the investigation of a science so extensive, or rather so universal, might fully employ a lifetime of diligent study and laborious research; and, in attempting a partial and imperfect elucidation of it, we can only briefly skim the surface of the subject.

We will, therefore, commence with a short sketch of the nature and progress of historical record from the earliest ages to the present time, and then attempt to explain the principles which govern the application of the science of history, after which we shall proceed to notice some of the chief factors which go to the making of history, and to illustrate their influence by salient examples from its pages.

History must be coeval with the existence of the human race, and the first unwritten chapters of it would record the battles of primeval man for the possession of water-springs or hunting-grounds, fought out between kindred tribes with fish bone lances and flint headed arrows, or by the same tribes confederated to withstand the invasion of some race of intrusive strangers. But these early conflicts and migrations were never recorded, and for how many ages they continued unrecorded we are quite unable to say, for there were no means of recording them before the invention of the art of writing, some three thousand years ago.

The internecine wars between the tribes of New Zealanders, which were being continuously carried on when that island was first discovered by Europeans, little more than a century ago, may give us a very fair idea of the conflicts of primitive man. But in the latter case there was no *Deus ex Machinâ*, in the shape of an English trader with a cargo of cheap muskets and gunpowder, to decide the victory. Individual skill and prowess gained the day, and invested their possessors with the dignities and powers of chiefs and kings among their fellows, like the Grecian champions in the great epic poems, the facts and incidents recorded in which must have been derived from oral history. Or the victory might be due to the greater cohesion and co-operation among the members of one tribe enabling them to act simultaneously and decisively against their scattered and irresolute enemies.

Yet we find that the traditions of almost all nations point to the original state of mankind as having been one of universal peace and happiness, though this tradition is at variance with the conclusions of geologists and anthropologists, and is also opposed to the deductions made by experience from the study of the facts of history. The tradition of a Golden Age is due, perhaps, as suggested by Keightley, to a natural operation of the

human mind, which unconsciously draws an analogy between the happy and careless days of childhood and the early infancy of the human race. Similarly we find the Hebrew prophets, in the days of the Jewish monarchy, fondly re-calling the patriarchal state of society as the ideal Golden Age of the nation, when the Israelites dwelt in tents, occupied with the care of their herds and flocks, careless of the luxuries, and untainted by the vices, of Tyrian civilization. Our own experience teaches us that all barbarous nations are imbued with the idea that their forefathers were a superior race of men to themselves, with apparently no better ground for the idea than that expressed in the well known maxim, *Omne ignotum pro magifico*. We find the same tradition of four different Ages or stages of progressive degeneration in the history of the human race—*viz.*, a Golden, a Silver, a Brazen, and an Iron Age—existing from the earliest times among the Aryan Hindus in Asia and the Aryan Greeks in Europe, from which we may infer that the tradition must have been common to the Aryan race in the times of remotest antiquity before it left its original seats and divided into several branches which migrated in different directions. This affords us an indication of the immense antiquity of some of the oral traditions which were the earliest forms of history. Before the invention and spread of the art of writing, a great mass of historical facts must have been handed down orally from generation to generation. Thus we find the account of a universal deluge transmitted to us by the traditions of several different nations, first orally, and then committed to writing, when the art of writing came into use, as in the Hebrew Scriptures of the Pentateuch, which relate in detail events which happened long before the time of the writer or writers of the books. We have the results of oral tradition also in the poems ascribed to Homer, which narrate the incidents of a war supposed to have happened at least three hundred years before their composition.

Genealogies and lists of dynasties occupy a prominent place among these oral fragments of history. Genealogies are often the only histories which barbarous nations possess. The succession of names of a man's own immediate ancestors interests the feeling of family pride, which is the precursor of national pride, or patriotism; and we observe this feeling to be strongest among the nations of Semitic race, among whom the patriarchal system was most thoroughly developed, as may be seen by the genealogies which play so great a part in the Hebrew Scriptures and also in the pedigrees of the Bedouin Arabs. When the science of history began to be cultivated, these existing genealogies served as a framework on which to arrange the facts and incidents handed down by tradition.

The first authentic fragments of written history which we possess are the hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions on the monuments of the Egyptians, Assyrians and other nations of equal antiquity and the first connected historical narrative with which we are acquainted, is the 'History of the Children of Israel' as narrated in the Pentateuch and in the other historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures

The great epic poems of Greece are of almost equal antiquity, and though their nature is chiefly mythical, they throw great light upon the early history of the Grecian nation, among whom the science of history was first recognized and cultivated

We find it dedicated to one of the nine celestial blue-stockings who represented the arts and sciences in their comprehensive mythology, for the Greeks personified not only the forces of Nature as divinities, but also animal passions and human accomplishments so we have the nymph Clio, the Muse of History, with clarion, palm-branch and manuscript roll, presiding over the labours of Grecian historians, like Herodotus and Thucydides, the first exemplars of the scientific method of history, which does not rest content with giving a simple narrative of facts as they occurred, but seeks to discover the causes of actions and to connect them with their effects A distinguishing feature of the work of these early Grecian historians is their appreciation of truth, which is manifest through all the manifold exaggerations of an unscientific and uncritical age and this quality they transmitted to their successors and imitators, the later historians of Greece and Rome Old Herodotus, whose historical researches embraced all the countries of the world then known to the Greeks, may be absolutely trusted when he speaks of things within his own observation, and he is careful to distinguish between such authenticated facts, and those which he has gleaned from hearsay A remarkable corroboration of his accuracy has just been afforded us by the discovery of the race of Pygmies by Mr Stanley in Central Africa, in the same region in which the account of Herodotus placed them Subsequent historians, unable to discover any traces of such a race, inferred that his credulity had been imposed upon, and the accuracy of his account, after having been impeached for centuries, is only now triumphantly vindicated, after the lapse of nearly three thousand years!

From these ancient Greek sages a succession of writers have brought down the chain of events that have occurred among the civilized nations of Europe to our own time It was from Greece that a knowledge of the science of history was diffused among the surrounding peoples Such a science was unknown to the Oriental nations until the conquest of Alexander

the Great and his successors flooded the Eastern lands with Grecian culture and Grecian ideas. Egyptian, Assyrian, and Phœnician writers then essayed, in imitation of the Greek historians, to set down the history of their own nations, the commencement of which was already lost in the mists of antiquity. We have before alluded to the genealogical lists of the Semitic races, which now became serviceable as a framework to be filled up with incidents, sometimes traditional, sometimes, perhaps, imaginary. Thus the dynastic lists of Egypt and Babylonia were manipulated by writers like Manetho and Berosus and made to extend back to the Deluge and to the Creation of the world. From the examination of their chronology, it has been supposed that they took the names in the existing genealogical and dynastic lists and reckoned each of them at a generation, or period of thirty years, a method of computing historical eras which is still current among the learned in the East. But as they knew that each king could not have reigned exactly thirty years, they divided the time in a plausible manner, assigning to one monarch a reign of twenty-five years, to another thirty-five, and so on. In fact the existing genealogies were used as ladders to bridge over spaces of which the would-be historians had no traditional information—a process which we shall find often repeated among more modern Oriental historians.

The mission of Muhammad and the rise of the Arab power had a disastrous effect on the fortune of the science of history among the Eastern nations. The existing literature of those nations was entirely and ruthlessly obliterated. The story of the destruction of the library at Alexandria by the orders of the Khalif Omar, on the ground that, if the contents of the books on its shelves contradicted the revelation of the Koran, they were impious, and if they confirmed it, they were superfluous, may not be actually true, but it is unfortunately typical of the fanatical spirit in which the victorious Arabs viewed the ancient literature of the countries which they so speedily and so completely overran. Four hundred years later, in the Saracenic revival of art and literature under the Abbasside Khalifat, a Persian monarch desired to have the ancient glories of his country recorded in history and he employed the most famous poet of the time, Firdusi to enshrine them in the great epic poem entitled the *Shah Nama*, or Book of Kings.

This work was imitated by many others, as, for instance, by the poet Nizami, who produced the epic entitled the *Sikandar Nama*, or History of Alexander the Great and these well-known poems are the chief authority for ancient history among the Muhammadan nations, though they really bear no closer relation to authentic history than do the *Iliad* and

Odyssey of Homer to the real facts of the historical events which they record. Firdusi's story goes back to the first rise of the Persian kingdom, before the time of Kai Khusrau, supposed to be the Cyrus of the Grecian historians and he professes to base his account on the popular traditions of Persia, as extant in his time, for the Arabs had utterly destroyed all the ancient literature of the country. That such oral tradition really did exist, we infer from some correspondence in proper names between his list of Persian Kings and those given in the accounts of the contemporary Grecian historians, but it exists no longer, except as enshrined in his work, and, as this was composed in the tenth century of our era, it can evidently be but little warrant for the events which it describes, some of which happened two thousand years before Firdusi's time.

Nizami's 'History of Alexander the Great' is almost purely romance, and, indeed, few Oriental writers scruple to write romance instead of history. From the time of the overthrow of the Persian Monarchy by the Greeks, under Alexander the Great, to its revival under Ardeshir Babekan and his Sassanide successors, in the second century after Christ, there is a complete gap of four centuries in Persian tradition, and this space has been filled up by Musalman historians with the imaginary dynasty of the Ashkanians.

Similarly Turkish historians, completely ignorant of the ancient history of the kingdoms conquered by their countrymen, and too proud and lazy to study Grecian and European literature, have taken the easier course of inventing a history to suit themselves. A single example of their method will suffice.

They knew that Kustuntuniya, as they call Constantinople, was founded by King Kustuntin (the Emperor Constantine) they also knew that its ancient name was Puzanta (Byzantium) therefore if Kustuntuniya was founded by Kustuntin, Puzanta must have been founded by Puzantin. Hence we have a circumstantial history, detailing the events of the reign of a mythical King Puzantin.

This unfortunate disregard of historical truth is due mainly to religious influences. There are many and voluminous histories in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages, which treat of the events from the time of the mission of the Prophet Muhammad in A. D. 622 down to the present day, and are accurate and painstaking works which supply us with a continuous and trustworthy statement of facts, but the theological bias with which they are inspired, renders them valueless as scientific history. Nothing outside the pale of Islam is regarded as worthy of notice or comment. All the nations of Europe, for instance, are confounded under the common designation of

Franks (Farang) and their political division is indicated by the comprehensive expression of "the seven infidel kingdoms of the Farang" All events are regarded as the result of the direct interposition of Providence, with the intention of assisting the Musalmans as the chosen people of the Almighty, or of chastising them for neglect of his commands

The immemorial political condition of the Oriental nations has also impressed itself strongly upon their history, which is a record of the lives and acts of Khalifs and Sultans, not of those of the people The most valuable accounts of the customs and institutions of the Musalman nations are, therefore, often to be found in the works of European writers, instead of in those of their own historians

The present Shah of Persia has inaugurated a monumental work, in the "*Nāsikh ut Tawarikh*," or '*Abrogator of Histories*," a book in many volumes, which he caused to be compiled by a synod of the learned at Teheran, from a number of standard European historical works, so as to form a complete Universal History of the times from the creation of the world to the commencement of the Muhammadan era, and other similar efforts have been lately made through the press in India and in Egypt to enlighten the blissful ignorance of Islam

In India also the oldest history exists in the great epic poems of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, in which the events of war, conquest, and migration can be dimly discerned through the mass of tradition and mythological fable with which they are overlaid The Brahmins reckon their chronology by millions of years, but their earliest authentic records of history are later than those of the Greek historians by some centuries The Chinese assign the commencement of history to a date considerably over two millions of years ago, but it is believed that the earliest authentic facts recorded in their histories happened about two thousand years B C This would be synchronous with the date assigned in European history to the Universal Deluge, but the interminable lists of dynasties recorded in Chinese histories, as stretching backwards through the previous two millions of years, are regarded by European scholars as pure fabrications, like the Ashkanian dynasty and King Puzantin Still, the earliest of all authentic, as well as of all written, history, may probably be referred to China but it relates only to the Chinese themselves In the case of China and India, geographical position may account for the isolation which, in the nations of Islam, is due to religion for, as far as the sciences of history and geography go, India is all the world to the Hindus, and China is the universe in the eyes of the Chinese.

Both Hindus and Chinese probably attained much earlier

to a comparative degree of civilization, and must therefore have had a longer national history than the Western nations of Europe, which have now left them far behind in the path of progress. With the conquest of the Roman Empire by the barbarians of the North, the art of writing history seems for a time to have perished in Europe. Christianity introduced the same theological *animus* which has been so fatal to the science of history among the Musalmans, and the histories of the Aryan nations of Europe long continued subject to its cramping influence. All learning was concentrated in the priestly class, and marvellous legends of saintly statesmen, and apocryphal accounts of the acts of priest-hidden kings, took the place of authentic history so that it has been aptly said that "Classical history is a part of modern history, it is only mediæval history which is ancient."

The growth of institutions and the progress of national movements were of no interest to the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, who were busy with the exploits of knights-errant, the rules of tournaments, and the intrigues of courts and the students of a science which had ceased to exist, divided their attention between the histories of the lives of Saints and the equally fabulous histories of imaginary heroes, like King Arthur, and Roland and the Paladins of Charlemagne. But the intellectual and moral stagnation of mediæval Europe was deeply stirred by the invention of printing, which may be looked upon as a principal cause, among many causes, of the gradual growth of civilization, and which led to the liberation of thought and discussion from the trammels imposed by superstition.

From the era of the Reformation the Muse of History again asserted her supremacy in literature, and in the works of Hume, Voltaire, and Gibbon finally shook herself free from the fetters of theology. A long succession of able and learned writers have for us illustrated the annals of the past, and have left scarcely a page of the history of the nations unturned. Ancient monuments have been explored, and old manuscripts deciphered, and every day some fresh discovery in the mines of antiquity throws new light upon the life of the ancient world. A remarkable instance of these discoveries happened only the other day, when a treatise of Aristotle on the 'Constitution of the Republic of Athens' was found among a bundle of old papyrus rolls of manuscripts which had been purchased in Egypt for the British Museum without any suspicion of the value of their contents.

To the investigation of the mass of materials provided by the relics, by ancient monuments, and the labours of previous historians, the critical faculty of acute reasoners and

profound scholars like Grote and Niebuhr has been applied and the statements of alleged fact by contemporary historians have been sifted and corrected by the lights afforded by modern science and research. Thus, when we read in the pages of the Roman historian, Livy, the details of the battles between the armies of the Roman Consuls and of Hannibal, we implicitly believe his account, and experience tells us that it bears the impress of truth. But when we meet with his assertion that on a certain day an ox spoke in the grass market with a human voice, we pass over the statement with a smile. We know that his credulity in this instance was common to his age and country, and his unintentional falsehood detracts nothing from our opinion of his habitual veracity. Experience teaches us that, in a similar state of knowledge and society in any country, the most learned and the most truth loving men will be equally the victims and the champions of the common credulity.

Thus, from research and experience, the science of history, of which the foundations were laid by the accuracy and fidelity of Grecian writers two thousand five hundred years ago, has been gradually built up among us and has become a beacon-tower to guide the footsteps of future generations. The old unscientific method of writing history, in which all the affairs of the world are supposed to be regulated with a view to the interests of some particular creed or nation, is now almost abandoned, or is relegated to the historians of Musalman countries, and the professors of Jesuit colleges. Not very long ago, the theological method of writing history was universally in vogue and able and conscientious writers, like Bossuet and Rollin, unintentionally distorted its facts by reflecting them in the mirror of their own pre-conceived ideas. In the theological method the Creation of the world, the Universal Deluge and the Incarnation were epochs around which all the facts of history revolved and the Israelites and Jews were accepted, at their own valuation, as the most important people among all the nations of the earth. It now appears to us that, relatively to the great nations and empires which existed contemporaneously with them, they occupied no more prominent position then, than Afghanistan does among the nations at the present day. But their Scriptures, having been handed down to us *verbatim* and translated into all languages of the world, and the religious influences which they have transmitted to the Western nations, have given the history of this remarkable people a factitious interest in our eyes, which assumed such enormous importance in the view of the theological historians, as quite to blind them to the real and very subordinate part which the Jews played in history. In the Middle Ages

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history was only a handmaid to theology, and the monkish chroniclers explained its events in the manner now particular to Musalman writers, referring victories over the infidels to the efficacy of the Christian religion, and defeats sustained at their hands to the wrath of the Almighty at the sins of his servants. Every event was a recompense or a chastisement, and its justifying cause was attributed by each writer in accordance with his own prejudices or predilections.

It was Voltaire who struck the first blow at the theological method which still lingers in the bypaths of literature, and we have seen a work published not very long ago, under the title of "Universal History on Scriptural Principles," which, ignoring the fact that the makers of history did not act on Christian principles, but generally quite otherwise, narrated their actions much in the style of the Muhammadan historian above alluded to, but from a Christian point of view, and which was history only in so much as it was a history of the ideas and beliefs of the writer.

Political bias has also been inimical to scientific history, though it has supplied a powerful motive for the elucidation of the causes and methods of historical action. Thus, when the Tory, Mitford, wrote his History, describing the conflicts of the aristocratic and democratic parties in the republics of Greece, from a point of view favourable to the former, the Liberal, Grote, responded with his History of Greece, in which he most ably argued the question in favour of the latter. The French Revolution was generally regarded by our forefathers as a deed of darkness without parallel or palliative, excited by the atheistic and socialistic doctrines preached by Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, until Carlyle showed that it was the legitimate outcome of the Papal, feudal, and monarchical elements of the clerical, social, and political system of France under the *Ancien Régime*, and that though much of its manner was evil, yet its matter on the whole, and in the end, worked for good.

Carlyle had a good word to say even for the partition of Poland, than which no historical action has been more universally execrated, arguing that it was a political necessity, forced upon the royal conspirators not only in their own interests, but in those of the maintenance of peace and order.

To resort to current topics for an illustration of the difference between political and scientific history, we may refer to the numerous works lately issued from the press in England treating of the history of the English occupation of Ireland, both from the Unionist and the Home Rule point of view. The reader will there find, not only widely different views of the measures adopted, and the methods advocated, for maintaining

the English supremacy in Ireland, but a gloss put upon actual historical facts which lends a material colour to the narrative. This is taking an unwarrantable liberty with the Muse of History, who unlike her sister Muse of Poetry, suffers no deviation from the absolute worship of the pure truth.

The science of history may be defined as the investigation and record of actual facts and occurrences, and the deduction from them of the general principles which govern and affect the life of nations.

It is a trite saying that "History repeats itself," and we infer from recurring experiences of historical facts, that certain causes may be expected to produce certain corresponding effects. The application of these conclusions to current political questions is one of the most useful and beneficial results of the study of history. To enter into a detail of the application of the science of history to its actual facts would lead to too diffuse a digression, but we may endeavour to afford a few examples of the method, in the examination of the influences of certain well-known factors in history on the fortunes of nations and kingdoms, such as, for instance, the course of trade and commerce, national and race characteristics, individual character, forms of religion, &c. In the dawn of history—that is to say, the earliest times of which we have any authentic accounts—we find that the human race has already attained to a considerable degree of civilization: men dwell in cities under regular systems of social and political organization, carry on wars, and engage in trade and commerce. Beside these more civilized peoples, we find others existing still in the patriarchal state of society, with the family as the primitive administrative unit among a number of kindred families, who will by degrees coalesce into a tribe, and perhaps in time grow into a great nation. Tracing the course of events backwards from effects to causes, we infer that the chief factor in the growth and spread of civilization and of national unity was the pressure of material wants on the individuals of the human race and the desire for satisfying them, which is the commencement of the growth of luxury. Man's earliest needs in the way of food, fire, and clothing may have been satisfied by his own personal exertions, but as soon as exchange or barter afforded him a convenient means for obtaining other things beyond the power of his own unaided exertions to procure for himself, the new and convenient institution must have exercised a material influence in directing his wanderings, fixing his habitation, and associating him with others in the pursuit of a common end.

Trade and commerce, as soon as it became regular and customary, would follow the most convenient routes, and in

the absence of made roads and wheeled vehicles, and in the infancy of navigation, no route could be more convenient and expeditious than the great rivers which afforded waterways navigable for rafts and the earliest and rudest kind of boats for hundreds of miles along their course

Hence we find the earliest seats of national power, wealth, and culture situated on the banks of great rivers. In the dawn of history the Egyptians on the Nile, and the Assyrians on the Tigris and Euphrates have already founded national empires and in India early civilization similarly followed the course of the Indus and the Ganges, while the pre-historic social and industrial development of the Chinese race, which has existed unchanged to the present day, may be perhaps referred to the network of great navigable rivers and streams which traverse their Flowery Land. Later on, as the art of navigation improved, the boundless sea lost much of its terror, and the Phœnicians, dwelling upon its shores, became a maritime people, and boldly explored its distant coasts. The sea superseded the rivers as the chief highway of commerce, and the Greeks, whose character and whose country made them eminently a seafaring nation, and whose Aryan descent fitted them to be pioneers of the path of progress, arrived at a degree of culture and of political development to which the Cushite Egyptian and the Semitic Assyrian had never attained.

Again in the darkness of the Middle Ages, we find the traditions of free thought and political liberty sheltered from the despotism of kings and priests in the great cities which formed trading and manufacturing centres in Flanders, Germany and Italy and when, by the discovery of the mariner's compass, the ocean was conquered, as the sea had been, the new and vast field opened to commerce revolutionized the social state of Europe, largely contributed to bring about the Renaissance and the Reformation, and completely changed the current of history, throwing open the regions of Asia, Africa and America, peopled by the inert masses of unprogressive races, to the energy and enterprise of the European nations, and virtually giving into their hands the Empire of the world.

A conspicuous example of the influence of a trade route in the history of a country may be seen in the case of Egypt, which, from its geographical position, was from the earliest ages the main channel of commerce and communication between the countries of Asia, Europe, and Africa. The Red Sea was the route by which the produce of the looms and mines of China and India reached the dwellers in Mediterranean cities, from a time long before King Solomon built his ships at Ezion-geber to the days when the Venetian and Genoese merchant

princes carried on trade in the bazaars of Cairo and Alexandria under the patronage of the "Grand Soldan." Once the greatest monarchy in the known world, Egypt still remained a wealthy and populous country under the successive domination of Persian satraps, Greek kings and Roman procurators. After its conquest by the Arab followers of Muhammed, it soon became a powerful independent Musalman kingdom, and at the time of the Crusades its sovereigns held sway over large tracts of Asia and Africa.

The monkish historians of the Middle Ages identified "Misr al Káhira—" "the Victorious City—" whose proud title European custom has now converted into Cairo, with the Babylon the Great of the Apocalypse. At the end of the thirteenth century the obstinate valour of its Mameluke masters repelled the invincible arms of the all-conquering Timour from the frontiers of Egypt, and it was the only Musalman monarchy of the East which escaped submersion under the waves of the Tartar deluge.

Just a century later, the long sea route round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Portuguese explorers, and the trade of China and India was diverted to Europe by the newly-found ocean highway. Egypt at once sunk into a state of poverty and obscurity. For the three centuries following, her name is obliterated from history, nor do we hear more of her till the attention of the world is again called to her by the bold enterprise of Napoleon Buonaparte on her shores in 1798. The opening of the Suez Canal has again restored the ancient path of commerce between West and East, and Egypt will now rapidly recover her former wealth and prosperity, and, under a strong and energetic government, might safely be predicted to recover her former commanding political position. Of course, this striking change in the condition of Egypt, though it coincides with the deprivation and restoration of commerce, cannot be entirely attributed to this sole cause. Just as the actions of individual men can seldom be referred to a single motive, but rather depend on a variety of simultaneous and often contradictory passions and inclinations, so most political effects are produced by a great variety of causes acting and re-acting upon each other, the analysis of which presents almost insuperable difficulties to the conscientious and impartial historian. Thus, in the present instance, the Ottoman conquest, the consequent Turkish domination, and the general decay of the Sultan's power and system of administration are all factors in the decline of Egypt during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the introduction of the European system of discipline into the Army, the personal character of Muhammad Ali Pasha, the English occupation,

and other circumstances as well, may all be taken as concurrent causes of the revival of national prosperity.

History is not an exact science, and the well-meant measures of clever politicians for the reform of abuses, the encouragement of commerce and manufactures, and the aggrandisement of national power and influence have often miscarried, or have even been attended by results diametrically opposite to those intended and hoped for because no latitude has been allowed for the operation of subsidiary causes, whose unsuspected influences lie hidden beneath the surface of the stream of current events, and which may, perhaps, only be discovered and dissected in after ages by the research of the diligent historian.

The ancients seem little to have suspected the influence exercised by the course of commerce on the history of the nations, and even at the present day the existence of this influence, as subtle as it is immense, often passes unsuspected. It was the foundation of the long and strenuous rivalry between England and France during the whole of the eighteenth century, which was ostensibly caused by the support given by Louis the Fourteenth to the claims of the catholic James the Second and his son to the English throne and it is now the real reason of the similar rivalry between England and Russia in the East, which our politicians are accustomed to refer to the solicitude of the English nation for the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, or of the independence of Bulgaria, or any other convenient motive. We may sum up this branch of our subject by quoting the saying of an ingenious writer, that "all modern wars are wars for a market."

But we have outstripped our subject by some four or five thousand years, and must return to the company of the civilized communities of Egyptians and Chaldeans on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates. These two nations seem to have been of kindred race, and we now call them "Cushites," from Cush, whose name is given as the son of Ham and the ancestor of Nimrod in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. From their physical characteristics and appearance, as depicted on their monuments, however, we should conclude them to be of Caucasian race, and their early adaptability to a state of civilization would also bear out this inference. The type of the race may be seen to-day in the Copt of Egypt, whose blood has not been mingled, like that of the rest of the Egyptian population, with the Semitic strain of the Arab conquerors, in the Nubian and Abyssinian, and in the Berbers, the modern representatives of the Numidians and Mauritaniens of the North of Africa. Some of the physical characteristics of the race are a copper colour, straight features, and silky hair, and they can still be traced all along the sea coast of Northern

and Eastern Africa and Arabia, and the shores of the Persian Gulf. When we first discern them in the dawn of history, they have already attained to as high a state of material civilisation as was then possible to them, while around them we see other races who are still barbarians, or in the transition state between barbarism and civilization.

The Semitic races, nomadic and pastoral, occupied the deserts of Arabia and the sea coasts of Syria and Palestine, and spread themselves northwards to the Euphrates, while the Aryan race, the progenitor of the European nations descended, probably, from the regions of the Caucasus, or the highlands of Central Asia, filling Persia and Asia Minor and streaming westwards into Europe, and another branch of it finds its way through Afghanistan into India, driving before it the Turanian races which already occupied that Peninsula, into the extreme south. Of the great Turanian or Mongolian race, which then inhabited, and still inhabits, all Eastern and South-eastern Asia, we see nothing in the dawn of history. Their physiognomy and language proclaim them to be totally distinct from either the Japhetic, the Semitic or the Hamitic race, and there is no mention of them or allusion to them in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, an omission probably to be explained by their remoteness, and the absence of communication between them and the nations of Western Asia, though some explorers of antiquity believe that the earliest founders of the Babylonian empire, or kingdom, were of Turanian race.

These great races of mankind, easily distinguishable by strongly-marked moral and physical characteristics, appear to us to have been, at the dawn of the history, as different from each other as they now are, after the lapse of three thousand years. We see the Aryan, the Semitic and the Negro races to-day as we see them depicted in Grecian sculpture, in Assyrian bas-reliefs, in the paintings on Egyptian palace-walls. All the conquests, migrations and intermingling of races that have gone on without intermission from that time to this, have produced but a partial effect along the geographical lines of contact of the races. The type of the mass remains unaltered. We have no data for ascertaining how and when these widely-differing types of mankind diverged from the parent stem of a common ancestor. They have not altered during the three thousand past years of authentic history, yet we know that they are capable of modification, and we see them modified by climate, inter-breeding and social customs.

We see the influence of climate in the difference in complexion and character of the Aryans in Scandinavia from those in the valley of the Ganges, and in a less degree between the inhabitants of the Northern and Southern countries of Europe.

We see that the climate of North America and of Australia tends, in a very few generations, to produce a new variety of the Anglo-Saxon type

An instance of the modification of racial features by interbreeding may be seen in the physical type of the Ottoman Turks. In the first three hundred years of their sojourn in Europe, their harems were continually recruited with captive women of Aryan race, and the constant infusion of Caucasian blood has completely obliterated the "native ugliness of their Tartar ancestry." But a crucial example of the intermingling of races is to be seen in Persia. Originally inhabited by an Aryan people, the pure-blooded descendants of whom may still be seen in the Parsis of India, the country and population has been successively swamped by a Semitic and a Mongolian immigration, the first time by the Arabs, in their zeal for the propagation of the faith of the Prophet Muhammad, the second time by the Tartar hordes of Changiz Khan. Three of the great distinct races of mankind are here mingled together, and the special race characteristics of all three may be traced in the modern Persians.

The effect of religious and social habits in modifying character is obvious, and may be seen to advantage in India or Central Asia, where the polygamous Musalman dwells together with the polyandrous or monogamous Pagan, or Buddhist, of the same race.

From these observations we perceive that the type of a race is variable, yet the bulk of the various races have preserved the type unaltered since history began to be written upon the earth. We must conclude, then, that, if all the races of mankind are sprung from one common progenitor, an incalculable period of time must have elapsed to have permitted such a wide and general variation from the one original type, and that the extravagant chronologies of the Chinese and Hindus, who carry back their historical eras to hundreds of thousands of years, are not so very incredible after all.

Looking back along the path of history we can also perceive that there has been a continued current of human progress, from what the Greeks called the Heroic Age to our own time—progress in knowledge, arts, sciences and ethics—a current often impeded, sometimes checked altogether for a time, but always resuming its flow, and moving faster and faster with the fleeting centuries, so that we see more progress made in knowledge of all kinds now within the last fifty years, than was made in the five hundred years from the time when Herodotus, the Father of History, first put pen to papyrus, to the Golden Age of Roman literature under Augustus, when the history of nations seemed to be finally and fittingly ended in the universal dominion of Rome.

And this progress has been the exclusive appanage and heritage of one of the great races of mankind. The Aryan race, though it does not seem to have been the first to attain to material civilization, is the only one that has continued to progress to the end. The Mongolian Chinese were probably as highly civilized three hundred years ago as they are to-day, while the Greek nation was only beginning to open its eyes on the barbarism in which it lay. But to-day the civilization of the Chinese seems barbarism to the heirs of the Greeks. The Semitic Phœnicians invented the alphabet, and carried on sea-borne commerce with distant lands. But when Tyre and Carthage were crushed by the military might of Assyria and Rome, they left no successors to carry on their work.

The Semitic Arab passed from the black camel-hair tents of Yemen to the pillared arcades of Cordova and the marble halls of the Alhambra. But look at his descendant to-day, in Egypt and Morocco—a sordid and slothful bigot, who has lost both the native virtues of the land of his birth, and the acquired arts of the land of his adoption. The Semite and the Mongolian have had their day and their time of sway, and they have done great deeds, but they have accomplished nothing in the cause of humanity. Had they alone ruled the destinies of mankind, the life of the human race would have to day been as stagnant as the life of China, the earth would have been as sterile as the earth of a province of the Turkish Empire. The Jewish race is the only one that has signalized the triumph of mind over matter, has striven to master the secrets and the forces of Nature, and has pressed the search for truth from discovery to discovery, and from conquest to conquest, till its nations have become the masters of the world again to-day, as their exemplars and prototypes, the Greeks and Romans, were two thousands year ago.

This supremacy is greatly due to their application of science and art to military affairs. For though there have been great nations of warriors among the Semitic and Mongolian races, the scientific soldier is the product of Aryan civilization only. Strategy, tactics, and the principles of military organization were thoroughly understood and practised by the Greeks and Romans, and the retreat of the ten thousand Greek soldiers from Babylonia to the shores of the Euxine, in the face of the might of the whole Persian Empire, was an *epitome* of the long successive series of triumphs of a handful of disciplined European warriors over Asiatic and African hordes. It was superiority in the art of war that planted Grecian dynasties in Syria and Egypt, and made Rome the mistress of the East as well as of the West, that, in our own day, has given India to England, and the Caucasus and Central Asia

to Russia and its inferiority in the art of war that neutralizes the enormous numerical preponderance of the Mongolian race, and prevents the Empire of China from taking a place among the Great Powers of the world proportionate to its resources and its pretensions.

This pre-eminence of the Aryan proceeds, no doubt, from the inherited qualities of early ancestors. In intellect and mental power he stands decidedly above the Semitic, and pre-eminently above the Mongolian race. But a detailed investigation of race-characteristics, though it would throw many valuable side-lights upon the history of the human race, would be far too extensive a digression for us to enter upon here. We will content ourselves with quoting the pithy saying of the Arab historian Muhammad-al Damiri, which happily epitomizes the characteristic distinction between the three great races of mankind. "Wisdom," he says, "hath alighted upon three things—on the brains of the Europeans (Farang), on the hands of the Chinamen, and on the tongues of the Arabs."

The ethnological distinction between the progressive Aryan race on the one hand, and the unprogressive Semitic and Turanian races on the other, almost coincides with the geographical distinctions of European and Asiatic or of Western and Oriental nations. This distinction and opposition appears from the earliest times, and pervades all history. We see it in the hatred of the Israelite for the "uncircumcised" Philistine, and in the Grecian expedition against Troy, in the endless succession of wars waged between Greek and Persian, Cæsar and Sassanide, Crusader and Saracen, Turk and Russian, and it still troubles the world in the Eastern Question of our own day. Yet the distinction is not purely an ethnological one, for the Persians who followed Xerxes to the invasion of Greece were themselves Aryans, and the Hindus, over whom the English rule to-day in the valley of the Ganges, are of pure Aryan extraction. On the other hand, the Japanese, though of Mongolian race, have recently proved themselves capable of assimilating an advanced civilization, in complete contrast to the Chinese, by whom the same stereotyped type of political and social organization maintained for centuries, is still maintained without an attempt at alteration.

Nor can the distinction be referred to difference of religion, for we find the European and Asiatic equally opposed, whatever religion they profess. The antagonism between Christianity and Islam has certainly greatly strengthened the antipathy between the Oriental and the European, but no such bond of discord existed in the days of Marathon and Cunaxa.

Nor is the distinction political either, for we see the

Russians, who two centuries ago were reckoned an Oriental people by both Turks and Christians, assuming the garb and habits of the civilized West, at the command of a despotism of the Oriental type, under which the nation, now grown to be one of the five Great Powers of Europe, and one of the arbiters of the destinies of the civilized world, still groans

Contentment (which we call apathy), submissiveness (which we call slavishness), and the denial of the equality of woman with man, and her relegation to an inferior position, are the distinguishing characteristics of the nations whom we collectively call Orientals, without attaching to the term any particular ethnographical or geographical idea. The distinction exists, but its definition puzzles the science of history. When the Turks were pushing their career of conquest to the westward, they orientalized the land behind them. Servia, Roumania, Montenegro, Greece are half-oriental to this day. But they are, now that the presence of the Turk has been withdrawn, fast becoming civilized and European, and they will soon be like Hungary, in which a ruined mosque in the towns here and there is the only memento of an Oriental domination that lasted for two hundred years.

The English in India, the French in Algiers, and the Russians in Central Asia have all introduced the material and moral elements of Western civilization. But, were a political revolution to overthrow their power tomorrow, within a year there would not remain a trace of their rule, and the peoples of those countries would have settled down again to the dreamless sleep of the changeless East.

When the curtain first rises on the stage of history, we find it already occupied by many and great nations. How these nations arose we have no certain means of knowing. Their own records generally trace their origin to some single individual, a mythical and generally a half-divine personage. The origin of the nation was, doubtless, the family, which first expanded into a tribe, and then into a nation. We have a cardinal instance of this national growth in the earliest written history that has come down to us, the *History of the Children of Israel*. There we find the Patriarch, Abraham, the father of two sons, Ishmael and Isaac, from the former of whom the Ishmaelite, or Arab, nation proceeds. Isaac has two sons, Esau and Jacob. From the former springs the Edomite, or Idumean, nation, from the latter the children of Israel. Of his twelve sons each one becomes the progenitor of a tribe called after his name, and the coalition of these twelve tribes forms the Israelitish nation. We see this nation first in a nomadic state, leading a pastoral life, like the Arab tribes in the same localities at the present day. It returns

by a migration to the ancient seats of its forefathers, falls on, and expels, or subdues, a settled population more civilized than itself, and settles down in their place. The disasters arising from the want of a central authority among the tribes induce it to elect a king, and it soon submits to an hereditary dynasty. It makes considerable progress in civilization, till its independent existence is swallowed up in that of a neighbouring great military Empire. We have here a typical instance of the expansion of a family into first a tribal, and then a national organization, the change from a pastoral to a civilized state, and the substitution of regal for patriarchal government. Some similar process must have attended the growth of all nations. The absolute power of the patriarch over his family was transferred to the king over his subjects, and hence the absolute character of all Oriental monarchy, which has unfortunately, in more modern times, been sanctioned by the theocratic spirit of the religion of Islam. "All power is given by God therefore the power of the King is a gift from God therefore rebellion against the King is rebellion against God."

This is the theory of Divine Right, which was also the bugbear of Christendom not so very long ago, and it is a striking proof of the reality of progress to which we alluded above, that less than two hundred years ago this doctrine was held in all good faith and sincerity by many educated Englishmen.

In later times we have many instances of the evolution of nations in history. Some have arisen, like the Romans, from a chance confederation of outlaws and free-booters from other nations. The Cossacks furnish a similar modern example, the name Kazak signifying robber in Turkish, and the original bearers of the appellation being Russian, Polish, and Tartar refugees from justice or oppression who found an asylum and an Alsatia in the waste and debateable lands lying between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam.

The origin of the German nation is lost in the mists of antiquity, but its offshoot, our own English nation, can easily be traced through all the stages of its growth, by the successive amalgamation of different nations. The predatory Teutonic tribes which overran Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, were mingled with succeeding bands of Scandinavian invaders and finally the Normans from France furnished the aristocracy and the military caste of the national triumvirate. Most of the nations of modern Europe similarly are composed of an amalgam of the Northern barbarians, Goths, Huns, and Lombards, who overran the provinces of the Roman Empire, with the original civilized inhabitants. The Russian nation took its rise, in the ninth century of our era, from the conquest of the Slavonian tribes inhabiting Novogo-

rod and the adjacent territory by a band of Scandinavian sea-rovers, an event analogous to the conquest of the English by the Normans two centuries later and the earliest form of the Latinized appellation "Russian" is found in the Finnish "Ruotsi," which appears to be a corruption of the first syllable of some such word as *rothsmenn* or *rothskarlar*, sea-farers, or sea-rovers.

A striking instance of the growth of a nation in more modern times may be observed in the Sikhs, a peculiar people, who took their rise from a religious sect, founded three hundred years ago in the province of the Punjab by a Hindu ascetic named Nanak, who aspired to the rôle of a religious reformer. Persecution converted the sectaries into fanatical warriors, they grew into a nation, and their swords carved out a kingdom. They are now a separate nation, with a distinct physical appearance, dress, and dialect from those of the people around them, though they have already lost their political independence.

By the operation of one of the unwritten laws of history, the rapidity of their national growth has found its counterpart in decay, and the speedy rise of a political power generally involves as sudden a downfall. The nations which are the slowest in maturing their power enjoy the possession of it the longest.

The migration of nations has exercised a great influence on history. One of the earliest historical facts recorded by Herodotus is the invasion of Asia Minor by hordes of Scythians from the unknown regions of the North, and the allusions in the thirty-eighth and following chapters of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel probably refer to the same event.

From the earliest ages of history, successive waves, or migrations have proceeded at intervals from the regions of the North and East of Asia, spread themselves over the rest of the Continent, and penetrated into Europe.

The great movement which, four hundred years after the commencement of the Christian era, precipitated the Northern nations of Europe upon the Roman Empire in such masses as to overwhelm and overrun it, probably received its first impetus from this quarter, for, in the wake of the Goths and Vandals, we find the Mongolian nation of the Huns crossing Europe from East to West, and the remnant of them finally settling in Hungary. About the same time the Avars, or Khazars, whose name still survives in the appellation of an insignificant tribe on the shores of the Caspian, appear on the frontiers of the Eastern Roman Empire, pushed on by the pressure of the Turks, who came from the very confines of China, and now make their first appearance on the stage of history.

After this eruption, the human volcano remains quiescent for seven hundred years, then it bursts into renewed activity, and for the space of two centuries pours forth streams of warlike migrations of Tartars and Mongols under Changiz Khan and his successors, and Timur, which flood all Western Asia and overflow into Eastern Europe, and the succeeding ripple of the human wave carries the Ottoman Turks up to the walls of Vienna. China still remains a teeming magazine of millions of mankind, and it is quite possible that the world may again, one day, see the phenomena of these general migrations recurring in the repetitions of history.

The great Semitic migration of the seventh century after Christ is attributed by us to the influence of the mission of Muhammad, but it is equally probable that the success of his prophetic mission was a consequence of a great national upheaval, already begun, for which the new faith supplied a watchword and a rallying point. In Africa we see national migrations occurring at the present time. One tribe or nation moves and sets all the tribes around it moving also, and the gathering mass rolls onward sweeping everything before it, till it is arrested by the fire-arms of European colonists, or by the sea. The most familiar instance is the Zulu migration under Chaka at the beginning of the present century, which set all the tribes moving along the frontier of the Cape Colony and completely changed the political condition of South Africa.

Among civilized and settled nations colonization takes the place of migration and satisfies the inexorable need of national expansion. The Greeks colonized Italy and Asia Minor; the Romans colonized the world; the Spaniards and Portuguese colonized South America, and the English have colonized North America and Australia. The growing nation of the Russians, unable to find a sufficient outlet by sea, overflows into the neighbouring countries of Central Asia, and seeks free access to the Mediterranean.

In noticing the origin of the Sikhs, the conversion of a religious sect into a separate nation naturally leads us to the examination of the influence of religion on the history of the nations. Religion has ever had a powerful effect in binding together the units of national life and in prescribing social customs and observances. With most nations religion is the foundation of their social system, and, were it abrogated, society would dissolve, and would have to be re-constructed on a new basis. In Muhammadan countries the political as well as the social system is based upon religion. "Al Mulk wa ad' Din Tawáman," says the Arabic proverb, "The State and the Faith are Twins."

The Israelites stand out prominently among all the peoples of antiquity as a nation whose whole career and character was profoundly affected by the sublime monotheism of their national creed. It forced them into a rigid and persistent opposition to the surrounding Pagan nations, and committed them, at length, to a frantic and hopeless contest with the overwhelming might of Imperial Rome, which naturally and inevitably ended in the political existence of the Jewish nation being extinguished for ever. But their religion had already placed the stamp of election upon them, and their faithful adherence to it has been the chief factor in the preservation of the national identity for so many centuries.

A striking instance of similar causes producing similar results may be seen in the Parsis of India, Aryans and Fire-worshippers, who abandoned their shrines and homes on the conquest of Persia by the Musalman Arabs rather than renounce their religion. Like the Jews, they have remained perfectly distinct among surrounding alien populations, and, like the Jews, their pastoral and agricultural habits have been exchanged, under the stress of circumstances, for the pursuits of commerce and finance.

Religion had as overwhelming an influence upon the fortune of the Arab nation as it had upon that of their Jewish kindred from whom it was borrowed.

The Prophet Muhaimmad adopted the pure monotheism, and the Divine Law which had already proved so congenial to the Semitic mind, as the basis of his new revelation, and the spectacle was again seen of a horde of desert warriors attacking and subduing, in the name of religion, a less warlike and more civilized people. Within a hundred years from the death of their Prophet, the Arabs had founded an empire reaching from the mouths of the Volga to the sources of the Nile, and from the banks of the Oxus and the Indus to those of the Ebro and the Tagus. Gibbon and other writers have amused themselves by speculating on what might have been our destinies, had the Saracens not been checked in their career of conquest by Charles Martel on the plains of Tours, or the Turks been turned back by John Sobieski from the ramparts of Vienna.

But no Aryan people would ever have been induced, or forced, to adopt the faith of Islam, utterly uncongenial as it is to their character and habits. The few isolated exceptions in which Slavonian, Bosniaks and Illyrian Albanians have been led, under stress of circumstances, to adopt the Musalman faith, go to prove the rule. Along with their profession of Islam, they continue to hold many of their Christian superstitions, such as Saint-worship, and prayers for the dead.

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The Semitic race is the only race of mankind, it would seem, which can conceive and adhere to a strict monotheistic form of belief. The Turanian races, which have embraced Islam, have also introduced into it the invocation of Saints and the performance of ceremonies at their tombs. "The anthropomorphous Aryan is a born man worshipper: if he does not worship deified men, he will worship gods incarnate in the shape of man." The Aryan Persians who were unable to emigrate, and were forced to embrace Islam by their Arab conquerors, have become the heretics of the Muhammadan world, honouring in Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, a perfect type of humanity.

The influence of the Musalman¹ faith, though it bore the Arab nation so triumphantly to fame and power, has eventually proved fatal to whatever peoples have professed it. For the acceptance of a code of laws of Divine origin implies the perfection of the code, and what is perfected cannot be amended.

Progress is only possible up to a certain point in Islam: beyond that it is impious. Hence, though the Fetish-worshipping negro of Central Africa is morally and socially elevated by conversion to Islam, it is much better for the future of his race that he should not be so converted. He can be raised out of Fetishism, but he can never be raised out of Islamism. Progress is impossible to the Musalman as long as he remains under his own code; it becomes possible only when his Sacred Law is thrust from the judgment seat, and replaced by more elastic codes, better suited to the needs of human progress. We see to-day the stagnant civilization of the Muhammadan world crumbling away and disintegrating under the presence of the stronger and more vigorous civilization of Europe, which admits no limits to its growth, and permits no obstacle to check its progress.

The religion of the Ancient Greeks was originally Nature-worship under human forms, which harmonized well with the artistic and poetical character of their nation. In the early stages of their civilization, both they and the Romans were much influenced by religion, and had the common habit of referring natural accidents to supernatural causes. Thus we read in Roman History that, when the Latin Prætor, Lucius Annus, spoke with contempt of Jupiter in the Roman Senate-house, and, as he went out, fell down a flight of steep steps and lay lifeless at the bottom, his death was attributed to the vengeance of the outraged Deity. But this natural religion had already been undermined by the stealthy advances of philosophy before it was overthrown by the open attacks of Christianity, which was by degrees adopted by all the nations

which came within the influence of the Roman pale of civilization. This last, purest and simplest of all religions, had not long run its course before it was invested, by the irony of fate, with the mysteries of an intricate dogma, and overloaded with the ceremonies of a most elaborate ritual.

The spiritual tyranny of the Roman hierarchy took the place of the temporal absolutism of the Roman Empire. In fact, "the Papacy was the ghost of the defunct Roman Empire, sitting upon the grave thereof," and enthroned upon its ruins. Sacerdotalism, combined with Feudalism, to oppress the heart and brain of Europe throughout the centuries that have been appropriately termed "the Dark Ages." "The Priests," says the Turkish chronicler, Haji Khalifa, writing in the sixteenth century, "have shackled these fools, and, by their artifices, have brought under their power all the Christians, both small and great."

But in the Middle Ages the reformation assisted the nations to shake off the incubus of priestly authority, which, with one or two exceptions, so rare as only to serve to prove the rule, had always been exerted in the interests of ignorance and despotism, and at the present day the forms of religion have ceased to exercise any preponderating influence on our history. At one time religion arrayed the West against the East, stirred all Europe with zeal for the Holy War, and twelve times carried successive hosts of Crusaders into Asia and Africa. At another time it lighted the flames of civil war, and for two hundred years made Europe the theatre of strife between Catholic and Protestant. It was for long the principal factor in politics, and the question whether a Mediterranean island fortress should hoist the banner of the Crescent or of the Cross upon its towers, or whether the succession to a European crown should devolve upon a Catholic or a Protestant, stirred the sympathy, and engaged the energy, of the whole civilized world.

When we reflect on the rancorous enmity of the professors of rival creeds, the horrors of religious persecutions, and the barbarities which, as the American historian Prescott observes, stain religious wars above all others, we cannot regret that the cause of religion has ceased to exert its former influence in the councils of civilized nations.

It is through the medium of religion also that individual influence on the history of mankind has found its most powerful form of expression.

The influence of prophets and religious teachers like Christ, Muhammad, and Buddha, has moulded the faiths and the lives of millions of generations yet unborn. It is noteworthy that these great founders of new religions have all arisen among

the peoples which we term Oriental and, on a hasty survey, the influence of the individual might appear paramount in Oriental history, where the great names of Cyrus, Saladin, Changhiz Khan, Timur and Nadir Shah tower above a dead-level of contemporaneous mediocrity, like a lofty and solitary obelisk in the midst of a vacant plain, while the great men of the Western nations, surrounded and supported by their compeers, may be compared to the cupola surmounting and adorning a stately building. This difference is, doubtless, due to the different political conditions of Oriental and European nations, for it seldom happens that there occurs in the political state of the latter a conjunction favourable to the rise of a Cæsar or a Napoleon.

Yet the genius of the individual, more diffused and more general in the West, is there seen to exert a greater effect on the current of events and on the life of nations than it does in the inert and unprogressive East.

The influence of individuals on the history of the world has been enormous as religious teachers, as warriors and conquerors, as statesmen, and as inventors. In the old style of teaching history, the individual was given rather undue prominence, and its pages contained little beyond the record of the deeds of heroes, and the utterances of lawgivers. Later it was recognized that the conjunction of the Hour and the Man is required for the making of history. Many a prophet arose in the East before and after the Prophet Muhammad, and they have found thousands of disciples to fight and die in their cause, but they fought and died in vain.

Many a successful captain may have shared the ambition and genius of Napoleon but he did not happen to live in the days of the French Revolution. How little individual genius and resolution can effect when their aims run counter to the current of events, may be seen in the results of the policy of statesmen like Richelieu, and of the achievements of soldiers like Charles the Twelfth. All the lasting monuments of history are erected by men who have watched the current and have directed their course accordingly. It is a moot question, whether too much stress is not laid on the influence of individuals even in modern views of history. We are apt to think of such men as Bismarck and Cavour as master-minds compelling events to become subservient to their political ideas. But their greatness really consists in divining the signs of the times, and in recognizing the requirements of the political situation. If the heart of the great German nation had not been set on unity, Bismarck's specific of blood and iron would have been of no avail. Cavour's policy followed, but did not lead, the fortunes of Garibaldi.

Yet nations are but aggregates of individuals, and national character is the sum of individual characters. When the humblest individual seeks the truth and holds fast that which is right, he plays a worthy part, however infinitesimal, on the stage of the world's history.

As the German poet sings —

“ Drum halte fest die Wahre, verfechte blos das Recht,
Und dann bist du ein König, und warest du auch ein Knecht ! ”

From the earliest times of history, the practice has obtained of dividing its record into epochs, or eras, usually hinging on some great or noteworthy events, which like mile-stones, serve to mark the distances along the road of human progress. But, as these landmarks owe their prominence much more to imagination than to fact, they often serve only to confuse the mind of the historical student, and to divert his attention from the true course of history, by fixing it on arbitrary starting points. For instance, the establishment of the Muhammadan Era of the Hegira or Flight of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca, is largely responsible for the ignorance of, and contempt for, all history prior to that era, which characterizes Musalman nations. They have actually no chronology before their year 1 A H, which corresponds to 622 A D. History exists for them only from that time forward.

We make the birth of our Lord the most conspicuous landmark in history, though, at the time, it passed unnoticed and unrecorded, nor did it have any effect upon the history of the world till three centuries later. Consequently, in our minds, the centuries before Christ and after Christ are sharply divided from each other, as the Northern and Southern hemispheres are divided on the map by the imaginary line of the Equator, while in reality no such arbitrary barrier exists in time or space. The French Republican leaders reckoned on the influence which these imaginary points of departure exert upon the minds of men, when they made their futile attempt to ignore all previously existing eras, and to recommence history by making a fresh start from “the first year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.”

In reviewing the course of history, we seem to recognize the presence of strong currents of human opinion or inclination, which colour its events, and give to each period, or each generation, a peculiar character of its own. In the East, among the Semitic and Turanian peoples, these currents flow generally from a religious source, and are therefore more permanent and more continuous. Among the civilized nations of Europe they are more rapid in running their course, more shifting and more changeable. At one time they tend to the substitution of the power of an absolute monarchy for that

of a feudal aristocracy, at another, to the limitation of the power of a monarchy by that of a democracy

In the Middle Ages we see the religious idea governing politics, French Huguenots looking to England, and German Lutherans to Sweden, as their political centre, while Catholic Poles persecute Orthodox Russians, and the Greek Christians of Bosnia turn Turk to avoid being coerced into serving the Pope. A century later, we find religious antipathy surviving only as a stalking horse for dynastic rivalries, and the strife of war and of diplomacy revolves round Royal marriages and intrigues, round the conflicting claims of the Houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg, or of Stuart and Brunswick. And now, in our own time, it is no longer rival creeds, or family quarrels, that influence the course of history, but the sympathy of peoples connected by ties of blood and language, but divided by political differences.

All those of one race or nationality strive to coalesce, all those of diverse descent struggle to disengage themselves from an uncongenial union. The present age is the era of the nationalities. In our own day we have seen all the separate States of Italy united in one Italian Kingdom, and all the loosely-knit members of the Germanic Confederation re-uniting under the standard of a renewed German Empire. And now we see the great Slavonic race agitated by a similar longing for political unity, which the Panslavists hope to see some day accomplished under the hegemony of Russia. On the other hand, in the Austrian Empire we find the ill-assorted political congeries of nationalities all struggling to get rid of their bond of union. The Magyar can scarcely repress his ill-concealed antipathy to his German comrade, the Czech is anxious to be separated from both, and the Southern Slavonians look longingly towards Russia and their brethren in the Balkan Peninsula. It is no rash prophecy to foretell that the next great European war will shake the unstable edifice of Hapsburg rule to its foundations. And, as the masses of the nations come, with the advance of democracy, to have more and more an active part in the management of political affairs, the national movement will spread in ever-widening circles, until, perhaps, eventually the political and ethnological divisions of the human race coincide. In the words of the Arabic poet, Ibn al Farid, in his *Tey'eeyat al Kubra* —

“Not in vain the Nation-strivings,
Nor by chance the currents flow,
Error mazed, yet truth-directed,
To one certain end they go.”

ART II —THE SEAMY SIDE OF LIFE IN INDIA

ALTHOUGH we are not absolute Mark Tapleys, there is a tendency amongst most of us in India, as indeed there is in most places of exile, to make the best of things—to look upon the bright side of the picture, and to bring into strong relief the points in which India is better than the Old Country. They are few enough, in all conscience, but we love to give them their full prominence. For instance, we contrast our Indian cold weather—its bearable climate and its varied amusements—with the English winter, its fogs and melting snow. Even in the hot weather, when driving behind a good pair of walers, we reflect upon the distance of a carriage and pair from the reach of a man of moderate means in England. In short, we all have a tendency to make the most of the good the gods have given us, and try to minimize the hardship of our lot. Those who have not that modicum of Mark Tapley's philosophy in their composition, are unfitted for life in India. They are soon invalided home, if they do not go to their last home in one of those Indian cemeteries designed after the latest hideous "Standard Plan" of the Public Works Department and improved at each period of Quadrennial Repairs.

When we come home, however, and the necessity for an enforced optimism ceases to exist, we begin, or some of us do, to think over all we have left behind, and, banishing the thought that we have got to go back to it again, we begin to judge the land we have quitted more soberly and critically, and to see things as they are, and not as we have persuaded ourselves to imagine them to be.

Basking in an English summer sunshine without an off chance of sunstroke, eating and drinking heartily without speculation as to the effect on our liver (to say nothing of a latent dread of cholera), taking our walks abroad without the chance of meeting either a snake or a baboo of the latest young India cult, all these things tend to free our spirit and to enable us to see things Indian without the tinted glasses which are so necessary in this country, as well for the soul as for the body.

Scores of painters, both in words and in colour, have given us pictures of the Indian village. The stately peepul tree and the temple, grey with the growth of centuries, stand out in prominent relief. The groups of huts, embedded in leaves and plants of many hues, help to make up the beauty of the landscape. The tank, with its lotus flowers on the surface, and its no less graceful surroundings of maidens poising their water vessels on

their shapely heads, the happy ploughman, following his yoke of oxen, and the aged men of the village, sitting in council under the sacred tree,—all these go to make up the Indian village landscape, as presented to us in the pages of the novelist, who, perhaps, has never been inside an Indian village in his life, or, by the painter, who set up his easel at a distance charming for effect and not too near the subject of his picture.

These pictures are not altogether misleading. There are few prettier sights than a distant view of an Indian village on a bright cold weather morning. But the view must be a distant one. As you approach the place, the seamy side of the woof presents itself in ever increasing vividness.

The only Europeans who ever see the inside of an Indian village are those whose business calls them there. When I say see the inside, I mean, see it with any opportunity of knowing what it is really like. The globe trotting sportsman may pass through it on his way to the chase, the itinerant philanthropist may catch a glimpse of it from a railway carriage or through the half-open doors of a *dāk gari*, or a palanquin (this limit to his vision does not prevent the latter from writing as though he knew all about it), but, I don't think I am far astray in saying, that the only people who have any opportunity of studying the internal economy of a *basti*, or village, are the official, the planter, and the missionary.

I have mixed much with both planters and missionaries, and most of my social life in India has been spent amongst officials. The missionary, in his zeal for his high calling, sees beauty in things and surroundings which are in themselves most unlovely, and it may be that the seamy side of an Indian village is lost to his gaze. I venture to say, however, that few planters, or officials, can be found who do not inwardly smile at the pictures drawn of Indian village life, whether by the novelist, or by the painter. They cannot, at any rate, help contrasting the outward beauty of the picture with the hideous realities with which their work makes them but too well acquainted.

Now the novelist who has done most to depict Indian village life, is Meadows Taylor, but he looks upon the romantic side of things. His heroines are women of action, his village scenes are pastorals, I cannot recall one of his pictures which sets forth the squalor, misery and unloveliness which are to be found in almost every village that I have seen, and I have seen hundreds. [I italicise *in* advisedly, for, from a distant and cursory view, these defects do not come obtrusively before one.] Painters, from Val Prinsep down to the most humble aspirant for honours at the Simla or Calcutta Art Exhibitions, have given us countless views of Indian village scenery. They have

naturally selected points of vantage from which to paint the most pleasing pictures. There is no realistic school of Indian Art, either in writing or in painting, which dissects a subject pleasing to the eye as a picture, and it is not desirable that Art should be used to lay bare deformities, which, from an æsthetic point of view, are best hidden. From the nature of the subject then, we have but limited opportunities of seeing Indian villages as they are, and the lives led by those whose fate dooms them to dwell therein.

I am not unmindful of the great works of Sir William Hunter when I make this assertion, but his books are not within the reach of many, and, even if they were, they are written to serve a higher purpose than a mere sketch of villages and village life. Word-pictures of the most graceful kind are to be found all over his writings, but they have to be sought for amongst weightier matter, to which they serve as beautiful illustrations. Even Sir William Hunter, in his work on "Orissa," although he gives us full statistics of ordinary villages, telling us what food the people eat, with what raiment they are clothed, and what wages they earn, reserves his greatest masterpieces of description for the villages amongst the Hill Tribes, where he depicts scenes and customs known to but few even of those whose lives are spent in India. He has these subjects worthy of his pen, and he has put forth his wonderful powers of description on them rather than on scenes more or less familiar to a great number of his readers.

Notwithstanding all the brightness of colour with which an eastern sun can light up the foliage and costumes which go to make up the picture of an Indian village, there is, in the life of an Indian peasant, something very colourless and leaden-hued. This may seem unaccountable, for the lives of people are more or less influenced by their physical surroundings. There is something contagious in Nature which shows itself in those who come under her influence. It might, therefore, be expected that the life of an Indian peasant would have some of the brightness which pervades the landscape of the place in which he dwells. When, however, an Indian village is drawn, as it were, to scale, and not from the point of view of the picturesque, the picture is not quite so bright, and we begin to understand that there are physical conditions which counteract the brightness and overcast the sky under which peasant life is spent.

I do not think I can better describe what I mean, than by giving a sketch of a village near which I was encamped last year.

It was on the Grand Trunk Road, which runs from Delhi in the Panjab to Pooree, the seat of the great temple of

Juggernath in Orissa. My camp was pitched a little outside the village, for a bold man would he be who, knowing what an Indian village is, should pitch his tent at any but a safe distance from the various sights and smells which would assail him were he to venture too near. The village itself had nothing striking about it to distinguish it from the thousands of other villages scattered about Bengal. If anything, the colouring was brighter, as it lay on the great pilgrim highway, and the dresses of those on the roadside, and by the village tank, were more diversified and picturesque than one would see in an ordinary village, inhabited by one set of people.

I remember that the scene struck me as one that would give a very good idea of how pretty a village could be made to look—in a picture. Now, if an artist were to have set up his easel near the site of my camp, he would have had for his foreground a little sheet of water, more or less overgrown with vegetation and brightened by an odd lotus flower. The setting sun on this would add to the beauty of the picture, and would light up a hut, buried in a mass of luxuriant foliage. Two or three dusky figures and a stray pariah dog would add life to the scene. This would be a foreground, and a very effective one, to a cluster of many shaped huts, built near the village tank, and overshadowed by a mighty peepul tree.

In the village which I am describing, the remains of an old saltpetre mound broke the monotonous flatness of the surrounding country, and, in a picture, would have given the idea of a bit of natural rising ground, at the base of which the village had sprung up.

The many-coloured garments of the women, the intense green of the foliage, and the grey walls of the mud huts, would have given variety of colour, to add brightness to the landscape, and the entire scene would give an idea of an Eastern Auburn (more especially to one who had been reading and swallowing the effusions of the latest itinerant philanthropist, whose views of India were strongly tinted by imagination, and whose deductions regarding things Indian were based upon preconceived ideas, to establish the truth of which he had made a hasty tour through India in the one delightful season of the year).

I have tried to give an idea of what an Indian village looked like on a cold weather evening. The cold weather, as we all know, is the halcyon time of the Indian year. The sky is no longer as brass and the earth as iron, as they are in the middle of the hot weather, nor is the ground a swamp beneath the feet, as it is during the rains. It is the time of the harvest of the principal rice crop. It is a time when, if at all, the heart of man should be made glad.

But gladness, as we understand the word, is a stranger to a

Bengalee villager. There is a fatalistic acquiescence in things as they are, if you like, but mirth or joy, such as we see in the most miserable parts of England, at some time or other, forms no part of his daily life. Let us examine more closely the scene in which that life is spent from the cradle to the grave. We cannot do better than go through the details of the picture I have drawn above—to draw it as it were to scale.

Leaving the camp, and walking for half a mile or so down the beautifully-metalled road, we come to the sheet of water which formed the foreground of the picture. A sickening odour of decaying vegetable matter is the first warning of one's nearness to it. For that which looked like a little sheet of sunlit water in the distance, turns out to be a depression of the soil, undrained, and covered with stagnant water. Into this refuse of every kind is thrown. It is the uncovered *cloaca maxima* of the village. The hut which stands a little way from it, is what is known as the *kalali* in Bengal. It corresponds to the village inn in England. Here, if anywhere, the leaden hue of peasant life comes prominently forward. A village inn is generally a scene of more or less life and brightness in England, for, apart from the evil which may attend the sale of liquor, no one can deny that, of a summer evening, the village alehouse has a cheerful aspect, the Bengal *kalali* is quite the reverse. It is part of my duty to inspect these places, and I well remember going up with my companion, the police officer, to the one which I am describing. We had first to pick our way through a lot of filthy, rotting matter—the waste which had been thrown out anyhow after the country spirit had been distilled. A number of black, broken earthen vessels lay scattered about the ground, and, indeed, were useful as stepping stones through the mire. Our approach was not heard, and we were able to stand for a few minutes at the door and look in without being seen. Round one side of the mud-and-wattle walls of the hut were the three distilling vessels allowed by law, in full work. The sickly smell of the boiling mass pervaded the whole place. Three or four wretched-looking men were seated on the ground drinking their liquor out of earthen pipkins, but no signs of revel or mirth were there. They drank in absolute silence the weak nauseating stuff that takes the place in India of the beer of the English rustic.

An analysis of the liquor showed that, despite all that is said about the spread of drunkenness in India, the spirit supplied in public-houses licensed by Government contains a very slight proportion of alcohol. The appearance of those whom we saw drinking it did not suggest the idea that it was very exhilarating or mirth inspiring. We enquired about the

revellers, and were told that they were wayfarers, and that one of the company was standing drinks round to the rest. Anything more unlike a social glass could hardly be imagined. It would be difficult to suppose even Mark Tapley himself jolly in the midst of surroundings so little calculated to raise the most buoyant nature.

I don't think I am wrong in saying that this is a fairly average description of any public house in Bengal during the day. At night, I fear, the scene is more animated, but not in the direction of being more cheerful. It is more strictly businesslike, for the public-house, or that of ill-fame, is generally the place where thieves assemble to plan their operations, or divide their spoil. At any rate enquiry in the case of any organized crime is first directed to these institutions. (It is one of the indirect advantages of having liquor shops under police control, that these assemblies for the purpose of plotting crime are consequently attended with more or less risk to the conspirators.) But by night or day there is no gladness attending even the revels of the Indian peasant. A dull crooning of a song, more or less obscene, is sometimes heard, but laughter does not follow the efforts of the vocalist, nor does the song appear to be the outburst of excessive high spirits on the part of the singer. If frequenting taverns be a vice, there is, I think, a very seamy side to even the vices of Indian peasant life.

When we come to the picturesque cluster of huts which formed the main feature of the landscape, the seamy side comes out in very startling reality. It is difficult to convey to a reader who has not seen it, an idea of the exterior of an Indian village. It is such a curious mixture of cleanliness and squalor. Hindus, by their religion, are enjoined to observe certain ceremonies, which are undoubtedly conducive to cleanliness. One of these is the washing of the floors of their houses. And if one could shut his eyes to the outside of a hut, and had his sense of smell deadened, an Indian village would appear to be a tidy and cleanly place. The brass vessels in daily use shine like mirrors on the outside. Their construction prevents a thorough inward cleansing. The floor is washed and scrupulously clean, but there all cleanliness ends. Outside the door, and impregnating the air both within and without with its fetid exhalations, is an earthen drain into which all the household filth is cast. When a shower comes, it gets a bath of water, but it is generally so choked up, that the water does not flow away, but remains there to stagnate and add its quota to the noisome vapours given off when the sun strikes fiercely upon the mass of decaying matter with which the drain is already congested. The outside walls of the house are ornamented

with cakes of drying cowdung in the course of preparation for fuel, and a mass of the unprepared material is stacked in a basket close by. The effect of this on a steamy, hot day in the rains may be better imagined than described. Outside the door is flung everything that has served its purpose and is no longer of any use. Broken pots, refuse vegetable matter, rotting stalks of the plantain, all add to the dirt outside a cottage, and form the play-ground in which the Bengalee peasant spends his infancy.

The houses of the well-to-do are but little better. They are built of brick, for the most part sun dried, and are not so easily kept clean as the hard earthen floors of the dwellings of the poorer classes. There is one large court, round which the dwelling-rooms are built, and these dwelling-rooms are about the size of prison cells and are utterly without ventilation, save, in some cases, from a thickly grated window,

The so called sanitary arrangements are indescribably dreadful. In fact, sanitation, or the most elementary ideas thereof, are an innovation from the West. Judging from the action of educated bodies of natives, even in such a centre of civilization as Calcutta, they have not yet penetrated the outer skin of the most advanced native society.

This fact comes into greater relief when we look at native municipal bodies in the country. These municipal bodies—were there no checks to hinder them—would squander money on schools for the purpose of giving an almost free education to the sons of men who ought not to require such assistance, but for sanitation, every penny that is doled out is given grudgingly and of necessity. This money, be it remembered, is contributed by the rate-payers and is supposed primarily to be devoted to the improvement of the health of those who contribute it. In villages there is not even the pretence made of enforcing the most primitive rules of health, and an effort, which is now being made by the Government of India for the purpose of enforcing sanitary measures in Rural Districts, is received with anything but satisfaction by those who consider themselves competent to exercise control over the finances of each District, or, even (as some claim), of those of the Empire itself.

Leaving the cottage with the surroundings which I have described, we come to the tank which is the one distinguishing feature of Indian villages, above those of any other country. Some of these tanks have very many points of great beauty. To dig a tank and to plant a grove of trees used, in days gone by, to be considered works pleasing to the gods. To beautify and adorn existing tanks was looked upon as a sacred duty. That form of piety is, alas! dying out, with what is called advancing education, and, as was well expressed by an eminent Indian

civilian, these monuments of piety are fast disappearing with the decay of the religious spirit (or *Dharma*) which called them into existence. Modern Indian men of light and leading are too busy with politics to care to give water to the thirsty land or shade to the sun-stricken traveller.

However, when these monuments of the past have not been allowed to fall into decay, there still remain the flights of well-built steps, grey with the growth of years, leading down to the water's edge. The trees planted by the water's side give a grateful shade and add beauty to the scene, and, in some places, an ancient temple lends its graceful outlines to the picture. One would suppose that the tank would at least be free from anything to mar its beauty, but it is not so. In the distance the crowd of bathers, the women clad in varied bright colours and the men in their more simple dress, all add colour and light to the landscape, but, as in most things Indian, when you approach near to the crowd, the beauty of the scene disappears, and the reality of what is going on dispels the illusion that gave its charm to the picture. Each of the bathers is well anointed with oil before going into the water, and, in the course of his ablutions, he scoops up and drinks the water in which he, with scores of others, is washing. The brightly-clad maidens and matrons, having just washed their bodies, proceed to wash their garments, and then fill a vessel full of the water they have been using, and carry it home for all domestic purposes, both for cooking and drinking. Thus, then, from his infancy to his manhood, the life of an Indian peasant is spent amidst surroundings of the most unwholesome kind. In Bengal there are added to the avoidable filth which I have described, the unavoidable evils of a climate which tends to enervate, day by day, the strongest constitution. The result of the effect of the climate is shown in the physique of the people who are weakly, effeminate and timid. The *corpus sanum* is lacking for the *mens sana*, and, though intellectually quick, the most educated classes lack the physical backbone which is the growth of a soil less unfavourably circumstanced. Upon the uneducated peasant, the marks of the atmosphere in which his life is spent are shown in the listless apathy which he displays towards any subject which does not immediately concern either his person or his pocket. The leaden colour which pervades the sky of his life is, to some extent, due to the miasma in which he is brought up, and which is sufficient to obscure the brightest sky over which it casts its noisome cloud.

I think I have succeeded in showing that there is a seamy side to the most beautiful village landscape, and that the picture which looks so beautiful from a distance, will not bear a detailed inspection of too searching a nature.

The physical surroundings of those who dwell in the towns are but little, if any, better. Outward decency is certainly more observed, but it is a question whether the crowding together of the dwellings of the people does not more than counteract the better outward show. There has never been much money available for large schemes of sanitation, except in the Presidency-towns and one or two large places of almost equal importance. In Calcutta, judging from recent reports, sanitation is positively hindered by the action of elected representatives of the people. In the country towns, since the administration of municipal affairs has been taken out of the hands of officials and given over to those of bodies more or less elected, sanitation has not advanced, if, indeed, it has not absolutely retrograded. That it is not an impossible feat to enforce sanitation in Indian towns, is illustrated by the arrangements carried out in every large cantonment. Sentimental ideas of freedom are not allowed to interfere with the health of soldiers, whether Native or European, and I have not yet heard that the idea of an elective cantonment committee has ever been thought of, much less put into force.

There is, therefore, a seamy side to all the physical surroundings of those who are brought up and live in either the village or the country towns of India. It is enough, in all conscience, to account for the lives of the poorer classes being dull and leaden-hued. They have nothing to interest them beyond their daily life, and that a life passed in an atmosphere not conducive to vigour or brightness of either mind or body. The fabric which composes the moral, social and economic conditions of Indian life, has also a seamy side in comparison with which the physical seamy side is as nothing. In trying to describe this, I shall not rely entirely on my own personal observation. I have always made a point of listening to what the people themselves had to say about themselves, their wants and troubles, and, in this sketch, I shall try to give the substance of what I have thus gathered. When I say *the people themselves*, I mean those whom I have come across in the course of my daily life and work. I do not refer to those who, looking down with the most supreme contempt on all whom they consider beneath themselves in caste or intellectual attainments, yet profess to represent the cause of "the dumb millions."

In India, as in all other parts of the world, the lives of little children are the most free from care. The man child has not yet come under the sway of the village Orbilius, nor has he to endure all kinds of weather in herding cattle in the fields. The woman child has not yet become a child-wife, with the awful possibilities of child widowhood before her. Although their play-ground be but little better than a

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refuse pit, yet the heaven of happiness lies about (even Indian children in their infancy But the child life is brief there, as compared with that enjoyed by children in other countries Boys, as soon as they can toddle, are set to look after herds of buffaloes, and girls—well there is no use in discussing here the evils of child marriage, but I cannot help describing one sight I saw as a commentary on the subject more eloquent than pages of writing I was driving with my family from one camp to another, in a lonely part of the district of which I then had charge We saw in the distance, coming towards us, a palanquin covered with red cloth, such as is generally used for the purpose of carrying native ladies It was unattended, save by the bearers and two female servants As it came within hearing distance, we heard the most bitter wailing from within A weeping such as one would have expected to have heard from one mourning for the dead As the voice was clearly that of a child, we stopped and asked what was the matter We were told, in the most matter-of-fact way, that it was only a child-wife going to her husband's home for the first time Married, as an infant, to another little more than an infant, and as yet in what we should call her early childhood, this little maiden was, as it were, shut up in a box (for a lady's palanquin is but little better than a box), and sent miles away from home, to enter upon married life with a young man whom she had scarcely ever seen, and with whom she could not possibly have any sympathy It was no wonder that her grief was bitter, more especially if she had seen in her own home the life led by a young Hindu widow, and thought of the possibility of a similar fate being in store for herself A hideous seam is here shown in the woof of native life, one which permeates the entire fabric of Indian society We should believe a little more in the sincerity of Indian reformers, were they to turn their attention to this and other fearful social deformities, and acknowledge the part played by such customs in bringing about the degradation of their countrymen All the political privileges in the world will not avail to elevate a people in whose innermost life exist such social cancers The contrast between the free, out-of-door life of the English family, and the dreary life of imprisonment in store for the child in the palanquin, might well be used as an argument against those who see in English rule the cause of all the misery which exists amongst the so-called down-trodden people of India.

After the brief period of happiness which child life gives in India has passed away, and the realities of life begin, the seamy side shows itself in ever increasing vividness Now, what I want to show is, that this seaminess is part of that second nature which habit has ingrained in the people. That it is not the

result of extraneous forces, political or otherwise, acting on the people from without.

It is, of course, a matter of history that, until the British Power consolidated and united India under one rule, the country was one seething mass of internal fighting. According as one or the other of the many races of which the country is made up, got to be for the moment powerful, it promptly turned its attention to its weaker neighbours, and devoured their substance and reduced them to utter subjection. Its own time came when another race rose into power, and so the tragedy went on. The description given by Mr Justin Macarthy, of the seals, at the Golden Gates at San Francisco, illustrates, as well as any thing could, the state of things before British rule. One race climbing into power on the back of another and treading under foot those that were weaker than itself.

Now, what races in India were, before their subjection under one power, such would Indian rural society be to day, were it not for the strong arm of the law, in the first instance, and to some extent, for the leavening power which European example and influence has had over the whole mass. Let us look for a moment at the natural construction of village society. There is first of all, if the village be the head-quarters of the landlord, the *raj-bari*, or, as it would be called in England, the "big house." Taking, as I have done all along, an instance from my own experience, I shall try to give a sketch of how a *raj bari* strikes an ordinary outsider. The place of which I speak is in an Eastern Bengal District, and is fairly typical of its class. When I first came into camp near the dwelling of that landlord, I received two or more sets of presents of flowers and vegetables. Each present was accompanied by fowls, sheep and other more substantial articles of food, all of which were, of course, returned. These presents of fowls, &c, are a relic of the past, when, I suppose, supplies were difficult to obtain. There is no idea of undue influence underlying the attention, but officers now-a-days draw the line at receiving flowers, &c, and return the more substantial offerings. The sending of these complimentary gifts was followed by a request for an interview by each of the senders. This was, of course, granted, and each of the leading members of the family came separately to see me. It was not very long before we found out that the direst hatred prevailed amongst the members of the family, and each one did his best to impress me with the idea that his relative was, on the whole, rather a worse character than James Case and Judas Iscariot put together. I, of course, did not enter much into the dispute between them, but I subsequently found out that the family patrimony was finding its

way into the hands of lawyers. One of the principal subjects of the fight was the building of a wall inside the family premises. I went to return the visits made to me by each member of the family, and nothing could have seemed more absurd than that in the same group of buildings one had to pay separate visits, and be received by separate sets of retainers and at different times. I should have identified myself with one party or the other had I gone to one man's apartments first, and then from them to those of his enemy. Now here is the very place where one would have expected and hoped that an example would have been set of order and a law-abiding spirit. There were two hostile camps headed by relatives at war with each other, and made up of retainers, ignorant men, only restrained by the law from flying at each other's throats. Now family quarrels are the rule, and not the exception, in large Bengal families, and hence I am not far wrong in saying that, but for the law, a constant scene of anarchy and fighting would prevail, until one of the contending parties had gone to the wall and was utterly subdued by the force which the other could bring to bear upon him. As it is, pretty much the same thing arises, only the Civil Court is the chief arena of the fight, and the issue is decided by the longest purse. Despite the law, however, these natural leaders of the community either cannot or do not prevent their servants from getting up fights amongst the tenantry, and securing first blood, both literally and metaphorically, by means of a riot, culminating in a criminal trial, in which the instruments are punished, whilst the leaders get off scot-free in too many instances.

The use of forgery is one of the most startling features in litigation in India, whether the dispute be between landlord and tenant, or between the money-lender and his client.

I have heard of one authenticated instance in which an estate came under the management of the Court of Wards, and all papers, securities and valuables were taken possession of by that Court. One of the most valuable bequests which the late proprietor left to his heir, was a series of blank stamps of every year during the lifetime of that proprietor, or, at any rate, for many years back. The use of this singular collection would not at first strike one, until it was explained that the watermark of stamps differs for each year, and a document purporting to be executed during any given year must bear the watermark of that year, or of a previous year, to prevent its being at once detected as a forgery. An instance given by Mr Justice Field in his work on "Evidence," shows to what an extent forgery prevails in business transactions—"One man sued another on a forged bond, and the defence set up (which ultimately succeeded) was a forged receipt for the repayment of the loan

which had never been given. The use, of forgery has been to a great extent, diminished by the compulsory registration of documents conveying rights in property, but the fact remains that, whether by force or fraud, the natural tendency of native society is, as was the tendency of the races of which that society is made up, for the strong to prey upon the weak. The European leaven has, to some extent, worked against this tendency, but it is not to be expected that fifty years of settled government, together with a smattering of English education, or more properly speaking, instruction, can wholly eradicate the habits of centuries.

When we consider the composition of native society, the wonder is, not that there is a seamy side, but that there is any other but seamy side. To take the bringing-up of a native child of the upper middle classes, or of the rural landlord class, we find that, from his earliest childhood, he is brought up in an atmosphere in which woman is little better than a prisoner, and in which a widow, whether she has ever been a real wife at all, or whether she has had some years of married life, leads an existence compared with which that of a prisoner is bright and cheerful. Deprived of all the home influences which surround the life of a child in other countries, the boy naturally gives to woman the place in the social scale to which, from his earliest infancy, he has been taught to relegate her. He sees nothing of the freedom of intercourse between men and women which forms the backbone of European society, and from this education arises an engrained contempt for the weak, which is an essential mark of the native character. This, in itself, would be enough to account for much of the tendency to get to windward of his neighbour which is natural to a native of India.

There is, however, another powerful factor which works towards establishing the tendency, and that more especially amongst those who belong to the upper classes of society. I refer to the caste system. A boy is brought up to consider, as absolutely beneath him, as something utterly below him in every relation of life, as, in fact, belonging to a different order of creation, any one who happens to belong to a caste inferior to his own. Surely this in itself is, to say the least of it, not calculated to inspire feelings of sympathy between the various classes which go to make up Indian society, and to qualify men for rule who are saturated from their cradle with such ideas. Even the emancipated Hindus who have renounced caste, show traces of their early training in the contempt they feel and often show for those who are uneducated. The pride of education is, of course, a more noble sentiment than the pride of caste, but whereas, in England, either a well-born or

a well-educated man, is distinguished by a consideration for the feelings of those beneath him in either birth or education, there is little, if any, of the same consideration to be seen in India. The expression, "he is an uneducated man," is used towards his fellow man by one who considers himself educated with as significant a meaning as the expression, "he is but an oil seller," is used by a Brahmin landlord towards one of his tenants.

The most extraordinary part of this caste anomaly in a country for which political freedom is claimed by some, is the quiet manner in which it is taken by those who suffer from it. I do not merely refer to the uneducated peasantry, but to those whose education, one would have supposed, had taught them better. I know of an instance myself in which a man, occupying the position of a native gentleman and holding a Government appointment of trust and position, was bidden to a feast and submitted to eat his dinner outside the door as a pariah, whilst men, some of whom were his own official inferiors, were feasting within. If this be the case with men of position and education, it is not to be wondered at that the poorer classes of the community blindly acquiesce in their fate in life, and that, brought up to be despised by those of a caste superior to themselves, they are content to bow their necks beneath all kinds of oppression.

It is to this habit, bred in the bone of the poorer classes, of taking contentedly an existence of being bullied, that we are to look for the true reason of the petty tyranny exercised day by day over them, whether the petty tyrant be for the moment the landlord's steward, the money-lender, the police officer, the salt officer, or whoever of their own countrymen may happen to be for the time being clothed with a little brief authority over them.

It is a most significant fact that, in all the recent agitation that has been started for the purpose of redressing the wrongs of the "dumb millions," not one word has been breathed regarding social reform amongst the people themselves. Those who agitate for representative institutions know better than to bring a hornet's nest about their ears by calling upon their countrymen to reform from within. The fact is, they themselves are not wholly emancipated from the fetters of ancient custom which assigns to woman an inferior place in the social scale, and which condemns the great majority of the people of India to be regarded, and indeed to regard themselves, as something entirely inferior to the minority, to have their touch on food regarded as a pollution, and, in some instances, to know and acquiesce in the fact, that one of the lords of creation considers himself defiled by the shadow of a man of lower caste.

falling on his path This is the seamy side of native social society, and, until it disappears, it is idle to hope that things will be better for the majority of the people The political privileges which are claimed, are to be enjoyed by the few. The condition of the many, of the "dumb millions," of whom we have lately been hearing so much, will never be materially changed until they can look upon their fellow men as equals in the scale of humanity, and are taught to give to their woman that place in the social scale which, in other countries, is barely withheld from convicted criminals

ART III—GOSSIP ABOUT PETER THE GREAT.

[Continued from the Calcutta Review for July 1891]

THE next Thursday, the Tsar and Meijnert Arendssoon Bloem sailed up the Zaan canal. When their boat came opposite the mills, Peter again felt that longing curiosity to visit them that had given him so many pleasant hours in the happy days of his incognito. They first visited a starch-mill, then one where barley was husked, where Peter watched every stage of the process from the moment the ears of barley disappeared in the mill, till the pearly grains poured out on the floor, and the golden straw, denuded of its treasures, was added to the rejected heap.

But all Zaandam was changed for Peter. Its charm had vanished with his incognito, and he was no longer Peter Baas the jolly carpenter, but Peter the Tsar of Russia, between whom and his Dutch friends a great gulf was fixed, so that none could pass over.

The rest of his stay in Zaandam is uninteresting, a mere story of transparent disguises and fictitious deceptions that deceived no one, and Peter, soon wearying of them, left the little city of Dutchland 'for fresh fields and pastures new.'

One of the most amusing characters in Peter's reign is his "nigger-boy," who came as a present to the Tsar, and soon became a notable figure at his Court.

Later on, Peter sent his nigger, whom he dubbed Hannibal, to college, and made a scholar of him, finally he married his dusky favourite to one of the ladies of his Court, and their daughter, Olga, became in due time the wife of Seige Pushkin, and the mother of the greatest of Russian poets, Alexander Sergeevitch Pushkin.

Pushkin was a great favourite with his old nigger grandpapa, who used to tell him tales of the Great Tsar Peter's Court.

Amongst these stories is the following —

"Amongst other new fangled notions which the reforming Tsar wanted to introduce to his barbarous Russia, was the European fashion of shaving the face clean, an innovation that rightly revolted the feeling of the well-bearded Russ.

"One splendid and savage old man, the Prince Dolgoruki (the brother, by the way, of Mdme Blavatsky's ancestor), flatly refused to accede to the new reform, and, after roundly abusing the innovating Tsar for his impiety, tore up the imperial *Ukas* before the imperial eyes, and, if tradition lies not, actually went so far as to throw the fragments in the imperial face, telling the imperial law-maker flatly, that if he, Peter

knew no better than to make such idiotic laws, he, Prince Dolgoruki, would have no part or parcel in the matter, but would leave the Government and the Senate to look out for themselves, and betake himself to his own house, where he could till his land and grow his beard to his heart's content, like an honest Russian country gentleman, who rightly despised all Dutchifying-Frenchifying nonsense

"Now Peter loved practical jokes, so long as he played them himself, but, like many another imperial humourist, his relish quickly melted away when the joke was turned against himself. However, Dolgoruki was too important and weighty a personage to be dealt with summarily, so Peter resolved to try diplomacy, and, going to Dolgoruki's house, put it to him, as a Prince and a Senator, that it would have been quite sufficient to defy the imperial decree, without adding injury to insult by tearing it up before the imperial face.

'Very true, Tsar,' replied old Dolgoruki, 'but I knew that if I tore it up, you wouldn't write such nonsense another time, if only through consideration for my age and fidelity.'

"The Tsar admitted the force of this reasoning, but still the imperial vanity had to be mollified, so he asked the Tsaritzza to advise Dolgoruki to make a formal apology to the Tsar at the next meeting of the Senate.

"Prince Dolgoruki flatly refused, and, the next day, in the Senate, contradicted and contravened the Tsar more determinedly than ever.

"At last Peter, seeing that nothing could be done with him, let the matter drop, and never recurred to it again, so that Prince Dolgoruki conquered, and the Shaving Act never passed into law."

Pushkin had a charming old aunt, Natalia, a delightful, gossipy, scandal-loving old lady, who had been at Court under Peter III and Katherine the Great. She used to tell her poetical nephew all sorts of stories about the Court, and the poor half-witted, soon to be dethroned Tsar, stories too charming to omit altogether, though not strictly connected with our subject, but, after all, our subject is "gossip," and it is the privilege of gossips to diverge from the point, and wander into all sorts of bye-ways and sidepaths, whither their humour leads them. One day, in August, Pushkin tells us, he paid a visit to the dear old lady, whose memory ran on the dethronement of Peter the Third by his strong-minded queen-consort, and she related her memory of it somewhat as follows —

"Dear me! how well I remember it all! It was just before St Peter's Day, we were driving to Znamenskoye,—my poor mamma, my sister Elisabeth, and I in one carriage, my papa (Count Ragumovski) and Vasil Ivanovitch (Chulkovi)

in the other. On the way, one of the Tsar's couriers stopped us, and, coming up to the carriages, explained that the Emperor (Peter III) had ordered us to come to Peterhof. My papa was going to order the coachman to drive there, but Vasil Ivanovitch said "Oh never mind! don't go! I know what it is all about, the Emperor said he would send for the ladies some time to come to Court just as they were found, even *en deshabille*. It's very likely he is at his jokes just before the feast of his patron saint!" But the courier begged my papa to come at once. They talked it over, and papa ordered the coachman to go straight to Peterhof.

"We came to the Palace. They would not admit us. A sentry pointed a pistol, or something, at us, through the window of the carriage. I got frightened, and began to cry. My father said to me 'Enough! stop that! what nonsense!' and then, turning to the sentry 'We have come by command of the Emperor!'—'Please come to the guardhouse'.

"Papa went, and we were taken to one of our friends who lived near. They received us, and, after an hour, a message came from papa for us to go to Monplaisir, we all drove off my mamma in her dressing-gown, just as she was. We drove to Monplaisir, there were a crowd of ladies, all *en robe de cour*, and the Tsar with his hat awry, and awfully angry. Seeing the Tsar, I sat down on the floor of the carriage and cried 'I won't go on board the boat for anything'—(for the Tsar's pleasure-boat was there). But they made me go. Count Munich was with us. We sailed as far as Kronstadt. The Tsar was the first to land, then all the ladies after him. Mamma staid with us on the boat, for we did not land with the rest of the party. Countess Vorontzoff promised to send a little boat for us. Instead of the little boat, we saw, after a few minutes, the Tsar and the whole company. They all hurried on board the boat again, crying that we were going to be bombarded immediately. The Tsar went away *à fond de cale*, with Countess Lizabeta Romanoona, and Munich, just as if nothing had happened, began talking to the ladies, *leur faisant la cour*. Then we went to Oranienbaum. The Emperor went to the fortress, we to the palace. The next day we were summoned to Holy Communion, and soon learnt all. We were very sorry for the poor Emperor. They still included his name in the prayers and thanksgiving. We bade him farewell. He gave mamma his mourning carriage with the imperial crown on the panels. In Petersburg the people took us for the Empress, and cheered us excitedly. On the next day, the Empress sent mamma a ribbon."

"Dear old lady, how delightfully she shows us the lining of the great Katherine's famous *coup d'état*. History ought to have

been written by gossiping old grandmothers like this, after all, the Father of History tells his stories in much the same style

That was the unfortunate Peter III's last public appearance. What became of him, no one knows. At any rate he and his fiddle never more appeared on the stage of European politics

Sometimes our old lady forgot her royal theme, and regaled her epic nephew with mere shreds and tatters of Court history. He has recorded them with the most charming grace and dramatic delicacy, the talkative old lady, with her smiles and her wrinkles, her merry eyes and snowy hair, shines through every line

"Potemkin (Katherine's minister) was very fond of me," she says, "I don't know what he wouldn't have done for me. Mashenka, my daughter, had a *maitresse de clavecin*. Once she said to me 'Madame, je ne puis rester à Petersbourg'—'Pourquoi ça?'—'Pendant l'hiver je puis donner de leçons, mais en été tout le monde est à la campagne, et je ne suis pas en état de payer un équipage, ou bien de rester oisive'—'Mademoiselle, vous ne partirez pas, il faut arranger cela de manière ou d'autre'

"Then Potemkin came to visit me, and I said 'well Potemkin, I want you to arrange for Ma'm'selle somehow or other' 'Ah, my dear, I shall be too delighted, but what to do for her, I really don't know' Well, what do you think! A few days later they entered my Mademoiselle's name in some regiment or other, and gave her an officer's allowance! You can't do that kind of thing now-a-days!

"Another day, Potemkin had come to my house. He asked me 'Natalia Kirilovna, would you like some land?' 'What land?' 'Oh I have plenty of land in the Crimea.' 'How can I take land from you? What am I to say about it?' 'Oh, the Empress is giving it away, and I have only to suggest it to her' 'Do, by all means!'

"I talked it over with Teploff, he told me to ask Prince Potemkin for the plans, and he would choose the land. I did so. A year later, they brought me eighty roubles.

"'Where did the money come from,' I asked. 'From your new land' they replied, 'there are herds of cattle grazing there, and this is the money for them' 'Thanks very much!'

"Another year went by, Teploff said to me 'Why don't you think about colonizing your land? After ten years, it will be so bad that you will be fined for it' 'Well, what can I do?' 'Write a letter to your papa—he won't refuse to give you peasants for your land' I did so. papa spared me 300 souls, I settled them on my land. the next year they all ran away, I don't know why. Just at that time K— was after my daughter Mary, so I said to him 'Take my land in the

Crimea, it is only a nuisance to me' Well, what do you think? They afterwards paid K— 50,000 roubles for that land. I was delighted to hear it . . .

"Potemkin came to bid me good-bye I said to him 'You can't imagine how uneasy I am about you' 'Why, what about?' he replied 'Why, you are younger than the Empress you will survive her, what will happen to you then? I know you as well as I know my own hands, you will never consent to take a lower place'

Potemkin thought a while, and then said 'Dont be uneasy, I shall die before the Empress, I shall die soon' And his presentiment was fulfilled, for I never saw him again

"Did you ever hear about Vetoshkin? It's wonderful how no body knows him I ought to tell you that Torjok was then a little village The Empress afterwards made a good sized town of it The inhabitants traded in (I don't know how you say it ils faisaient le commerce des grains) bread-stuffs, is it? and carried them on boats, I don't know where exactly

"Well, this Vetoshkin was in charge of one of those boats He was a dissenter Once he came to the bishop, and asked him to explain the dogmas of the orthodox church The bishop answered him, that, to understand them, he should know Greek and Hebrew, and God knows what else

"Vetoshkin went away, and after two years came back again Just think of it, in that time he had managed to learn all that He left the dissenters and embraced the orthodox faith They talked about nothing else in town I was living then on the Moika, next door to Count Stroganoff Rom lived with him as tutor, he was a very wise man, c'était une forte tête, un grand raisonneur, il vous eut rendu claire l'Apocalypse He used to come to my house every day with his pupil

"I told him about Vetoshkin 'Madame, c'est impossible' 'Mon cher M Rom, je vous répète ce que tout le monde me dit Au reste, si vous êtes curieux de voir Vetoshkine chez le Prince Potemkin, il y vient tout le jours' 'Madame, je n'y manquerai pas' Rom went to Potemkin's and saw Vetoshkin

"The next day he came to my house again 'He' bien monsieur?' 'Madame, je n'en reviens pas c'est que véritablement c'est un savant' I want to meet Vetoshkin very much Schuvaloff gave me the opportunity of seeing him at his own house I found two young dissenters there, Vetoshkin was engaged in a controversy with them .

"Vetoshkin was an insignificant looking man of about thirty-five, I was very much interested in their controversy. Afterwards, at supper, I sat opposite Vetoshkin I asked him how he had managed to become so learned.

'At first it was very hard,' he answered, 'and then it got

easier and easier Kind hearted people lent me books, Count Ivan Ivanovitch and Prince Grigori Alexandrovitch' 'I suppose you find it very dull at Torjok?' 'Oh no, madam, I live with my parents, and all day long I am busy with my books'

"Potemkin, who was fascinated with everything unusual, at last grew so fond of Vetoshkin that he could not bear to part from him He took him with him to Moldavia where Vetoshkin took a local fever and died almost at the same time as the Prince A very strange man was that Vetoshkin"

And so the dear old lady's reminiscences end

Once, late in the evening, Peter the Great was coming from Moscow to Preobrajenskoe At the gates they were changing the sentinels The new sentinel made a favourable impression on the Emperor, by his open face, and tall, well made figure

'What is your name?' asked the Emperor

'Alexander,' answered the sentinel

'A good name, too, and your father's name?'

'Ivan'

'Not at all bad, and you have a surname?'

'A noble without a surname is like a peacock without a tail,' answered the sentinel

The Emperor laughed, and called the sergeant — 'Ankudinoff! Put another sentinel on guard! I need this one? Alexander Ivanovitch, come with me!'

On the steps, they met Alexander Menshikoff, and other noble of the Court Menshikoff was already in power, and had charge of the imperial household

'Menshikoff! I have brought you a new namesake! He will make a fine chamberlain Let us go to supper!'

And the Emperor and the others went in, leaving only Menshikoff and Alexander Ivanovitch

'Go into the house!' said Menshikoff 'It is not your turn to stay, get something to eat, and then look after your service?'

'But what sort of service? I understand soldiering, but I never was in the Tsar's rooms, and don't know anything about all that. Do you know what, Menshikoff, or whatever they call you, I don't want to come into the palace. Here I am a servant, but there I was a soldier Here I shall have to go with messages, but there I was in honourable service, Here, never a quiet night's rest, there it was night about, as regular as prayers. Go and tell the Tsar I don't want to be a chamberlain. If I had known about it, I wouldn't have left the guard-house My father and mother promised that I would be a captain and not a chamber-sweeper I say, Menshikoff, or whatever they call you, go and so say!'

'Are you mad, man! If I go and tell the Emperor what you

say, do you know' what will become of you? Off you go to prison, or to be shot as a rebel!'

'I'm no rebel! I am a faithful petitioner just you go and give my message. You are the messenger, are you? or is it your superior? Then go and tell your superior. I'll stick to what I say.'

'Blockhead you are!'

'I say, don't call names. Who are you? I am a soldier, and a noble too. So don't you presume too much, even,—even,—if I am not a soldier now, I'm still a nobleman, so take care, if you don't choose to take my message, I'll write it myself, for I have had schooling too!'

'What a temper you have!' answered Menshikoff. 'Just wait and—! Go into the house and wait for the Emperor's answer.'

'I'll wait where I am! There's more room here.'

Menshikoff went away. Five minutes had not passed when the Emperor came with his guests to the court-yard where Alexander Ivanovitch was waiting.

'What's this, Alexander Ivanovitch?' asked the Emperor, 'why do you refuse my favours?'

The soldier repeated his request.

'You are right, Menshikoff!' cried the Tsar,—'he is a block-head! Why, if you are a soldier, the most you can ever expect is to be a captain, but if I make you my chamberlain, you may get to be a general! Off with you! Serve honestly and well and I'll make you a general!'

'You ought to be ashamed to make a fool of a poor nobleman Tsar! Would it be proper and right to make a general of Sandy, the son of a noble who has only three huts and an acre of cabbages?'

'And who has the making of generals?' asked the Emperor.

'The Almighty,' answered the soldier.

'How, the Almighty?' asked the Tsar.

'Why, if the Almighty doesn't let the soldier capture a gun, he won't be made a corporal, and then a sergeant, and if the Almighty doesn't let him take a standard from the Turks, he'll never be an officer, and if the Almighty doesn't let him take a town, he'll never be a captain, and without a big victory, not even the Tsar will make him a general!'

'You're a wise man, but you don't understand the Tsar's business,' answered the Tsar.

'Of course I don't! It's the Tsar's affair, and not mine!'

'Well, listen,' said the Tsar. 'You will become a general for your services. Not through favour or fancy, but for good and honest work.'

'That's right! very well, so be it!'

'Well, go on perpetual service now!' ordered the Emperor.

'Teach me the first time,' Tsar, after that, with God's help, I'll take care of myself!' the soldier answered, and entered on his services.

Another of the Tsar's favourites was the buffoon, Balakireff. One day the Tsar went out hawking with his courtiers, all splendidly mounted, Balakireff following on a sorry nag.

The huntsmen had each a falcon on his wrist, the buffoon Balakireff, a ridiculous tame crow.

Tsar Peter rode up to the buffoon, and asked him

'Do you expect to catch anything with that fine falcon of your's?'

'Of course I do, Peter!' answered the spoilt favourite. 'Will you give me your word of honour as an Emperor, that everything my falcon catches shall be mine?'

The Emperor gave his word and the company rode on, the nobles in front with the Emperor, Balakireff, the buffoon, jogging behind on his nag, his grotesque bird 'cawing' and fluttering awkwardly on his wrist.

The falcons hawked well, the cavalcade galloped far, and, at evening, as they were riding slowly homeward, the Emperor turned to Balakireff and said 'You see I was right, after all, Balakireff, I told you that fine bird of yours wouldn't catch much!'

'Wait a bit, Peter!' answered the buffoon, a grin spreading over his ugly face. 'Wait a bit, Peter! we're not home yet!' Just then they were passing a village, a cluster of wooden houses with orchards, hay-stacks and sheds.

Then Balakireff threw his crow in the air, and shouted and yelled at it till the poor bird took refuge on the roof-tree of a hut.

'First catch, Peter, remember your promise!' cried the buffoon, with a malicious laugh.

Then, waving a stick at the crow and throwing stones, faggots, and imprecations at the wretched bird, he at last dislodged it from its refuge on the roof-tree.

After fluttering helplessly about for a minute or two, the crow alighted on a second roof, and the buffoon cried out again: 'Second catch, Peter! Well done my good falcon! Remember your word of honour, Peter, when the time comes to pay.'

A third time the stupid crow was dislodged, and again it lit on a house, then, hopelessly losing its head at the cries and yells of the buffoon, it rose in to the air and fluttered clamorous down the breeze.

'Don't forget your promise, Peter,' said the buffoon, riding up to the Emperor, with a grin on his ugly face.

'The houses are yours, you rascal,' replied the Tsar, 'but this is the last time you will come out hawking with me.'

ART IV—THE HINDU DOCTRINE OF SPIRITUAL BENEFIT

IT is generally held, as beyond question, that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, and that heritable right, as well as order of succession among heirs, is determinable by the test afforded by that principle. The ruling was laid down for the first time in the case of *Guru Govinda v. Ananda Lal Ghose* (5 B L R 42) by the late Mr Justice Mitter, and as there is a great deal in the Dayabhaga that apparently supports it, the doctrine has been accepted without question by the Courts of Law and by the legal public. That the greatest Indian lawyer of the age should have taken such an erroneous view of the Dayabhaga, is not at all to be wondered at, when it is remembered that he, like other members of the Native Bar, had to derive his knowledge of Hindu Law by reading the English text-books and translations on the subject. There is no arrangement whatever in the educational institutions of the country for the study of the original works under competent teachers, and English lawyers are very often appointed to teach Hindu Law out of the text-books of Mayne, Macnaghten, or Cowell. Though the late Mr Justice Mitter displayed, in some of his judgments, a marvellous mastery over the Dayabhaga and other works of Hindu Law, it is evident that he never had an opportunity of studying the originals with the light of a commentary, or of such explanations as are given by the great Pundits of the country in the course of their teaching.

Hindu law books are generally written in the style in which an advocate argues a case, and the authors never intend or expect that their followers should accept every thing which they say in any part of their work. The author must discuss the subject as fully as possible, and, in order to do so, he supposes himself to be arguing in the presence of an adversary. Sometimes the objections which might be raised by the adversary are expressly studied, but very often the objection is not mentioned at all, though, by proposing an alternative interpretation, or by adducing stronger reasons, the author hints, that the position which he first maintained is not altogether unassailable. It is this peculiarity in the style of Hindu law books, that renders them altogether useless as books of reference. The whole book must be studied with the light of a commentary in order to master it. Whatever was latent in the mind of the author is brought to light by

the commentator, and without the help afforded by him it is simply impossible to go through the original

It is well known that, when two reasons are given in the same clause, the reason last given by way of *सिद्धक*, or additional support, is to be rejected if it be open to objection. But when several reasons are adduced, or when several interpretations are proposed of the same text, then the reason last given, or the interpretation last propounded, is to be accepted as correct. A single instance will suffice to shew, that these rules must be recognized in interpreting Hindu law books. In Chap XI, sec II, para 30 of the Dayabhaga, Jimutavahana says "It has been shown by a text before cited (sec I, 56), that, on the decease of the widow in whom the succession had rested, the legal heirs of the former owner who would regularly inherit his property if there were no widow in whom the succession vested, namely, the daughters and the rest, succeed to the wealth, therefore the same rule is inferred *à fortiori* in the case of the daughter and daughter's son, whose pretensions are inferior to the wife's." It is true that the daughter and daughter's son take the heritage after the widow. But if that is the reason why the estate of the daughter should be similar to that of the widow, then, as laid down by Jimuta in the passage quoted above, the daughter's son would take a similar estate. The fact is that the reason first adduced must be rejected as untenable, and the reason adduced in the succeeding clause must be taken as the only ground for the proposition, that the estate taken by the daughter and other female heirs, is similar to that taken by the widow.

Any number of instances of a similar nature may be cited to show that what is stated in the first instance in a Hindu law book, is not to be accepted as correct, unless the second reason is given, in the same clause, by way of *सिद्धक* or additional support, in which case the reason first given is to be taken as the strongest in the opinion of the author. But the rules of interpretation to which I here refer are so well known, that it is hardly necessary to support them by citing authorities. That the rules in question have never been brought to the notice of the Judges of the Superior Courts cannot be any ground for ignoring them. The systematic study of the original works on Hindu Law is neglected altogether, and it would have been a perfect miracle if such mistakes had not been made. Though it is true that the Dayabhaga and the Mitakshera are very difficult to master, yet nothing is easier for native students than to master the few short and simple texts on which the whole fabric of Hindu Law is based. But, instead of being required to study these texts, the native candidates for admission to the Bar of the High Court are made to chew

the dry bones of the law in the English text-books and translations, which are not only indigestible, but very often adulterated with foreign matter

Throughout Chap XI of the Dayabhaga, Jimuta has tried to establish the doctrine of spiritual benefit. But to one who has carefully gone through the treatise, it will appear that Jimuta very seldom relies on the spiritual theory only for his conclusion. In order to establish the heritable right of the son, the widow, the daughter, the daughter's son, &c, Jimuta has, in every case, quoted positive texts, and has then referred to the capacity of the heir to benefit the soul of the deceased, as an additional reason, or what is called technically **साधक**. "It is not, therefore, correct to say that the spiritual theory is the sole foundation of the law of inheritance according to the Dayabhaga. In one place it is stated that there is no express text in favour of the great grandson's right of succession. But there are express texts in his favour, and as Jimuta has ultimately admitted that the heritable right of all the heirs enumerated by him is founded upon texts, there can be no doubt that he was aware of the existence of the texts, though he has not quoted them

The question still remains, why does Jimuta rely upon the doctrine at all, though by way of **साधक**? The fact is that the doctrine, as elaborated by him, is very ingenious, and he is naturally partial to it. The doctrine was never elaborated before him in the manner that he elaborated it. "If Sapinda relationship," says Vijyaneshwara, "be alleged to be founded upon the connection arising from the presentation of exequal cakes, then no such relationship is possible with relatives connected through the mother in the mother's line, nor with the sons of brothers and others (Mitakshera I, 52). Aporaska, who wrote a century after, showed that brothers and nephews are Sapindas, even though the word be taken to denote connection through the Porvana Pinda. "That person," says Aporaska, "who gives the water and the cake to any of those paternal ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to present them, is a propinquous Sapinda of the deceased, and the descendants of this person, who may give the water and the cake to any of the ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to give them, are also propinquous Sapindas of the deceased. Among these the uterine brother is a nearer Sapinda to the deceased than any other propinquous kinsman, because he presents the water and the cake to the same ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to present them. The nephew is a little more remote than the uterine brother, because the former gives a cake to his father, which has no connection whatever with the deceased (Aporaska Sanskrit College M.S. 472). Though Aporaska made a very

important step towards making the spiritual theory acceptable, yet there is nothing said by him to show that Bandhus could succeed on the spiritual theory. In this state of things Jimuta laid down a different order of succession altogether, and showed that the doctrine can be applied to the succession of all classes of heirs. It was a great triumph, and it was simply impossible for him not to make the utmost of it.

Whether reliance is placed upon texts; or upon the spiritual theory, the result is, in some cases at least, the same, and Jimuta and his followers could see no objection to relying, by way of साधक, on the spiritual principle for ordinary purposes. Modern astronomers very frequently make their calculations on the geocentric hypothesis, not that they have any faith in it, but because the result is, in a great many cases, the same whether the calculation is made on the geocentric or on the heliocentric theory. Supposing that the giver of the Porvana Pinda is the greatest of benefactors to the soul of a deceased person, the spiritual principle would, in some cases at least, lead to the same result as the express text.

Nothing however could be more erroneous than the supposition that the spiritual principle determines the right to heirship, or the order of succession among heirs. Jimuta himself has abandoned the theory ultimately (*vide* para 33, sec VI Chap XI), and Srikishen, in his commentary on the passage, says that, if heritable right accrued by benefiting the soul of the deceased person, then the person who gives Pindas at the shrine of Gaya, or the person who throws his bones into the holy water of the Ganges, ought to inherit before all others. It thus appears that Jimuta and his commentator ultimately abandoned the spiritual theory in the most unequivocal terms.

In connection with the spiritual theory, it ought to be remembered that the Porvana Pinda, which is the basis of it, is a sort of spiritual luxury. The happiness of a deceased person's soul does not depend absolutely on the Porvana Pinda. The most important Shrads are those which are celebrated within the year after a man's death. Unless these sixteen Shrads are performed, the deceased remains a *Preta* or ghost. It therefore appears that the sixteen Shrads, ending with the Sapindakarana, are of much greater importance to the soul of a deceased person than the Porvana. If capacity to confer spiritual benefit had been the cause of heritable right, then the inheritance should go to the eldest son, or other person who is entitled to celebrate the Shrads which raise the soul of the deceased from the condition of *Preta*, or ghost, to that of a *Pitri*, or ancestor deserving worship, and the order of succession would in that case have been altogether different from that

laid down in the Dayabhaga or sanctioned by the sages. Even the orthodox Pundits of the country do not entertain any faith whatever in the spiritual theory, and it has gained currency only on account of the circumstances referred to above,

In the very beginning of his treatise Jimuta has defined the term heritage as "wealth in which ownership dependent on relation to the former owner arises on the demise of that owner." If the spiritual principle had been the sole foundation of the theory of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, then Jimuta should have made ownership by inheritance dependent on capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased, and not on relationship to the former owner.

People in this country generally say পিতৃ দত্তা ধনং হরেৎ, but this does not mean that the giver of Pinda takes the inheritance. Even supposing that the saying is a part of an authoritative text, it does not in any way support the position that heritable right depends on capacity to give Pinda. The meaning of the saying is that, if the heir is the person required by the Shasters to perform the sixteen Shrads, ending with Sapindakarana, then he incurs sin by neglecting to perform the same. There are texts which expressly lay down that the heir who takes the wealth of a deceased person without performing his Preta Shrad, incurs sin if he is the person bound to perform those Shrads, and it seems to me that the saying পিতৃ দত্তা ধনং হবেৎ means nothing more. At all events, the saying, even if it be authoritative, does not lay down that the giver of Pinda takes the inheritance.

There is no authority whatever in the texts of the holy sages for the position that power to benefit the soul of a deceased person is the cause of heritable right. On the contrary, there is very strong authority for the position that the power to give Pinda follows the course of inheritance. Manu says "A given son must never claim the family and estate of his natural father. *The funeral cake follows the family and estate*, of him who has given away his son, the obsequies fail." This text is very often cited in dealing with the law of adoption, and it seems rather surprising that its significance, with reference to the doctrine of spiritual benefit, has not attracted the attention of the legal public. Even if Jimuta seriously laid down the theory of spiritual benefit, still no Hindu lawyer could accept it in the face of this text of Manu.

The order of succession laid down in the Dayabhaga is, in many respects, different from that laid down in the Mitakshera. But Jimuta has laid down a different order, not for the sake of the spiritual theory, but in order to reconcile the several texts on the

subject, and also to make the order of succession symmetrical, equitable and complete. According to Vijyaneshwara, the several classes of heirs succeed in the following order —

1. Agnate Sapindas
2. Samanadakas
3. Cognate Sapindas

The Samanadakas are not expressly mentioned in the text of Yajnavalkya, which is the basis of the law of inheritance as laid down in the Mitakshera. But Vijyaneshwara takes them as included in the class of Gotrajas and places them after agnate Sapindas, but before cognate Sapindas. If the text of Yajnavalkya be alone taken into consideration then Vijyaneshwara's interpretations would appear to be perfectly correct, though some injustice is done to some of the propinquous Sapindas, such as the sister's son and son's daughter's son. But the order laid down by Vijyaneshwara is not co-existent with the texts of Manu. The nearest Sapinda takes the estate of a deceased Sapinda according to the great sage, and cognate Sapindas cannot therefore be placed after Samanadakas, as Vijyaneshwara has placed them.

Jimutavahana successfully solved the difficulty. He proposed a new definition of Sapinda, which is based on the etymology of the word and not on any text. As defined by Jimuta, cognate Sapindas can be only of two classes —

- (1) Daughter's sons of cognate Sapindas,
- (2) Sapindas of the maternal grandfather

Jimuta placed the cognates of class 1 under the head Gotraja in Yajnavalkya's text, and the word Bandhu in the same text was defined so as to include the cognates of class 2 only. Samanadakas are placed after Bandhus. Thus all the texts are reconciled, and at the same time justice is done to all the cognates, so far as is possible consistently with the texts.

Then, again, it should be remembered that the Mitakshera does not lay down any principle for determining the order of succession among the remoter agnate Sapindas. In fact, it is almost impossible to solve the question if the class Sapinda be held to include seven generations in ascent and descent. Jimuta, therefore, found it absolutely necessary to reduce the denotation of the term as much as possible. His definition includes only three generations in ascent and descent, and there is no difficulty whatever in determining the order of succession of agnate Sapindas according to the Dayabhaga.

The main object of Jimuta was to reconcile all the conflicting texts with reference to the law of inheritance, and to make the order of succession complete, symmetrical and equitable, as far as is possible. In order to achieve this, he had to reject the meaning usually assigned to the term Sapinda. He has

shown that from the etymology of the word it follows that all those are Sapindas who are connected through the Porvana Pinda. In order to give additional strength to this interpretation of the term Sapinda, he has made some attempt to show that heritable right depends upon capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased. But the meaning assigned to the term Sapinda by Jimuta, is based upon its etymology, and the additional reason must be rejected, being superfluous and open to exception. Mr Justice Mitter took an altogether wrong view in holding that Jimutavahana's main object was to establish the doctrine of spiritual benefit. Jimuta never entertained the most distant hope of establishing that doctrine, and nothing could have been further from his mind than to set up a principle the weakness of which must be patent to any one having the least knowledge of the Shasters.

According to Jimuta, the maternal uncle and the rest are Sapindas, and therefore inherit before the remoter agnates. But if the spiritual theory had been the sole foundation of the law of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, then the maternal uncle and the rest would not inherit at all. If all those between whom and the deceased some connection exists through the Porvana Pinda are Sapindas, then the maternal uncle and the rest are Sapindas, and, being such, they must inherit according to the text of Manu, which declares that the nearest Sapinda takes the estate of a deceased Sapinda. But even the heritable right of maternal relations he deduced from the spiritual theory. Jimuta strained all his power in doing so, and yet he failed, as he has himself virtually confessed at last. In para 12, sec 6, Chap XI, Jimuta has based the heritable right of maternal relations on the texts of Manu and Yajnavalkya. In para 13, Jimuta has said, by way of *shadhak*, that wealth of a deceased can be of use to the owner either by enjoyment or by being employed in acts of religious merit. When a man is dead, enjoyment is no longer possible to him, and his wealth ought to be taken by the person who would perform such acts of religious merit as were obligatory on the deceased owner during his lifetime. This explanation of the heritable right of maternal relations is at variance with the fundamental principles of the Dayabhaga, and there is no other alternative than to say that it is all by way of *shadhak*, and is therefore to be rejected as superfluous. When a man dies, his ownership in his property is extinguished, according to the Dayabhaga, and according to all the authoritative writers and sages. But the explanation which Jimuta has given in para 13, sec 6, Chap XI, is based on the assumption that after death the soul of a deceased person has a sort of *quasi* ownership in the property left by him to his heirs. The fact is that, if the

heir spends the wealth in giving Pindas to his ancestor, the heir alone can claim the religious merit of the act. If the Pinda is of such a nature that the deceased participates in it, then the soul of the deceased is benefited. But it is an admitted fact* that the deceased does not get a share of the Pindas offered to his maternal ancestors. Considering all this, it is difficult to see what capacity the maternal relations have to benefit the soul of a deceased person. The fact is that maternal relations and paternal relations all succeed under special texts, as admitted by Jimuta himself in para 33, sec 6, Chap XI, and not because of any capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased.

It may be said that the maternal uncle and the rest perform a duty which the deceased was bound to discharge in his lifetime, and in this respect they have the power to benefit his soul. But in the first place, Jimuta himself does not rely upon this line of argument, the additional reason put forward in para. 13, sec. 6, Chap XI, is something quite different. It is simply impossible that Jimuta should have recourse to such reasoning. When a man dies, the duties enjoined by the Shasters cease to be operative on his soul. The rules contained in the Shasters apply to the living, and not to the dead. Were it otherwise, a shrad could not be performed on the 11th day of the moon, or other fasting day. But fasting and other acts of religious merit are enjoined on the living only. During a man's lifetime he is bound to perform the Porvana of his paternal ancestors, and, incidentally, of his maternal ancestors also. But the duty ceases to be binding as soon as a man is dead, and if after his death any other person gives Pindas to the same ancestors, he does so on his own account, and not as agent of the soul of the deceased.

The duty to perform the Porvana of maternal ancestors arises whenever the paternal ancestors are worshipped. When a man is dead, he cannot worship his paternal ancestors and it follows therefore that, after death, the obligation to worship maternal ancestors can never arise. It is a great mistake to suppose that the maternal uncle and the rest benefit the soul of the deceased by performing the duties of the deceased. Jimuta does not put their right on that ground, but on the ground that wealth, in the hands of the maternal uncle and the rest, is likely to be used for the Shrad of maternal ancestors; and thus used in the manner in which the deceased himself would have used it in his lifetime. Jimuta has strained all his ingenuity to show that the spiritual theory supports the claim of the maternal relations. But Jimuta himself never expected that his ingenious suggestion would be accepted one day as sober truth.

It would thus appear that the claim of one important class

of heirs, recognized by Jimuta, cannot be based upon any capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased. The spiritual theory fails in every way. For, on the one hand, heritable right is found to exist in persons who have no capacity whatever to benefit the deceased person's soul, and, on the other hand, persons who perform acts most beneficial to the deceased are excluded. If the spiritual theory had been the sole foundation of the law of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, then

- (1) The person who gives Pinda to the deceased at Gaya,
 - (2) The person who performs his sixteen shrads, ending with the Sapindakarna,
 - (3) The person who throws his bones into the holy waters of the Ganges,
 - (4) The person who gives his daughters in marriage,
- would all inherit before the giver of the Porvana Pinda, which is only a sort of spiritual luxury.

Capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased is not the cause of heritable right, nor does it determine the order of succession. If the spiritual theory determined the order of succession, then the givers of secondary Pindas would inherit after all the givers of primary Pindas. But according to Jimuta, the father's daughter's son inherits before the grandfather and paternal uncle. It cannot be said that the three secondary Pindas given by the former are of greater efficiency than the two primary Pindas given by the paternal uncle. For had that been the case, then the father's daughter's son would inherit before the nephew and nephew's son. It is said that Pindas offered to a nearer ancestor are of greater efficacy than those offered to distant ancestors. But there is no authority whatever for such a proposition. There is some authority for the position that primary Pindas are of greater efficacy than secondary Pindas. But there is no authority for holding that secondary Pindas given to a nearer ancestor are more efficacious than primary Pindas given to a distant ancestor. The fact is that the order of succession can be determined only by texts and by indications contained in texts. The spiritual theory is of little use for the purpose.

The actual decision in the case of *Guru Govinda Shaha* cannot be called into question. The brother's daughter's son and the uncle's daughter's son are Sapindas and Gotrajas according to Jimuta's definition of the terms, and are, therefore, entitled to inherit according to the texts of *Manu* and *Yajnavalkya*. What Mr Justice Mitter said in his judgment in the case with reference to the doctrine of spiritual benefit, may therefore be regarded as *obiter dictum*. In several subsequent cases the doctrine has been applied for the purpose of determining the order of succession, and the result is hardly consistent with the Dayabhaga.

JOGENDRA NATH BHUTTACHARJEE, M A, B L

ART V.—HOW WE CROSSED THE SPLÜGEN

THERE are two homeward routes familiar to all of us Anglo-Indians that one most frequented of all, the Mont Cenis, and that other over the St Gothard, which conducts us to lovely Lucerne, seated on her own sparkling lake. But there is another, which, to those not pressed for time, presents the great attraction of a leisurely progress in one's own (hired) carriage, with pauses at all pretty spots for sketching or photography, and halts for the nights at cosy Swiss inns. And there is no question as to the relative advantage to health, in the fresh mountain air blowing round one all day, instead of the mingled stuffiness and draughts of the railway train, where peeps of the view are only obtainable now and then, and long tunnels carry one through, and not over, the glorious mountains. To those of our fellow-exiles, who, like ourselves, can take their time, and, leaving the St Gothard route at Como station, make their way by that enchanted Lake to Chiavenna, and thence over the Splügen, this little sketch of our journey may prove useful, and may induce some to try this route next time the happy year of furlough returns.

A wet day at Chiavenna towards the end of May. Nothing can be duller, colder, or more dispiriting, especially when you have made all your arrangements over-night for a start, and expect to climb that rocky wall in front to-morrow. At that time of year only one *diligence* crosses the Splügen from Chiavenna, and it starts at about 2 A.M., so we, not caring to encounter the cold and snow at the unearthly hour at which it would reach the top, arranged to have a carriage for ourselves with two horses, and a third horse as far as the summit. All our boxes were to be put on behind, and we were to arrive at Cone next day, pass through it and on to Ragatz, some miles further.

So all was settled, and we hoped for the best as we retired to rest on the evening of the 26th of May. Alas! the morning brought heavy rain and all our advisers said "No chance of its clearing, you must wait a day, very likely two days." Our hotel, the Conradi, was a large, homely, but comfortable one. It was almost empty, the season not having begun, the only occupants besides ourselves being an invalid American lady, on her way to Maloja in the Engadine, and a few of the Engadine hotel-keepers, hastening up to make ready for their summer visitors. Some of these come from the south of France where they "run" hotels during the winter, thus doing a good business.

But the silent halls and passages were cold and draughty to

us Anglo-Indians that wet day, and the coffee was extremely weak at our frugal breakfast. The day dragged its slow length along, meal-times were hailed with subdued glee, and several novels, from the mixed collection in the empty *salon*, were skimmed through, one by Balzac, *Le Peau de Chagrin*, being especially appreciated by one of our party. The American lady and I confided much in each other through the afternoon.

She was a lonely soul. Looking out of the window of our room into the piazza was more doleful than any thing else. At one side stands a big half-finished house now going to decay. Nothing is so mournful as such a building, begun in hope, and never finished. No one has ever dwelt there, it has never been a *home*, no romance clusters round it, no picturesqueness attracts the artist, and when the rain drips over the bare walls, and the rows of empty window-holes stare vacantly at space, it would have taken a more "Mark Tapley ish" person than me to have been cheerful at the sight. The Governor DeSalis, for whom it was built, never came to Chiavenna, I suppose. At all events there is nobody to live in it now.

Opposite rose one of those lovely *campanili*, or clock-towers, so common in Italy. It belongs to San Lorenzo, the principal church of the town. Chiavenna must be a very busy place in the season, as it is the starting point for two *diligence* routes, over the Splugen into Switzerland, and over the Maloja Pass into the Engadine. One gets to it by rail from Colico, at the end of the Lake of Como.

Next morning, May 27th, dawned bright and clear. The clouds were rolling up the hillside, and the sun shone cheerfully. We were not long in despatching our breakfast, and then the comfortable, if somewhat lumbering, vehicle rolled into the yard, and was packed and loaded.

We bade good-bye to our pleasant Swiss landlady and our invalid friend, and drove off, with much clacking of whips, out of the arched gateway, through the narrow streets, and up on the vineyard-covered hillside. The little children held up strawberries to us as we passed, the peasants were busy in their vineyards. Italian vegetation, Italian sunshine, Italian enjoyment of life were round us for the last time. We had spent a happy holiday in beautiful Italy and were loath to part with her, and climb the snow-clad Alps with our faces to the north. But it had to be done.

We had not been driving very long when a horseman overtook us, and stopped the carriage, and although he was no brigand, but a worthy serving-man of the hotel, yet his demand was for money! He brought a note from our landlady, begging for the fifty-franc note which, she said, we must have carried away by mistake in paying our bill. Pocket-books and purses

were searched, but no fifty-franc note was forthcoming, and, with much regret, we were obliged to send the messenger back empty-handed. I fear poor madame had some light-fingered retainer who picked up the note from the table while she was looking another way. We were very sorry for her.

In less than an hour we had left the vineyards and the valley, and were up among the chestnut woods, driving through cool shade, and passing picturesque villages, each with its old church and slender *campanile*. The mountains are round us, a noisy river rolls down beside us as we ascend, and we cross it every now and then. This is the Liro River, and it is up through its valley that we climb on our way. After eight miles of ascent we reach Campo Dolcino. It is a quiet village, above the chestnut trees and the pines. The valley, bare and green, spreads itself around, the Liro lying like a ribbon through the midst. Here we halt to feed the horses. As the little inn does not give any promise of good fare, we have recourse to our well-stocked basket, and enjoy our chicken, hard-boiled eggs, and bread and butter, with our bottle of Italian wine. The children gather round, and watch us with eager eyes—odd little creatures, pushing each other and grinning, the girls with a certain self-conscious air, the boys more frank. We threw our scraps down by the carriage, but they were too timid to venture to pick them up. However, as we drove off, there was a rush and a scrimmage, and the coveted morsels were soon carried away. It was here I made the lamentable discovery of two hats left behind at the hotel Conradi, and may mention that the excellent Swiss parcel post restored them to us at Lucern a week afterwards.

It was distinctly colder now, as we left the Liro far below, and climbed the mountain side by endless zig-zags. It is clever engineering, that highway. Up, up, the road, still twisting high over our heads, until we reach a splendid waterfall. We descend from our carriage and go to a small platform placed to view it from. The Madesimo River forms the fall, which is 650 feet in height. Boys stand ready to fling stones down the precipice in return for a few coppers. I know not whether the view above or below the fall exceeds in grandeur. Then down the rocky wall plunges the full-grown river and is half-blown to spray as it falls.

Every now and then we heard, as we journeyed, a hollow distant boom, sounding mysteriously from far across the wide valley. Our vetturino told us these were avalanches, dreaded word, and all through the day, in among the chestnut trees, and higher among the pines, out on the bare green slopes, and peeping from the snow-drifts, were little crosses,—sad mementoes of where some one had been overtaken and killed, whether by

avalanche, or snow, and the place where he died had been thus marked. The pious passer-by breathes a prayer for the soul of the unfortunate as he goes along. On again, and ever upward, we go. The pines are left behind, and there is now only the short green turf, dotted with the lovely blue gentian, the flower which grows only in high bleak solitudes and is such an embellishment wherever it appears.

And now the clouds, which have been pursuing us for some time, rolling up the valley behind, reach and spread themselves over the bare bleak mountain opposite. They are kind enough to avoid us as we climb and enter the first of a series of stone galleries looking like tunnels made to preserve the road from avalanches. What white object is that, lying on the brown grass, all the vegetation which is left us now? It is snow. Yes, the first patch of dirty-looking, half-melted snow. The sun has hidden himself, we are wrapped in coats and cloaks, the wind blows keenly in our faces, as up still, we go. Coming down to meet us, the *diligence* thunders by. There are no passengers, and the guard sits comfortably inside, peering out through the glass panes. Later in the year, no doubt, there are passengers enough, but the pass had only been open a week at this time, and the rush had not begun.

Through one after another of these gloomy galleries, with their square openings, through which we catch glimpses of the Liro far below us, we roll along, and always more and more snow greets our eyes, till at last it is all snow and dark mountain tops.

By the side of the road, at intervals now stand square, dismal looking stone buildings, with small windows, and each surmounted by a belfry. These are Refuges for travellers caught in a snow-storm, and the bell is, during these times, regularly sounded to guide the wandering footsteps to the place of safety.

And now we enter a sort of valley among the mountain peaks. Our road, marked by wheel-tracks in the white waste, lies across it, and as we enter, down comes the snow, and we shut ourselves up in our carriage. Crossing this valley, and again ascending, the snow ceases, the sun shines out, and the frosty keen air is exhilarating. We enter a village, or small collection of dreary-looking cottages, where the Italian custom-house is situated. All around are the high mountains, wrapped in eternal snow. The sun sheds a bright gleam on the quiet street, where a few muffled-up children are gathering to see the sun.

We stopped here to water the horses, and had a little talk with the Italian soldiers who were loitering round the door of the "Dogana." Snow here is often up to the windows of the upper storey of the houses, and it falls during every month of the year,

except August I pitied these poor fellows from sunny Italy, with their wives and families compelled to live in such a cold and cheerless spot. They complained bitterly of their hard lot, so much more dreary to them than to sterner mortals. After this we had still two-miles-and-a-half to ascend, amid ever thickening snow. The road could be distinguished only by posts peeping out alongside, and the cold wind drove the snow into the coachman's face. I could not help a tremor of fear. What if he went off the road, blinded by the snow, and plunged us into one of those deep drifts? Should we ever be able to get out of it, and if we did, how find our way to some shelter? Just then the carriage stopped, a tall stone was by the wayside, the boundary between Italy and Switzerland. We were 6,945 feet (just the height of Daijceling) above sea-level. A man, who had been sometimes on the coach-box, sometimes walking behind, came up, and, detaching our third horse, proceeded to lead him away back by the road we had come. Thenceforward we should go down hill, and he would not be required.

I felt greatly relieved as, at a rapid rate, with drag well pushed down, we skimmed through stone galleries like those on the other side, and in a wonderfully short time left the snow behind us. The valley we now entered, that of the Hausernbach river, is bleak and bare. There is no fresh green, no trees, nothing but gloomy mountain sides, down one of which, in perpetual zig-zags, we made our way. An avalanche had descended over our road a very short time previously, for, at each elevation, one below the other, were heaps of earth, stones, and turf, and men were clearing it away as fast as they could.

At last we got down to the bottom of the valley, and our road lay along by the river, always descending, till we reached the level of trees, and we were glad to enter a pine wood. A mile or two further, we enter the valley where the village of Splugen lies, dash through a tunnel, across an iron bridge over the baby Rhine, and pull up at the Hotel Bodenhause, in the glow of sunset. This hotel was empty also, only one other couple being there. It was very cold, and it seemed difficult to light a fire in our room. The smoke filled it, and we had to choose between shivering and choking. We took a stroll to get warm, and were full of admiration of the chalets, a sign that we were in Switzerland, and of the grand mountain tops which frowned down on the valley. The Kalkberg is the most imposing. Cold as it was, once in bed under that enormous feather-quilt, the cold was no more felt, and a long day's drive in the open air makes a good sedative. So we only awoke to see the bright sun shining on the snowy mountain-peaks, and one's heart gave a jump of joy, for were we not to-day going to see the famous Via Mala, the road we had heard of all our lives?

After an early breakfast we started off afresh, having exchanged our carriage and driver with the other couple. The vetturini arranged it themselves, as they found a great advantage in each returning to his own domicile, and to us, of course, it was just the same thing.

For some miles our course lay down the Rhine valley, among pleasant shady trees. There were huge boulders everywhere, and now and then the whole hillside, in a very disorganized condition, seemed to be toppling over into the road, and I quaked a little until we got safely past.

This happened so often as to inspire courage at last. The camera, ready for use, reposed on the front seat, and many times was the carriage stopped when some exquisite peep of tumbling waterfall, far below us, came into view, or some curve in the road gave a glimpse of the far away distances in front. Gradually the hills approached each other, and the valley contracted to a glen, called the Rofna Ravine, in which the Rhine forms a series of waterfalls.

The childish river is playing and frisking up here, and is a wild, high-spirited and happy being. We knew him well in later times, when he flowed majestically through German lands, and we had seen him at Schaffhausen, grandly descending those fine falls. It was in a new character we now made his acquaintance, and one equally charming.

Emerging from the wooded glen we reached Andeer, a considerable village, where the glen opens out into a sunny wide valley called the Schamser Thal.

Mountains abound, dark heads peering out over green shoulders, and everywhere are perched the little villages, up to what seems a quite inaccessible height. We noticed a great change in the village churches. No more lofty slender campanili, separate from the main building. Small gabled towers, heavily roofed and low, were the order of the day. Some were built entirely of wood. The valley again narrowed as we entered the Via Mala, a place of torture and punishment to our poor river. The dark limestone cliffs, 1,600 feet high, almost met in some places. The road runs along, now one, now the other of them, according as it can perch itself, crossing the gulf by three bridges, and piercing the solid rock by a tunnel. Far below, 160 feet below the bridge, in so narrow a crack that it seems impossible that a whole river can be buried there, fumes and rushes the Rhine. The thunder of its rage at its imprisonment fills the gloomy defile. One throws a stone down. How long it takes to reach the bottom! A few trees grow here and there, and the stone catches in their foliage, falls through, and splashes into the water.

More photographs were taken here, and lunch was eaten as

we sat on one of those wonderful bridges and gazed in awe and astonishment at the high and narrow walls around us. It is with a feeling of relief that we come in sight, after a while, of the lofty rock on which are the ruins of Hohen-Rhaetian, the most ancient castle in Switzerland, said to have been founded, B.C. 589, by the legendary hero Rhaetus, leader of the Etruscans.

Through another tunnel we sped, and met the *diligence* toiling up, followed by several carriage-loads of dusty folk, who stared at us and our camera with hearty goodwill. We soon reached Thusis, and, driving along the one street to the post office, we alighted, and took shelter in the hotel opposite the Post Hotel. A short rest was not unwelcome before our second start, and we now arranged that, instead of taking the direct road to Coire, 16 miles away, a route which offered no special attraction, we would make a detour of nine miles to Tiefencastel, sleep there, and go over the Schyn Pass next day to Coire and Ragatz. And we were very much pleased with that third day's drive, though it is, perhaps, less worthy of description than the two before it, and felt fully rewarded for our little detour.

That lovely summer afternoon is very vividly in my memory as I write. In a little garden under the trees were some round tables and chairs, and here a rosy, good humoured Swiss *madchen*, with the dear familiar German on her tongue, brought us our coffee, rolls, butter and honey, and we ate and drank and felt refreshed. In front of us smiled the wide green valley with the Rhine, calm again after its misery up above, flowing rapidly through it. Our river was having a pleasant time here we knew, and were glad because of it. Thusis is beautifully situated, somewhat resembling Interlaken, though smaller and more rural, and it hangs on one side of the valley, instead of being quite at the bottom. It looked very clean, and was busy polishing itself up for its summer visitors, as it is a *Kur-ort*, and has baths and springs and a *Kur-haus*. But it is not large enough to be very fashionable, and I should not like it to become so. I had rather it kept its sleepy, peaceful look at the foot of its grand mountains, and with the afternoon sunshine falling on its village street. Good-bye, Thusis, we leave you with regret. Some day, perhaps, we may spend a week or so peacefully here, exploring the many lovely walks and drives all around.

Our way now lay for nine miles through and up the valley of the Albula, an impetuous mountain tributary of the Rhine, by the Schyn Road, a fine piece of engineering. We had had so much of gorges and glens and waterfalls all day, that we took this drive with perhaps less enthusiasm, although some of the views were quite as charming as those we had seen in

Rofna Thal At one bridge we paused for photography. The Albula roared far below, and a peasant child brought stones and flung them down. We were 250 feet above the water, so that the stone took a perceptible time in falling, and there was a good deal of fascination in the amusement. For the last few miles we climbed laboriously a steep hillside, passing villages, each with its church, perched up above us in every direction, and opposite us, across the valley, a fine waterfall streamed over a cliff. That Albula Valley reminded us much of Rangaroon, near Darjeeling. One had almost the sensation of expecting to meet a Bhutia going along with his wood on his back, and his *lookri* stuck into his belt. But nobody so wild met our view.

We actually found Baedeker at fault in one or two details of this drive. To be sure, it was only in "the small print," just a village or two wrongly placed, or some trifle of that sort. As a rule, he is splendidly accurate. As the sun was setting, we came in sight of Tiefencasten, deep in a hollow where three valleys meet, and where the Julia and Albula unite. There we were to stay for the night, and we discussed with our post-boy which of the two hotels we should put up at. Both were starred by Baedeker, so we on this occasion selected the second and less pretentious, called the Albula.

But poor Tiefencasten! I suppose it was once a pretty village, with its two noisy streams, and its church on a height overlooking the houses, but on that evening it was a melancholy spectacle. For, about three weeks before this, a fire had broken out, and burnt the whole place. Even the church was roofless, like all the other buildings, except the two hotels, and one or two cottages at the far end. Hardly a creature was to be seen. The inhabitants had been obliged to take shelter in neighbouring villages, or in the farms round about, and the empty hotels only added to the mournfulness of the scene. A very nice, clever little landlady received us, and we were soon provided with a comfortable room, and promised dinner presently. I don't think she was much accustomed to having ladies, as she had no sitting room, but the one we dined in, a ground floor room, looking out on a roofed-in verandah, built over the noisy river. She gave us an excellent and well-cooked little dinner, and seemed to be ready to do anything she could for us. After this we went out on the verandah, and sat awhile, the river drowning our voices if we tried to talk. Presently other guests arrived, three men, and began their dinner within. When they had come nearly to the end of their meal, we were much amused at their drinking wine with their neat little hostess, touching glasses, while she made them a pretty curtsy. It was a pleasant little scene, as we saw it.

through the open window, while drinking our black coffee. As regards mine host, far be it from me to slander any one, but I must say he looked like a loafer, and seemed to do nothing but prowl aimlessly about the village street. After it grew dark we were rather badly off for a room to sit in, so I finally retired to my own, which was clean and comfortable, and the river sang a lullaby. Tiefencasten is full of water-music, for the two streams run together just where the houses begin.

We were up early, enjoyed our cosy breakfast, and filled our luncheon basket afresh, though, as we were to reach Coire about one or two o'clock, we only wanted a small supply in case of need. Before we left, the *diligence* and extra vehicles came pouring in from Coire, for it is by this route over the Julier Pass that one reaches the Engadine. The *diligences* were filled. Who were all these neat Swiss girls, with their modest luggage, and all these young men, grave and business like? Why were they all bound for the pleasure resorts of the High Alps, so fashionable now? Our landlady informed us they were servants engaged for the hotels, and on their way up to prepare for the season, which would not begin for a fortnight later.

That day we crossed the Schyn Pass, 5090 feet above sea-level. It was very cold, but not like the snow-covered Splügen. We noticed how the flowers changed as we ascended, and how the dandelions were in full bloom above, and were all turned into "clocks" below, while the gentian flourished at the highest point. Coire was not amusing. We had a civilized (and expensive) lunch at a large empty hotel, served by English-speaking waiters, half-a-dozen of whom fastened on us, glad to have a chance of a job, or even a remote hope of *backshush*. We were amused to see, when we started again, that all our luggage had been adorned with the very remarkable labels containing the name of the hotel.

We drove then through a fertile valley, in company with our dear Rhine, feeling very sleepy and tired, for about ten miles, and reached Ragatz in the evening, when our drive came to an end at the Quellenhof Hotel.

Ragatz is a *Kur-ort*, or health-resort, of the large and fashionable kind. The season began on the first of June, but July and August are the full times, and the place was empty enough on the Sunday that we spent there. They say they have as many as 50,000 visitors annually. It is situated at the mouth of a narrow gorge, where the impetuous Tammina rushes down to join the Rhine, and it contains monster hotels, and pretty shops, tennis courts, a *Kur-haus* where one drinks the water, listens to the band, or looks over the papers, and very nicely laid-out grounds. Shady paths, with plenty of seats, run far

up the hill sides, and there is a handsome colonnade for showery weather. On the whole it is an attractive spot, though we did not see it at its best that rather showery first of June.

But the really wonderful and interesting place is up the Tammina goige, to Bad Pfafers, two miles and-a-half away. We drove up this narrow, wild valley, to where an old and gloomy house is built right across from cliff to cliff. This is the old Bath house, which was in existence before Ragatz. The precipices rise 600 feet on either side, and very little sunshine ever reaches this sombre spot. Now it is only the poorer classes who are accommodated here, as it is much less expensive than the hotels below. Passing through the house with a guide, we cross the river by a foot bridge, and enter the gloomy gorge, a most wonderful and curious place. The wooden gallery on which we walk, overhangs the river, whose wild voice fills the space. Far overhead the rocks close in, a gleam of light falls through, we reach it, pass on into darkness again, and finally reach, in a more open space, a small bath-house, a vault built over the hot springs. The door being opened, volumes of steam rush out. On entering, one feels as if in a hot vapour bath, and one is glad to get out again. The water is clear, and free from taste or smell.

It contains carbonate of lime, chlorate of sodium and magnesia. Above our heads a narrow opening, which communicates with the mountains outside, is pointed out, and we are told that formerly the poor patients had to be lowered through this to the springs, before the gallery was built for their use. A terrible ordeal, one thinks it must have been. The water is carried down to Ragatz from here by a conduit, and loses two degrees of heat on its way, arriving there at a temperature of 95°.

The impression left on the mind by the rough, bold rocks, the gloomy ravine, the rush and fury of the steam, the utter strangeness of the whole scene, will not soon be forgotten, especially as, perhaps, the most successful of all our photographs was taken here, and remains to recall it to mind.

It was on the morning of our departure that we made this little expedition, and after lunch, with the gift of a charming box of chocolates (each of which was ornamented with a photograph of the Quellenhof Hotel) from the attentive and polite manager, we took our places in the unromantic hotel omnibus, and were rolled off to the railway station, *en route* for Lucerne.

Our carriage with its three horses had cost us francs 71-50 plus 65, total francs 137-60, in English money £5-13 0, including pourboires to the driver. We had the third horse only for the first day. Our hotel bills were not a great deal

We had Cook's coupons, as an experiment, at all these hotels, except Tiefencasten, and there we only paid 17 francs for dinner, bed, breakfast, and lunch to take with us, which cannot be thought exorbitant. At the Quellenhof we had an exceedingly nice room, with dressing-room, and the meals were excellent. Cook's coupons are francs 12-50 each person per day, and this covers everything, except of course wine and bedroom fires. Altogether it was a most enjoyable, healthful little trip, and we quite wished we could have had time to do more travelling in the same way.

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ART. VI—THE NEXT STEP

PROBABLY every one will admit that a not very distant date is likely to see 'considerable changes in the system of Local Government in Bengal which we owe to Lord Ripon and his advisers. Those who hailed, in the Local Self-Government Act, a precious instalment of autonomy, and now regard that measure as justified on the whole by the results of a six years' trial, look to further progress and a wider application of the principle which underlies it. A very eminent authority, Mr Toynbee, has recommended the gradual withdrawal of the appointment of official chairman of the District Board, and others are ready with even more sweeping proposals. Less favourable critics profess to see fundamental mistakes in the course which has been entered upon, and call for its modification or entire abandonment.

It will not be questioned that the system of Local Self-Government in India is an exotic. If it had any *raison d'être* at all, it is as the outcome of Western education and Western ideas imported into the country under British rule. The theory is that, having educated the people on Western lines, we are bound to give them Western institutions in order to satisfy the aspirations aroused by our teaching. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to consider the nature and history of the Western system which it is proposed to transplant. We should do well to ask ourselves "Is the system of Local Self-Government, which we are introducing into India, a faithful reproduction of anything which exists and has been found to succeed in the United Kingdom?"

To listen to the "advanced Liberals of India," one would imagine that representative bodies, elected by a popular franchise, and unshackled by official or State control, had always, or for a considerable time, carried on Local Government in Great Britain. Such an impression would be as far removed as possible from the truth. The fact is that, at the time when Local Self-Government was introduced into India, and for many years before, the principal share in Local Government in rural England was vested in the magistrates of quarter sessions appointed by the Crown, and certain important branches of administration, such as the construction of bridges and the management of gaols, were entrusted to them, as the county authority, from the earliest times. In 1877 the chief control over gaols was transferred to a central department, as in India, but the Justices still retained the power of nominating gaol visitors. Other departments of Local Government,

which were originally managed, or supposed to be managed, by the elective parish vestries, were, by successive enactments, removed from their control and placed under that of the magistrates. Thus the English rural police was at first an elective body,* consisting of the head-constables of hundreds and petty constables of parishes. The inefficiency of these guardians of the peace was notorious, and in 1856 they were replaced by the county police force, while the county magistrates were charged with the duty of levying the police rate, and, to a considerable extent, with the control of the force. Coming to communications, which in India are regarded as more properly within the scope of Local Government, we find that roads were originally in the charge of the elective parishes. It is a matter of history that their management did not keep pace with the growth of the wealth and civilization of the country. Macaulay's description of English roads in 1695 reads like a pessimist's account of our Bengal highways in 1891. He says, speaking of main roads — "It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for wheeled vehicles, often the mud lay deep on the right and the left, and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire. The markets were often inaccessible during several months. It is said that the fruits of the earth were sometimes suffered to rot in one place, while in another place, distant only a few miles, the supply fell far short of the demand"*

To remedy this state of things turnpikes were gradually introduced, but not much improvement appears to have been made by the time of Arthur Young's tour in 1770.

The parishes were not solely to blame for the bad state of the roads at that time, and it is not the object of this article to prove that the elective principle is inapplicable to Local Government, what it is desired here to point out is that, on the failure of the parishes to manage them efficiently, the control over roads was gradually transferred to the magistrates.

By an Act of 1773 the power of enforcing upon parishes the obligation to repair highways and footpaths was lodged in the hands of the Justices at petty sessions. The next step was taken in 1835, when an Act was passed to facilitate the formation of Highway Districts by order of the petty sessions, with the consent of the parishes concerned. The provision requiring this consent was removed by the Highways (England) Act of 1862, under which the magistrates at quarter sessions are empowered, on the application of five or more Justices, to form Highway Districts to be managed by Highway Boards. A

* *History of England*, Chap. III

Highway Board consists of all the county Justices resident in the district, and of waywardens elected annually by the parishes comprised therein. The Justices determine the number of waywardens to be elected by each parish, and are empowered to appoint the waywardens in case of failure of election. Further, on a complaint being made to any Justice of a highway in a Highway District being out of repair, he may summon the Highway Board and the waywardens of the parish within which the road is situate, before the petty sessions, and, if they then refuse to repair it, may have it repaired at the cost of the parish. It is provided, however, that if the waywardens deny their obligation to repair a particular road, the question shall be referred for trial to the quarter sessions or assizes.

This Act, which has been widely applied, gives to magistrates appointed by the Crown a large control over roads situate within Highway Districts. Where effect has been given to it, the control of the parishes over communication has been reduced to the power of nominating a certain number of members of the Highway Boards, on which the influence of the magistrates is necessarily predominant. A later enactment, the Highways and Locomotives Amendment Act, 1878, is directed towards the gradual centralization of the immediate management of three important branches, the Poor Law, sanitation and roads, under one authority, the Boards of Guardians. It leaves, however, this centralization to be carried out at the discretion of the magistrates, providing that, in future, Highway Districts are to be made, as far as possible, coincident in area with Poor Law Unions, which are also rural sanitary districts, and that where they are so coincident, the rural sanitary authorities, that is, the Boards of Guardians, may apply to Justices at quarter sessions to have the functions of the Highway Boards transferred to them.

To this request the Justices may accede, or not, as they see fit. The magistrates, again, are ex-officio Poor Law guardians, furnishing not more than one-third of the members of every Board, and in the election of the remaining members, they are given a powerful voice by a system of cumulative votes. The quarter sessions are also given powers for compelling the highway authority to carry out the repair of roads where complaint is made of their being neglected.

The Acts above mentioned are of a permissive character, for it is not in England, as in India, a custom of legislation on such subjects to impose at once systems of uniform pattern on localities widely differing in their circumstances and needs.

The extent to which the Highway Board system has been adopted by the magistrates, in supersession of the parish manage-

ment of roads, is a fair measure of its popularity and efficiency. The last Annual Report of the English Local Government Board shows that, at the commencement of the year ended on the 25th March 1888, there were in England and Wales 7,197 parishes, containing 62,684 miles of roads, subject to the jurisdiction of Highway Boards constituted under Highway Acts, 727 parishes, containing 6,796 miles of roads, included in Highway districts managed by Boards of Guardians under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, and 6,521 parishes, containing 48,380 miles of roads, not included in any Highway District.

The administration of the Poor Law was at first vested in the parishes. By the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1837 it was made over to the Boards of Guardians, the constitution of which has been described.

Again, in ancient times, the parish vestry was supposed to put down nuisances, and superintend rural sanitation. It would be tedious to enumerate the series of measures passed with the object of substituting for them a more efficient agency. Eventually, by the Public Health Acts of 1872 and 1875, the Boards of Guardians were made sanitary authorities in rural districts.

It suffices to mention the management of Lunatic Asylums, the administration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, the licensing of houses for the sale of liquor and for music, dancing, &c, as other important branches, which, prior to the passing of the English Local Government Act of 1888, were vested in the county magistrates. It was indeed remarked at that time, that the sphere of their activity seemed to be constantly enlarged with every fresh development of Local Government in rural areas.

The demand for representation in Local Government was not the outcome of general dissatisfaction with the magistrates' administration. On the contrary, it affords a striking testimony to their competency, that their control remained so long undisputed in a country like England, with a public which had been accustomed for centuries to popular representation in matters of Imperial Government,—Financial, Legislative and Executive. It was, however, inevitable that the demand should be made and it is instructive to observe how it was met.

For years before the passing of the New Local Government Act, the subject had engaged the attention of practical thinkers at home, and a feature of the literature dealing with it is, the prominence given to practical considerations. We do not find sweeping changes advocated on merely theoretical grounds—the problems thought out are, how far an effective and trustworthy working agency could be provided by the elective method, and how far it was safe to dispense with the existing

and known agency. It was generally agreed that the magistrates could not be excluded from the scheme of Local Government. Their control over local administration was theoretically indefensible, it was in direct opposition to the elective principle, to the principle of taxation and representation going hand in hand, still they and their works were known by practical experience, they were generally trusted by the public, they were the backbone of the rural system of Local Government as it then existed, and practical reformers would not attempt to eliminate them altogether.

Accordingly we find in the new measure that, while certain functions are made over to the elective county councils, other very important ones are not directly transferred to them. The Act does not give them any control over highways, with the exception of *main* roads,—certain disturnpiked roads, and some others, of which half the cost is, under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, chargeable to the county at large, nor is the department of sanitation transferred by the law from the Boards of Guardians, while the duties of the quarter sessions with respect to police are vested in a joint committee of that body and the county council, a very wide power is given to the Local Government Board to transfer by provisional order to particular county councils other functions and powers of the quarter sessions and other authorities affecting local matters. Every such order is, of course liable to be opposed in Parliament, and we may be sure that this power of transfer will be sparingly and cautiously exercised.

Such being the history and course of the development of Local Government in England, we may well admire our Indian Local Self-Government which, without development and without history, sprang into being like Athena from the brain of Zeus. For boldness of conception, at any rate, nothing, it would seem, could surpass a scheme which proposed to confer on a population, among whom the elective principle was an outlandish novelty, a system more democratic than any that was at that time known in the mother country, more so even than that which has been since introduced, but has not yet had a fair trial there. We are now, however, concerned with the results of the scheme. Our admiration for its boldness may be tempered by the reflection that, probably the practical men in India who gave their acquiescence to it, knew that, for the present, at any rate, it would have little practical effect. Everyone conversant with the subject is aware that, so far, the Local Government of Rural Bengal has been representative only in name. In point of fact the Local Boards have little or no independent power, and on the District Boards all initiative and executive force is centred in the official chairman.

This is because the classes from which the members of the Boards are drawn are still used to defer to official opinion on public questions, and are not yet accustomed to incur responsibility and exercise independent judgment.

The history of the so-called "Local Self Government in Bengal up to the present time is an example of how fair success may be obtained under the most anomalous and irrational system, if scope be allowed to a strong and trustworthy individual will in shaping the result. Here the will is that of the District Officer, who at present owes the strength of his position not so much to law as to prestige, and to the habit of the Indian public of following an official lead. This being so, it is indeed a strange proposal to eliminate the factor upon which, both before and since the introduction of the new system, the success of our Local Government has hitherto depended. Nothing, we venture to assert, could be more opposed to the spirit in which reform has been carried out at home, than hastily to discard an agency which is known and trusted, in favour of one which has never yet been really tried, and the efficiency of which is a mere matter of conjecture. The advocates of such a change themselves admit that hitherto all the work of the Boards has been actually done by the official chairmen, and allege this as a reason for the withdrawal of the latter, in order to give Local Self-Government a real trial.

We would point to the letter of the law as it now stands, under which the chairman is merely an agent bound to carry out the wishes of the Board. Had the elective and nominated members of the Boards developed any real capacity for government, we should not find the official chairman compelled to take the initiative in every branch in order that business may be carried on at all, and we may rest assured that, though non-official chairmen sufficiently capable and trustworthy might be found, they would not possess the prestige and influence upon which, as has been said, the magistrate-chairmen now chiefly depend.

We would go further and say that it is not probable that District Officers themselves will much longer be able to carry on Local Government by prestige, unsupported by law. So far our system has been saved, so to speak, by its very absurdity, by the complete unfamiliarity of electors and elected with the theory and practice of Self Government. It is likely that, in the more advanced districts, the elected members of Boards will gradually gain the knowledge of their real power, and the courage to use it, and that the authority of the chairmen will, by degrees, be weakened. It is then that the real difficulties and dangers arising from an uninstructed and apathetic electorate will begin.

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To take the first and most obvious of them, when the members of the Board begin to exercise a real control over its funds, we shall probably find unscrupulous persons seeking election with a view to corrupt pecuniary profit. This is the ruling vice of all elective government, and it exists in a less or greater degree in proportion as public opinion is weak and diseased, or strong and sound, and as the electors take an intelligent interest in the proceedings of their representatives, or are ignorant and indifferent. We do not think it will be contended by the most ardent friends of Local Self-Government, that the mass of the rural electors in Bengal have as yet shown much enthusiasm in the exercise of the franchise. That no great fault can be found with the character and standing of the candidates elected, is due chiefly to the fact, that as yet a seat on the Local or District Board is sought as an honorary distinction, and not for any power it confers. The persons who so esteem it are few in number, and usually wealthy and respectable. When we find that, in such advanced districts as Hooghly and Howrah, only 29.3 and 22.28 per cent respectively of the registered voters voted at the last general election of members of Local Boards, it being certain, moreover, that a considerable proportion of the persons qualified to vote are not borne on the registers, it is evident that no appreciable public interest is at present felt in the elections.

If the status and education of the class of people in this country who come within the elective qualification, and the state of feeling amongst them on questions of public interest be considered, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that there is no guarantee that, in the future, public opinion will secure the return of trustworthy and respectable members to the Boards.

We are not among those who hold that the elective principle must always be inapplicable to this country, or even that it is entirely so at present. Mr Carstairs in his recent book, *British Work in India*, has argued that this must be so, because "the people are not of equal fighting value." For our part, we are not prepared to accept unreservedly the theory that civilized Government is based on the imposition of the will of the strongest, physically or numerically. So far as India is concerned, the postulate of the paramount British power excludes the ultimate appeal to force which is the foundation of that theory. Moreover, in all examples of practical Government, it is found that the educated and enlightened classes enjoy a share of political power greater than is proportionate either to their numbers or to the physical force at their disposal.

We can regard no scheme of Local Government for Bengal as satisfactory which does not meet, to some extent, the aspirations,

undoubtedly and legitimately felt, by a small, but important educated section of the inhabitants, for a real share in the management of local affairs. This is, however, no reason for forcing upon the masses of the people an autonomy for which they have made no demand and possess no qualifications. The share of Local Self-Government entrusted to the educated minority should be, as far as it extends, a reality and not a mere make-believe; but it should be restricted at first to certain departments only—those which the educated classes are likely to take an interest in and manage efficiently. For the present, at any rate, and until real Self-Government has been tried and found to succeed, some of the most important branches of administration had better be retained in the tried and trusted hands of the District Officers.

The ignorant majority, who are not yet fit for Self-Government, must be protected and not placed at the mercy of the educated classes in any respect in which their interests are opposed, or the former are not likely to feel confidence in the administration of the latter. Lastly, any changes introduced must be such as not to disturb, more than is necessary, the existing executive machinery of Local Government, which has been brought into working order at considerable trouble and with a fair degree of success. It is not possible, in the limits of an article such as this, to discuss by what means these requirements may be obtained. Our object will have been so far gained if we have brought our readers to recognize the fact, that the problem of Local Self-Government in Bengal still awaits solution, that it cannot be treated as solved because a system bearing but the name, has been worked for some years through the exertions of the District Officers, who have been its real motors, and that the solution, to be successful, must be based on practical considerations, and not on grounds of theory or sentiment.

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ART VII —THE COINAGE OF AKBAR, AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

ON the day of Akbar's accession—the 15th February 1556—Royal Fitrans were issued, under new titles, and gold and silver money was coined in the name of the new king. The graphic pen of Abul Fazl thus describes the occasion —

چون سکه نام شه پیراسه شد * در چشم سدازه قدر مه کاسه شد
دیار سرخ ابرو صند گشت * در رم نسفید روی آراسه شد

Coin was so embellished by the name of the king,
That, in the eye of stars, the estimation of moon was lowered
The *dinār* got brightened by the redness of its face,
The *darham* became beautified by the whiteness of its color

Regulation 10 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a full description of the coins of Akbar's time. The following are mentioned —

Gold Coins

1 —The *S'hansāh*—A round coin weighing 101 tolas 9 mashas and 7 surkhs, valued at 100 Lālī Jalālī mohars

Obverse

On the field —The name of His Majesty. On the 5 arches in the border —

اسلطان الاعظم الحاقان المعظم حمد الله ملكه وسلطانه صرب دار الهامة ائمه

“The great Sultan, the honoured Emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign. Struck at the capital Agra.”

Reverse

On the field —

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله و ان الله بزر من نشاء و بعير حساب

“There is no God but God and Mohamad the Prophet of God. Verily God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, beyond measure.”

Round the margin are the names of the first four Khalifs

The following additions were afterwards made —

Obverse

افضل دينار من نفعه الرجل دينارون ينفقه على اصحابه في سبيل الله

“The best coin which a man expends, is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God.”

Reverse

السلطان العالى الخليفة المعالى حمد الله تعالى ملكه وسلطانه راد مدله واحسانه

“The Sublime Sultan, the exalted Khalif, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and give eternity to his justice and bounty !”

Later on these inscription were replaced by the following two quatrains of the Court poet and philosopher Shekh Fyzi, elder brother of Allāmi Abūl Fazl —

On one side —

خورشید که هفت بحر از گوهر دامد * سنگ سیاه از پرده آن جوهر یامد
آن از نظر بردت او زر یامد * و آن از شرف از سکه ساء اکبر یامد

"The seven oceans get their pearls from the sun
The black rock produces gems from his lustre
The coins get their gold from his fostering view,
But that gold acquires pre-eminence through the stamp of Akbar"

In the centre —

الله اکبر حل حلاله

"God is great, may his glory shine forth"

On the other side —

این سکه که پیرانه امید دود * نا نقش دوام و نام جاوید دود
سپاهی سعادتش همسایه که ندهد * نک دره نظر کرده خورشید بود

"This coin, which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp and an immortal name
As a mark of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient
That once for all ages the sun has cast a glimpse upon it"

In the centre —

The month and year of coinage according to the Divine Era

2 — There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tolas and 8 mashās, in value equal to 100 round Mohars at 11 mashās each. The superscription is the same as that on the preceding

3 — The *Rahas* — Is the half of each of the two preceding coins. Sometimes it is made square. The superscription on one side is the same as in the *S'hansāh*, while on the other is inscribed the following quatrain of the *Poet Laureate* Fyzi —

این نقد رزان گنج شاهساهی * نا کوب اتبال کند همزاهی
خورشید به پرورش از آن پرده ندهد * ناند سرف از سکه اکبر سامی

"This current coin of the Imperial Treasure,
Goes hand in hand with the star of good fortune
The sun has fostered it, because for all ages
It will be ennobled by Akbar's stamp"

4 — The *Atmah* — Is both a round and a square coin, and is the fourth part of the *S'hansāh*. Some bear the same inscription as the *S'hansāh*, others have on one side the following quatrain of Fyzi —

این سکه که دست و دست را ربور نان * پیرانه نه سپهر و هفت احمر نان
رزن نقد دست کار از چو رزان * در دهر رزان بنام ساء اکبر نان

"May this coin, which is an ornament in the hand of fortune,
Adorn the nine heavens and the seven stars!
Inasmuch as it is a coin of gold, let it give rise to golden works
And obtain currency in all ages in the name of the King Akbar"

Twenty-two other coins—called *Mihrahi*, *Aftabi*, *Ilahi*, *Lali Jalali*, *Moini*, *Sakmi*, &c—are mentioned, but it is not necessary to detail them all. None of these bears any inscription of couplet or quatrain on it, but they have ordinarily, on one side, the inscription —

الله اكبر حل حلاله

"God is great, may His glory shine forth"

And on the other the words يا معين

"O Helper"

Mr C J Rodgers, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, mentions a Gold Mohar of Akbar struck at Agra in the 49th of the Divine year. It bears the following inscription —

مرب اكره

اسعدا زور ۴۹ الهی

مهر مهر سده اكبر از روی اس زرسب * تا رسی و آسمان را مهرانور زرسب

"The sun of the seal of King Akbar is the honour of this gold (coin),
As long as the earth and the sky are adorned by the brilliant sun

Struck at Agra Isfandarmuz, 49 Ilahi year"

Silver Coins.

The rupee of Akbar was round, and weighed eleven máshás and a half. It was an imitation of the silver coin introduced by Sher Khan Pathan, and had on one side the words —

الله اكبر حل حلاله

"God is great, may His glory shine forth"

and, on the other, the date

There was also a Jalala rupee, of square form, introduced in the time of Akbar, the same, in value and stamp, as the round rupee previously mentioned.

The following silver coins are also mentioned in the *Ain-Akbari* —

Darh	• •	$\frac{1}{8}$	of a Jalala
Charn		$\frac{1}{4}$	" "
Pandan		$\frac{1}{2}$	" "
Asht	• •	$\frac{1}{8}$	" "
Dasa		$\frac{1}{10}$	" "
Kala	•	$\frac{1}{6}$	" "
Suki		$\frac{1}{20}$	" "

A rupee bearing the following couplet, was struck at Allahabad in the 44th or 45th year of the reign —

Obverse — همیشه معجور ز مهر و ماه راج ناد

Reverse — عرب و سرق جهان سكه اله آناه

"May the coin of Allahabád be always current in the East and West of the world, like the golden disk of the sun"

"In the characters of light, the divine pen wrote on gold
The name of Nūr-uddīn Jahāngīr the King"

Between the two lines was the *Kalimā*, or Mohammadan confession of faith, and on the reverse the following couplet and the date —

شد چو خورشید سکه نورانی جهان * آمد — ب ملک تاریخ آن

"The world became illuminated by this coin as by the sun,
(Hence) The date of it is—, the sun of state"—

Between the two lines was inserted the place of coinage, the date of Hijrī year, and the date of accession

On Nūrjahānī gold mohais and round and square rupees struck at the mints of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, and Kashmir, the following couplet, composed by Amīr-ul-umera Asif Jah, was inscribed —

Obverse روی در را صاحب نورانی خورشید مهر و ماه

Reverse ساه نورالدین جهانگیر این آب و آسما

'The King Nūr-uddīn Jahāngīr, son of the King Akbar,
Has made the face of gold to shine like the sun and moon'

Various coins were struck at Lahore at different periods. The rupees had the following couplets —

(1) در لاهور شد در ماه بهمن خورشید نورانی * در در ساه نورالدین جهانگیر این ساه اکبر

"In the month of Bahman, the gold of Lahore became luminous like the moon,

In the reign of the King Nūr-uddīn, son of the King Akbar"

(2) در اسفند ماه در لاهور در در * ساه ساه جهانگیر این ساه اکبر

"In the month of Isfandarmuz, this coin was struck in gold at Lahore,

By the monarch of the people, Jahāngīr, son of the King Akbar'

(3) در ماه ربیع الثانی در در * ساه ساه جهانگیر این ساه اکبر

"In the month of Rū, stamped this coin on gold at Lahore,
The asylum of the faith, King Jahāngīr, son of the King Akbar

(4) در اردیبهشت در لاهور در در * ساه ساه جهانگیر این ساه اکبر

'In the month of Urdī Bahisht, stamped this coin on gold at Lahore
The monarch of the age, the King Jahāngīr, son of the King Akbar'

(5) در ماه ذی القعدة در در * ساه ساه جهانگیر ساه لاهور

'So long as the sky continues to revolve,
May the coin of Lahore be current in the world in the name of King Jahāngīr"

(6) در فروردین در لاهور در در * ساه ساه جهانگیر این ساه اکبر

"In the month of Farwardīn, the gold of Lahore became an object of jealousy to the luminous moon,
Through the light of the coin of King Jahāngīr, son of the King Akbar"

- (7) ر نام ساء جهانگير ساء اکبر نور * همیشه نانا در زری سکه لاہور
 "Through the name of King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar,
 May the coin of Lahore ever remain bright"

The following coins were struck in the mint of Agra —

- (1) سکه دن در سہر اکبر حسرو گہمی پناہ * شاہ نور الدین جهانگير اس اکبر نادشاہ
 The King, asylum of the world,
 Nuruddin Jahāngir son of the King Akbar,
 Struck this coin in the city of Akbar"

- (2) نام در آگرہ زری زر رہبر * ار جهانگير ساء ساء اکبر
 The face of gold was adorned at Agra,
 Through King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar

The *Tūsah Jahāngiri*, published by Sir Syad Ahmad Khan, in 1864, at Aligarh, at page 227, gives illustrations of this coin. Coins of 12 descriptions, bearing each the signs of the zodiac, were struck. On the reverse was the couplet above mentioned and on the obverse one of the 12 signs of the Zodiac —

- (3) سکه ارہ دایب ریت زر * ار جهانگير ساء ساء اکبر
 The coin of Agra was endowed with the beauty of gold,
 Through King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar

- (4) در مہ انان نامرہ سکه دن طل اللہ * ساء نور الدین جهانگير اس اکبر نادشاہ
 In the month of Abān stamped this coin at Agra,
 The shadow of God, King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar"

- (5) در ا مہار مر اس سکہرا در آگرہ دن در زر * سہسہاہ ام ساء جهانگير اس ساء اکبر
 In the month of Isfandarmuz, this gold coin was stamped at Agra,
 By the monarch of the people King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar

- (6) نعر در دس زر آگرہ در دران نشب حوا احبر * ر نور سکه ساء جهانگير اس ساء اکبر
 In the month of Farwardin, the gold of Agra became brilliant like the
 star,
 Through the splendour of the coin of King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar,

The following couplets were inscribed on the coins of the Ahmadābād mint —

Rupees

- (1) سکه دن در احمد آباد ار عبادات اللہ * ساء نور الدین جهانگير اس اکبر نادشاہ
 Through the blessing of God,
 The King Nuruddin, son of the King Akbar, stamped this coin at Ahmadabad
- (2) بہت کشور اس زر همیشه باد رواں * ر نعلی نام جهانگير بادشاہ جہاں
 ضرب احمد آباد سہ جلوس ۱۲ - ۱۰۶۷
 'May this gold coin be always current in the seven climes of the world,
 Through the impression of the name of Jahāngir Shāh, the monarch of the world,
 Struck at Ahmadābad in the 12th year of accession, 1027 H"

- (3) زر احمد آباد را داد زبور * جهانگیر شاه شهنشاه اکبر
 "King Jahāngir, son of Emperor Akbar,
 Gave adornment to the gold of Ahmadabad"
- (4) مالک الملک سکه زد بر زر * ساء سلطان سلیم ساء اکبر
 The Lord of the country the King Sultān Salīm, son of the King
 Akbar,
 Stamped coin on gold"

Gold Mohars

- (5) الهی تا جهان باسد زراں داد * بشرق و غرب مهر احمدآباد
 "Oh God, so long as the world lasts,
 May the coin of Ahmadābād be current in the East and West"

A small Delhi mohar, in the cabinet of Mr C J Rodgers, has the following couplet —

- زر مع و نصرت جهانگیر شاه * ددملی زد اردیس لطف اله
 "Through the abundance of the favour of God,
 King Jahāngir stamped the coin of triumph and victory at Delhi,"
 21st 1035

The following gold coin was struck at Ajmir in the 11th year of accession, 1025 A H —

- زد نزار این سکه در اجمیر شاه دین پناه * شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه
 "The King, the Defender of the Faith, Nuruddin Jahāngir, son of
 Akbar Shāh,
 Stamped this coin on gold at Ajmir"

Another gold coin of Ajmir, in the cabinet of Mr Rodgers bearing date 1023 H, or the 9th year of accession, has the following inscription on it —

- جهان پرور نامی گشت سکه زر * زبور نام جهانگیر ساء شاه اکبر
 "Through the brightness of the name of King Jahāngir, son of the
 King Akbar,
 Gold coin became illuminated in the world in Ajmir"

According to the *Sair-i-Gulshan-i-Hind*, the Buihānpūr rupee bore the following inscription —

- سکه زد در شهر نوغان پور شاه دین پناه * ساء نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه
 "The King, the Defender of the Faith,
 Nuruddin Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar, stamped the coin in the
 city of Buihānpur"

Mr Rodgers has a Rupee of the Allahabād mint in his cabinet, with the following couplet —

- همیشه نور زر و سکه اله آباد * ز نام ساء جهانگیر شاه اکبر باد
 'May the brightness of the gold and coin of Allahabād last for
 ever
 Through the name of King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar."

The rupee struck in the mint of Fatehpūr Sikri bore, according to General Cunningham, the following inscription —

- بفتح پور پرورنده گشت سکه زر * ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه اکبر

"Through the brilliancy of the name of King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar, gold coin became bright at Fatehpur"

The gold coins of the Mandú mint had the following inscription —

سکه مندور نام جهانگیر شاه * پرتو دهد نور جهان منور مهر و ماه

"Through the name of King Jahāngir may the coin of Mandu brighten the world with its splendour like the sun and the moon"

The rupee struck at the Kábúl mint bore the following couplet —

سکه رد در شهر کابل خسرو گیتی پناه * شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

"The King, Asylum of the World, Nuruddin Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar, stamped this coin in the city of Kábul"

And at Kandahár, silver coin with the following inscription was struck —

سکه قدما شد دلخواه * ارجهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه

"The coin of Kandahar became delightful through King Jahāngir, son of the King Akbar"

Mr Rodgers, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, mentions two remarkable couplets on the Gold Mohar of Jahāngir struck at Ajmer in the 9th year of his accession, or 1023 H On one side of this coin is the couplet —

سپه حصبه شاه جهانگیر * قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر

"Fate has drawn the picture of His Majesty King Jahāngir on the coin of gold"

On the reverse is the couplet —

حروف جهانگیر والله اکبر * زرزار زر عدد شد برادر

Mr. Rodgers rhymes the above thus —

"The letters in Jahāngir's name, and in that of God the greatest From the first day have one value, had and shall live to the latest"

The Emperor had gold and silver money coined in the name of his favourite consort, Núr Jahán, bearing the following inscription —

بهکم شاه جهانگیر نامت صد رنور * نام نور جهان ناد شاه نیم رر

"By order of the King Jahāngir, gold received a hundred fold additional beauty"

Through the name of Nur Jahán, the chief consort."

Her seal bore the following inscription —

نور جهان گشت بمصل الله * ممد و مزار جهانگیر شاه

"Núr Jahán became, through the favour of God, The beloved consort of the King Jahāngir"

Mr. Thornhill of Meerut had some *Kalmá* rupees of the mint of Jahāngir, bearing the following inscription —

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

نور الدین محمد جهانگیر پادشاه ماری

"There is no God but God, and Mohamad is the Prophet of God,
Núruddin Mahomed Jahángir, the valiant king"

Other *Kalmá* rupees bore only the words —

محمد جهانگیر ناسا عاری

"Mahomed Jahángir, the valiant king"

In describing the events of the 12th year of his reign, the Emperor writes in his Memoirs — "In these days orders were passed that gold and silver Tankás be struck at Gujrat (Deccan) On one side of the gold Tanká were the words —

جهانگیر شاهی سنه ۱۰۲۷

King Jahángir 1027 H

And on the reverse —

ضرب کھمبای سنه ۱۲ خلوس

'Struck at Khambbayat in the 12th year of the reign'

The following couplet was inscribed on the silver Tanká, with the words —

جهانگیر شاهی سنه ۱۰۲۷ هجری

King Jahángir 1027 H'

Between the two lines —

در راس سکه رد شاه جهانگیر طغر پر تو * پس از فتح دکن آمد چو در گجرات ارماندو

'The victorious King Jahángir struck this coin on gold,
On arrival at Gujrat from Mandu, after the conquest of Deccan'

On the reverse was the inscription —

ضرب کھمبای سنه ۱۲ خلوس

'Struck at Khambbayat, in the 12th year of the reign'

Coinage of Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahán ascended the throne at Agra on 4th February 1628

On one side of his gold and silver coin he caused to be inscribed the confession of faith, around which were the names of the four Khálifs, or successors of Mahomed On the other side of the coin was the name of Shah Jahán

Like his predecessors Akbar and Jahángir, Shah Jahán had silver coins struck, which were called *Nisár* شار, from their being scattered among the crowd

A *Nisár* coin of Shah Jahán's time, as large in size as an eight-anna piece, is extant in the Delhi Museum The inscription on it is as follows —

Obverse —

ناسا عاری

شاه جهان

سالم صاحب قرآن ثانی

"The *Nisár* of the second Sahib Qurrán
The valiant King Shah Jahán."

Reverse —

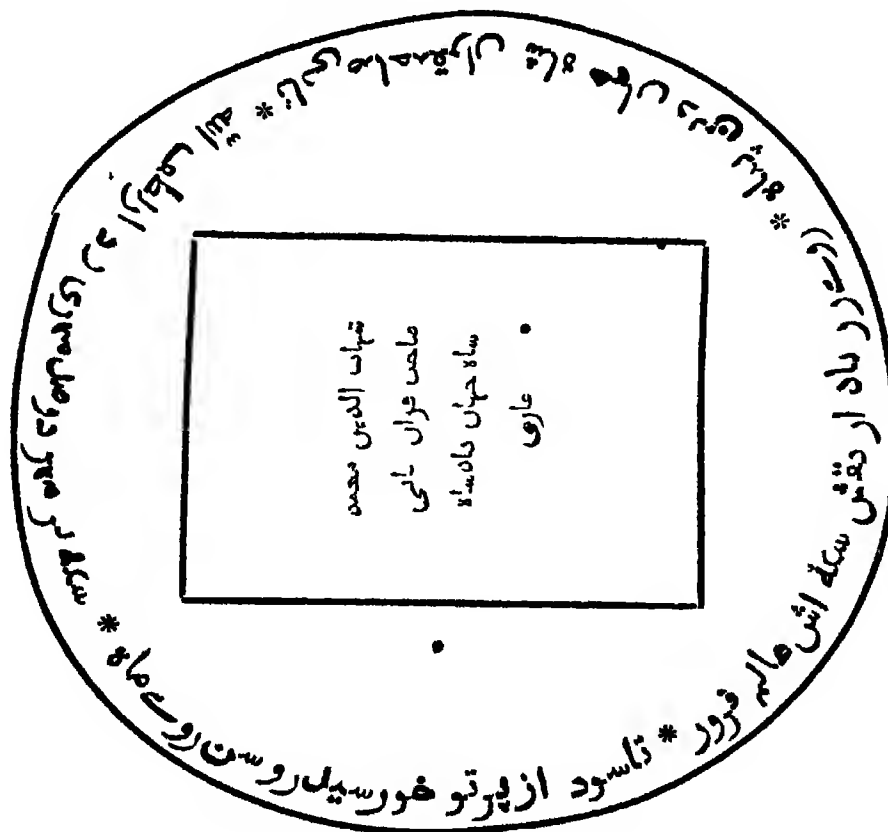
شاہ جہاں آباد
مغرب دارالسلامہ

سنة ٢٦ حاوس سنة ١٠٦٣ هجرى

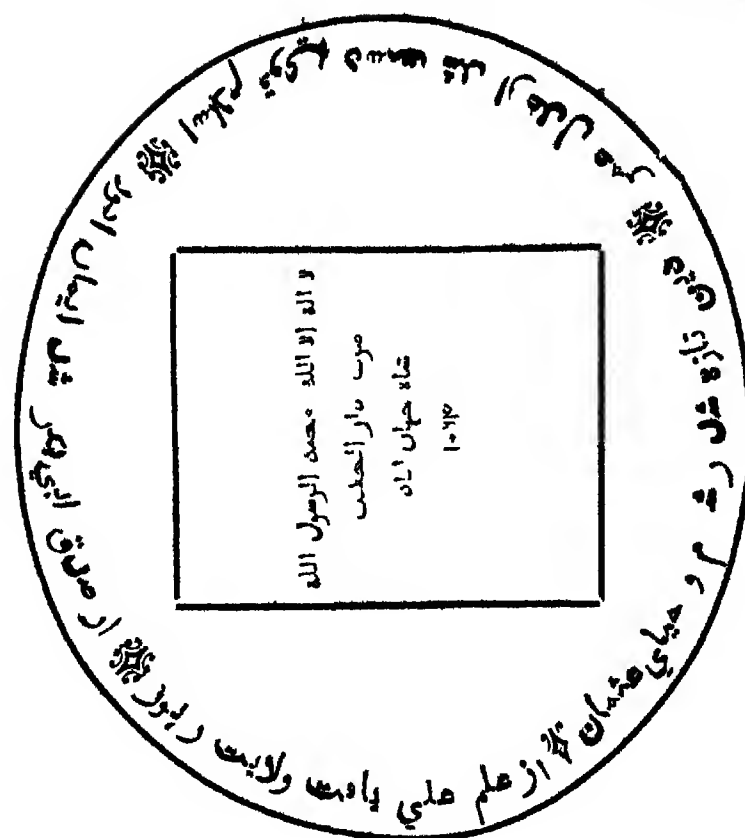
"Struck at the capital of Shahjahanabad, in the 26th year of accession, 1063 Hijri."

A 200 gold mohar-piece, struck by Shah Jahán, was very remarkable. It was a massive gold coin valued at three thousand rupees. The author of *Miftah-ul Iwárikh* gives a drawing of it. A coin of this description, struck in the 28th year of the Emperor's reign, corresponding to 1064, is extant in the British Museum, London. The Honourable J. Gibbs, in exhibiting a drawing and an ostempage of two enormous gold coins at a Meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society, held in January 1883, observed —

"The former represents a 200 gold mohar-piece of Shah Jahán, the latter a 100 gold mohar piece of Aurangzeb. The earliest reference to such pieces will be found in Lavernier's *Travels in India*, pp. 106-7, where he gives the drawing of one, but different from and smaller than these. He says they were coined and thrown among the people at the coronation, and were mostly of silver, that there were very few gold, but he adds that Aurangzeb did not coin any such pieces for his coronation. * The following is the inscription of this coin —



* Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No 1, January 1883



In the centre —

The valiant king, the second Sahib Qiran, Shahábuddin Sháh Jahán

In the 4 Segments

The impression on this coin, of 200 mohars, was struck by divine favour,

By the second Sahib Qiran, Sháh Jahán, the Defender of the Faith
May the face of gold, from the sculpture of this coin, enlighten the world,

As the splendid face of the moon is (illumined) by the rays of the sun

Obverse —

Reverse

Centre —

There is no God but God, and Mahomed is the Prophet of God
Struck at the capital of Sháh Jahánabad 1064 A H (1653 A D)

In the 4 Segments —

Religion was enlightened by the truth of Abubakr,
The Faith was strengthened by the justice of Omar,

Piety was refreshed by the mildness and modesty of Othman,
The world was illumined by the learning of Ali

Aurangzeb ascended the throne at Delhi in 1658 A. D., but was not proclaimed Emperor until the second year of the reign. The title which he assumed was Alamgir (conqueror of

the world), the same that had been incrustated on the blade of the sabre presented to him by his father Sháh Jahán, the year before, when he was encamped at Agra.

Previously, to the time of Aurangzeb, the *Kalimá*, or Moham-madan confession of faith, and the names of the first four Khalifs, were engraved on one side of gold and silver coin — "As the coin is liable to fall indiscreetly into the hand of everybody, His Majesty," observes the author of *Ma-dsiri Alamgiri*, "ordered that some suitable superscription should be substituted for the *Kalimá* in the coin of his period." Accordingly, Mir Abul Bakí, known by the poetical name of *Sabhdát*, composed the following couplet, which he read to the king —

سکه زد در جهان چو در مهر * ساء اورنگ ريب عالمگير

"The King Aurangzeb Alamgir

Struck gold coin in the world like the luminary sun "

The king approved of this composition and ordered that on one side of the gold coin the above couplet be engraved, and on the other side the date of accession and the name of the town where the coin might be struck. For silver coin it was ordered that the word *Badar* بدر, "Sun," be changed to *Mehr* مهر, "Moon," and that the remaining part of the inscription be allowed to stand. The following was the inscription ordered to be made on the royal seal —

ابوالمطهر محي الدین محمد اورنگ ريب بهادر عالمگير فادسء عارى

"The father of victory, Mohyuddin Mahomed Aurangzeb Bahádur, the valiant king

ART VIII—BANKING IN THE MUFASSAL

AT the present day, when Joint Stock Banks, *Limited*, are competing with each other in all the principal cities and towns of India, it is difficult to realize the state of things which obtained some thirty years ago. The era of Joint Stock Companies with *limited* liability began with Act XIX of 1857, and Act VII of 1860 was passed to enable Banking Companies to be formed on the same principle, which, till then, they had been prohibited from being. Long before those days many Joint Stock Banks with unlimited liability had been formed in the *Mufassal*, and had existed, with more or less usefulness and success, for considerable periods, but all except two or three had become extinct.

The history of Indian Banks down to 1863 was recorded, so far as he could obtain materials, by Mr Charles Northcote Cooke, then Deputy Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal in his "*Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of Banking in India*," which was published in Calcutta. In introducing his subject, Mr Cooke treated of the origin of Banking, its antiquity in India, the monetary system of India, in great detail, the use of banking to India, the then existing condition of banking and, finally, the "Management of a Bank." "How much," he said, "is involved in the expression. How difficult for those, who are unacquainted with the principles of banking, to understand the full import of the term. How much evil and misery would be avoided if shareholders would set themselves a little more attentively to consider what is required of Directors and Secretary before they are nominated." Mr Cooke afterwards drops the word 'Secretary' in favour of 'Manager,' because, when a Secretary has no Managing Director over him, he is, to all intents and purposes, the chief officer, in fact, the Manager, whatever his specific designation may be. But he by no means thinks that a Manager's duty is to manage the Directors, on the contrary he says "The Directors are responsible to the shareholders for what is done by their Secretary (Manager), and on very just grounds. They are bound to appoint a proper Manager, and, if they give their official sanction to his proceedings, they adopt them as their own, and must abide by them." On the other hand, "a Manager," Mr Cooke says, "ought to be qualified, not only to subserve the interests of a monied establishment, but, if necessary, to lead the opinions of the Directors, who should not hesitate in placing the most implicit reliance on his judgment. He ought to be, therefore, consulted in all cases of doubt and difficulty, in fact, to be the

life and soul rather than the mere servant of a Bank,—the prosperity of which depends, not upon the hastily-acquired knowledge of an hour, but on the patiently and laboriously accumulated lessons of experience”

Mr Cooke draws a clear distinction between the influential and the constitutional power of the Manager of a Bank: it is his duty to give advice to his Directors, and, if he gives bad advice, he is responsible for the result of measures adopted by the Directors in consequence of that advice, though not if they adopted them irrespective of it. “A Manager,” Mr Cooke says, “is responsible to his Directors, and not to the shareholders. He is appointed by the Directors, by whom he may be dismissed. It is clear, therefore, that he is responsible to them.” This may be a correct theory, but it is not the practice of all Indian Banks, some of which have been founded by their Managers, who made themselves responsible to the shareholders, and who, in case of fraudulent conduct, cannot even be suspended by the Directors. Directors, in such a position, are clearly of no use, and no man with proper self-respect would accept such a position and draw fees for filling it.

The greater part of Mr Cooke's book is taken up with the history of the Indian Banks, and it is very curious and interesting reading. Most space, as is natural, is given to the Bank with which he was connected, *The Bank of Bengal*, but the other two Presidency Banks are fairly dealt with. *The Oriental Bank Corporation*, which took its origin from the Bank of Western India, founded in 1842, *The Union Bank*, established in 1829, and which stopped payment in 1848, after having long continued to pay dividends from the deposits which people were still confiding enough to make, *The Bank of Hindustan*, established as a private bank in 1770, *The Commercial Bank*, dating from 1819, *The Calcutta Bank*, which had a short life, from 1824 to 1829, *The Bank of Mysore*, which seems to have been simply Mr Bathurst—a young man from England, of plausible means, suave address and gentlemanly appearance, which did not last two years, and the notes of which were Mr Cooke said, still to be met with in the Upper Provinces, though then looked upon merely as curiosities, *The Agra and United Service Bank, Limited*, established at Agra in 1833, under the name of the Agra Bank, removed—as regarded the head-office—to Calcutta in 1852, and to London in 1857-58, after which it was registered there as a Bank with limited liability, *The North Western Bank of India*, which began at Mussoorie as a private Bank in 1840, with a capital of Rs 50,000, increased to 40 lakhs by September 1847 (!), and was put into liquidation in 1859, *The Delhi Bank Corporation*, which was established as “The Delhi Bank,” at Delhi, in 1844, and registered in 1860 under the

bodily in 1862 by the Bank of Bengal, *The Benares Bank*, set up in 1844-45, chiefly by the influence of Colonel Pew (who before that, was believed to be a man of large fortune and unbounded credit, but was afterwards seized with a mania for speculating), and put into liquidation in 1849, its sole business having been money-lending at ten per cent, from which it paid dividends at twelve, *The Simla Bank, Limited*, which began business in 1844, and the same, we believe, that went into liquidation during the last decade, and is still at it, *The London and Eastern Banking Corporation*, started in London in 1854, as the result of a schism between the proprietors of the Simla and Umballa Bank, but put into liquidation, with the result of disgraceful disclosures in March 1857, *The Cawnpore Bank*, in the formation of which in 1845, the same Colonel Pew, who did so much for the Benares Bank, was instrumental this Bank ceased to exist in 1851, *The Agra Savings Fund*, which dates from 1842, and was afterwards registered with limited liability under Act VII of 1860 as the "Agra Savings Bank, Limited," and still prospers, *The Uncovenanted Service Bank Limited*, opened at Agra, as the Uncovenanted Bank, in 1846, which is now in liquidation, *The Commercial Bank of India*, which was established in Bombay in 1845 for local purposes, but soon did business in Ceylon, and about 1862 opened a branch in China, and in 1863, when Mr Cooke's book was written, was about to obtain a charter and remove the head-office from Bombay to London, *The Government Savings Bank*, established in Calcutta on the 1st November 1833, under the guarantee and on the responsibility of Government, not very long after the disastrous failure of all the large commercial houses, its object being to afford to all classes, British and Native, a means of investing their savings, free from the uncertain influences of commerce, *The Bank of Asia*, projected in London in 1841, but broken up without ever having got to work, *The East India Bank*, projected in 1842, one of the latent objects of which was to absorb the Bank of Bengal, but which never existed but in name, *The Chartered Bank of Asia*, set on foot in 1852, but which, after an attempt to amalgamate with the Mercantile Bank of India, London and China, was soon dissolved and wound up, *The Mercantile Bank of India, London and China*, established in Bombay in 1853, which in 1856, held $\frac{1}{10}$ ths of the capital of the Chartered Bank of Asia mentioned above, and in 1857 was wound up and succeeded by The Chartered Bank of the same name, *The Bank of Ceylon*, established at Colombo in 1841, with agencies at the presidency-towns of India, but

taken over in 1849 by The Oriental Bank, *The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China*, which was started in 1853, but did not begin business until the end of 1857, *The London Bank of Australia and India*, projected in 1852-53, but never brought into active operation, *The Punjab Bank, Limited*, of recent formation at the date of Mr Cooke's writing, and long ago wound up, *The Scinde, Punjab and Delhi Bank Corporation, Limited*, which, in 1863, was just starting into operation in London, but the end of which Mr. Cooke was of course unable to chronicle, *The Central Bank of Western India*, which was started at Bombay in 1860, and seems, a few years after, to have been amalgamated with the newly-started Bank of Hindustan, China and Japan, *The Bank of Hindustan, China and Japan*, started in 1862, *The Bank of Rohilkund (Rampur)*, "an infant institution, having only been in operation since December 1862," supported and assisted by the Nawab of Rampore, *The People's Bank of India, Limited*, projected in 1860 to meet a want in Calcutta in banking matters, *viz* —an institution which would not despise small business, *The Comptoir D'Escompte de Paris*, incorporated by National Decree of 1848, and by Imperial Decree of 1854, which has branches in India, in Calcutta and Bombay, *The Bengal Bank*, which was in existence in Calcutta so far back as 1790, but had ceased to exist long previous to 1800, *The Bank of India*, projected in 1828 by Raj-kissore Dutt, the man "whose forgeries, well planned and carried out," of Company's Paper, are mentioned by Mr Cooke in his account of the Bank of Bengal, *The General Bank of India* which was in existence in Calcutta in 1790 and 1791, but the further history of which is not recorded, and, finally, *The Carnatic Bank*, respecting which Mr. Cooke only knew that it was in existence in 1791. All these institutions are passed under review in Mr Cooke's book, at greater or less length, the whole forming a most interesting and instructive record of sound mercantile enterprise, perseverance under difficulties, rash and unscrupulous speculation, and swindling of the most unblushing description, which happily did not always escape unpunished.

The doings of most of the Banks enumerated above belong, however, to "ancient history," and with those of them which have survived to the present day, we have, with perhaps one or two exceptions, nothing here to do. *Mufassal*, or country Banks in India are our theme. Turning to the share list in the commercial supplement to *Capital*, we find ten *Mufassal* Banks a year ago there were eleven, and now another has gone into liquidation and must, therefore, be dropped out of the list.

It is too soon to point any moral by referring to the causes

of the failure of the Himalaya Bank, *Limited*, but the main facts of its case will not be overlooked in the general review we propose to give. In looking over the list, the chief fact observable is the very small amount of share-capital on which *Mufassal* banking is based. Here is a list, in alphabetical order, of the eleven Banks, including the two that have lately 'failed,' with the amounts of their capital and reserved funds, taken from the most recently published accounts —

Names	Subscribed Capital	Paid up Capital	Reserve Funds
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Agia Savings Bank, Limited	3,60,000	1,80,000	61,000
Allahabad Bank, Limited	4 00,000	4,00,000	3,63 000
Alliance Bank of Simla Limited	10,00,000	8,50,000	5,80,000
Bank of Upper India, Limited	10 00,000	10,00,000	2,80,000
Commercial and Land Mortgage Bank, Limited	10,00 000	6,30,000	4,08,000
Himalaya Bank, Limited	2,00,000	2,00,000	1,30,000
Mussorie Bank, Limited	3,00,000	3,00 000	50,000
Oudh Commercial Bank, Limited	2 00,000	2,00,000	24,000
Punjab Banking Company, Limited	2,50,000	1,45,000	20,000
Rohilkhund and Kumaun Bank, Ltd	4,00,000	3 60,950	85 000
Uncovenanted Service Bank, Limited	6 00 000	6,00,000	74 307
Totals	57,10 000	48,65,950	20 75,307
Deduct Nos 6 and 11	8,00,000	8 00,000	2 04,307
Totals of Solvent Banks	49,10,000	40,65 950	18 71 000

Fifty lakhs of rupees, then, of which only a little over four-fifths are paid up, constitute the whole subscribed share capital of nine Banks, all of which, judging by the dividends they pay, are in a flourishing condition. They do business from Dacca to Quetta, and from Kashmir to Ajmir, and the head-quarters of one of them is in Madras, and where they have not branches they have agents and correspondents. They pay dividends on the paid up share-capital, at rates varying from 9 to 15 per cent, aggregating Rs 4,50,730 in a year, besides placing large amounts annually in "Reserve," which have now accumulated to Rs 18,71,500. And this after paying all expenses.

How is it done? There is no mystery about it besides their share-capital, the nine Banks have over 357 lakhs of rupees to trade with, entrusted to them for that purpose by a confiding public. 357 lakhs, lent out at (say) 10 per cent., produce over 35 lakhs a year, from which must be deducted interest at (say) 5 per cent paid for fixed deposits amounting

to nearly 298 lakhs, leaving (say) 20 lakhs of gross profit to cover expenses, losses and net profit. Supposing only 4 lakhs of rupees were left, out of the 20 of gross profits, there would be a 10 per cent dividend for the shareholders on the 40 lakhs of paid up capital. Thus the share capital might be entirely lost, and still, so long as their credit remained good, the nine Banks ought to continue to pay dividends averaging 10 per cent.

In other words, the depositors allow the Banks to make a net profit of 10 per cent on their capital, out of their 300 lakhs of deposits, in consideration in the case of depositors for fixed periods, of being paid 5 per cent as their share of profit on what they deposit. This is not strictly correct, because the Scotch practice of paying a moderate rate of interest on floating deposits is to some extent coming into vogue in India, but it gives a rough explanation of how the Banks manage to divide an even higher rate of interest than they charge for lending out their share-capital.

The principle is, of course similar to that on which numerous Building, Loan Land-mortgage and Trading Companies have been established in Great Britain. These Companies have a comparatively small paid-up share-capital, but they receive large amounts on deposit, or on debenture bonds, at a moderate rate of interest, and a small rate of profit on the amounts so borrowed gives a large profit on their small amount of share capital. But in the case of the Home Companies, generally, only a portion of the subscribed-capital is called up, and the balance remains as security to the creditors. The liability of the shareholders is *limited*, but it is not exhausted. It is reserved in case of need, and if the Company's business is good and its investments are safe, and if it sets apart sufficient amounts from its profits to build up a fund from which to meet ordinary losses and contingencies, its credit may become so well established that the reserve liability may never have to be drawn on, and the shareholders may thus continue to receive increasingly large dividends upon the small amounts they may have paid up on their shares.

As we said at the outset, the amount of share-capital of our nine *Mufassal* Banks is very small, and till quite lately it was considerably smaller. Since the end of 1889, three of the nine have increased their subscribed-capital by seven lakhs of rupees, and this will be fully paid by the end of the current year. The total subscribed share capital is only 13.82 per cent. of the amount held in floating and fixed deposits.

The principle of having an authorized and subscribed capital in excess of the amount called up, as security to their customers, is not in general favour with the Indian *Mufassal* Banks. It is thought that with the possibility of further calls impending,

shares are not so desirable an investment as when there is no contingent liability, and, moreover, the larger the paid-up and invested share capital, the less will losses in the course of business be felt by a Bank. A bad debt of one lakh of rupees means, to a Bank with a paid-up share-capital of two lakhs, the loss of half of its capital, but to a Bank with a capital of ten lakhs, it means a loss of only one-fifth. In the first supposed case a loss of two lakhs would mean extinction, but in the second eight lakhs of share-capital would still remain. While, therefore, a large amount of total working-capital in proportion to the subscribed share-capital, if it be profitably invested, means a proportionally larger profit to the shareholders, it means also inferior security and proportionate risk to the depositors.

But there are other important points which investors ought to consider in selecting Banks in which to buy shares, or to deposit their money for fixed periods at interest. One good test of a Bank's soundness is the amount of its current accounts, that is to say, the amount of money deposited with it which is withdrawable on demand, and either yields no interest or yields only a low rate. Such "floating deposits" bring to a Bank very profitable business in the way of exchange and discount transactions and commission, and, should current accounts be overdrawn, a large profit is made by the charge of interest on overdrafts, especially if the overdrafts are quickly recovered. On the other hand, large amounts held in floating deposit entail the preserving of a large cash balance, and a certain amount of readily convertible securities, not only to meet daily demands but to provide against the possibility of a "run on the Bank." The amount of available funds is, therefore, another point that should be considered in selecting a Bank to deal with or belong to.

An intending investor should also observe how a Bank's share-capital is guaranteed by reserves set apart from profits. If a Bank divides among its Shareholders all or nearly all its profits, or merely carries forward a sum to the Profit and Loss Account of the next half-year, and so on, when any serious loss occurs it really amounts to a loss of capital, and if the share-capital be small, a few such losses may swallow it up. The Articles of Association of a Bank sometimes provide that, when a certain portion of its capital has been lost, the Bank shall cease to exist and shall be wound up, and the Shareholders should guard against this happening by building up from their profits not only, as is commonly done, a "Reserve Fund," but also a "Bad and Doubtful Debt Fund" from which all ordinary losses can be met. But here again the careful investor will look to the assets side of the balance-sheet, and

make sure that these funds are realities and not mere accounts they must be well covered by Government or other good and readily marketable securities—over and above those held in supplement of the cash balance,—and these securities must be always in the Bank and not pledged in any way. This is a matter in which Auditors should be very particular.

It is much to be feared that the early history of some *Mufassal* Banks would ill bear the light. They have been founded, not by capitalists but by men destitute of capital, or who wanted other men's capital to trade or speculate with. Such men said to their neighbours "Go to, let us start a Bank?" and under the Indian Companies Acts that was an easy matter. They had only to sign a short "Memorandum of Association," in which were stated (1) the name of the Company, (2) the part of British India in which the registered office of the Company was proposed to be situated, (3) the objects for which the proposed Company was to be established, namely, Banking and all its branches, (4) that the liability of the members was limited, (5) the amount of capital with which the Company proposed to be registered, divided into shares of a certain fixed amount. And seven persons might sign such a Memorandum and they need not put their names down for more than one share each. The stamp duty is fifteen rupees, and the fees to be paid to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, with whom the Memorandum must be lodged for record and registration, are not heavy, amounting to one hundred and twenty-five rupees for a capital of one lakh, one hundred and seventy-five rupees for 2 lakhs, and fifty rupees more for every additional lakh up to 10 lakhs, after which the fee is ten rupees per lakh. If the Bank chose to frame Articles of Association for its own special guidance, it had to pay a further stamp duty of twenty five rupees and a fee of five rupees for registering them, but if it did not so elect, it came under the model regulations attached to the Act without incurring further expense.

As the value of the shares might be fixed at one rupee each, the total initial outlay of the seven Promoters of a Bank might not be much above two hundred rupees, or (say) thirty rupees each.

In point of fact one hundred rupees is usually the nominal value of a share in an Indian Bank, but the payment of this is sometimes spread over a year or two, and shares are allotted on payment of a first instalment of their price. Upon the registration of the Memorandum of Association, and of the Articles of Association, if any, the Registrar certifies that the Company is incorporated, and in the case of a limited Company

(the Banks are all limited) that it is limited: the subscribers of the Memorandum of Association, together with such other persons as may from time to time become members of the Company, thereupon become a body corporate, capable forthwith of exercising all the functions of an incorporated Company, and having perpetual succession and a common seal, and with liability, on the part of the members, to contribute to the assets of the Company in the event of its being wound up, only to the amount, if any, unpaid on the shares which they hold.

The promoters of the Bank, of course, at first, either act as Directors, or appoint Directors from among themselves, and this is a reason for limiting the number of subscribers of the Memorandum of Association to seven, the legal minimum. The allotment of shares, and the collection of deposits, then goes on merrily, the Directors and Manager having, of course the first right—where might is right—to the use of the other shareholders' and depositors' money, and the shareholders, who are friends of the Directors, being next allowed to share the spoil. High rates are, of course, given for deposits, and, as an additional attraction, a substantial dividend is declared for the first half-year after the Bank is started. In one case which we could mention, the first dividend paid was provided for from saving on the amount set apart out of capital for preliminary expenses. The rate of dividend is worked up as quickly as possible to 9 or 10 per cent per annum, and thenceforth it is a law, not to be broken, that, whatever losses may be incurred, the rate of dividend shall never fall below that. A "Reserve Fund" is started as soon as it decently can be, and the increase of this "by leaps and bounds" depends quite as much upon the losses as upon the profits. Interest upon bad and doubtful debts owing to the Bank is regularly charged to the debtors, and as regularly taken credit for in the "Profit and Loss Account," whether realized or not. Once in the "Profit and Loss Account," the transfer of unrealized interest to the "Reserve Fund," when the "Divisible Balance" comes to be distributed, is easy, and so is the payment of dividend out of capital.

By-and-by decency requires that some tangible security should appear in the Balance Sheet to represent the large sums carried to the "Reserve Fund,"—and an entry is made "To Government Securities." Perhaps some securities really are bought, and perhaps also the auditors may see them once or twice, but the Manager thinks it folly to be earning only 4 or 4½ per cent. on the money which the securities represent, so he sends them to the Calcutta Bank which acts as the Agent of his *Mufassal* Bank, borrows on them at the market rate, and then lends out the money at ten or twelve per cent., on perhaps

very insufficient security. Then come losses, and perhaps a "run on the Bank," and the "Reserve Fund," which ought to be available, is found to be practically non-existent. The securities on which the working-capital was lent out were, in most cases, really insufficient, and in some, besides the promissory note or personal bond, which is rarely omitted, consisted merely of policies of insurance on the life of the debtor, who not infrequently has become insolvent, and, with no intention or prospect of dying, soon leaves the Bank the choice of paying the premium necessary to maintain the policy in force, or of allowing the policy to drop, and so losing even the hope of realizing a portion of the debt after, perhaps, twenty or thirty years.

Pressure is now put upon debtors who can pay, money is no longer freely lent out to all and sundry upon insufficient security, and these, and all the impecunious people who have for years been living on money borrowed from the Bank and paying no interest on it, begin to talk, and say that the Bank must be in a bad way. Depositors, who hear the Bank "talked of," take alarm and withdraw their money. A run sets in, more and more efforts are made to realize assets, even at a sacrifice of interest, which has been accruing for years, and then down comes "humpty-dumpty," and all the liquidators in India cannot pick him up again.

But all this time, it may be asked. Where were the trustees or Directors of the Bank? What were they about to let the business be so recklessly conducted and mismanaged? The answer is,—that from the first the promoters, and then the Manager, carefully selected the Directors with the view that they should be tools, or, at least, mere figure heads. When asked to serve, they were told that they would have merely nominal work to do—only to look at papers which the Manager circulated, and to write, "I agree," sign their names, and draw their fees, which, to obviate the necessity of holding meetings, were fixed at so much a year and half-year. Such formalities as Board-meetings, minutes of proceedings were never allowed to hamper the Manager's action, and, in fact, the Bank was known by his name, as Brown's Bank, or Jones' or Robinson's Bank, and the registered name of the Company was never so much as mentioned. In one instance that could be named, the Directors' names were never advertised, or even mentioned in the printed accounts submitted half yearly to the members of the Company, and when a certain shareholder became inquisitive on this point, and the names of the Directors were at last disclosed, the name of one man was found to have been kept in the list for years after he had gone home, and had, *ipso facto*, vacated office. This was because he had a handle to

his name It is not certain that his fees were not duly put to the credit of his account, but it is believed they were duly charged in the "Profit and Loss Account" .

And where were the auditors, in our typical Bank, which, however, has been constructed and worked on the model of Banks actually existing, and not from our own moral consciousness? It had been provided, in the Articles of Association—whether designedly, or not, cannot be said,—that there should be merely one auditor, and, for many years before the Bank failed, that auditor had been a large debtor to the Bank His interest in making things pleasant was, therefore, undoubted And although the Articles of Association very properly embodied a regulation of the Table attached to the Indian Companies Act, to the effect, that no debtor was eligible for the office of auditor, yet, year after year, this debtor was proposed for re-election as auditor until he died The successor proposed by the Directors and Manager, was an official of another local Company, the accounts of which were audited by the Manager of the Bank, and the Directors could not be made to see that there was any impropriety in this! To the very last this auditor regularly every half-year certified that he had examined the books and accounts of the Bank, carefully verified the items on the balance-sheet, and found the vouchers in order, and went out of the way to say that the books had, as usual, been kept in a very creditable manner, and to tender his best thanks for the assistance rendered to him by the officials of the Bank in his examination of the Accounts If the auditor was honest, how the Manager and the rest of his crew must have laughed in their sleeves on getting this certificate!

But, perhaps, it is hardly right thus to show how easily a Bank may be started and run in India for twenty or thirty years with apparent success, and certainly with great profit to its projectors, upon a small share-capital, the whole of which, as well as the Reserve nominally set apart out of profits, may have been lost years before the smash comes We can only hope that our reader will be merciful to the depositing public, and refrain from at once starting half-a-dozen new Banks in the unexploited parts of the Bengal Presidency. The "confidence trick" is so easily worked Three or four confederates get hold of a "young man from the country," and, pretending to be strangers to each other, one of them lets out that he is in possession of a large sum of money, or (say) some valuable jewellery. Presently he makes some pretext for leaving the company, and asks one of his confederates, in whom he expresses great confidence, to take care of his purse

or pretended valuables, until he returns. The greenhorn, too, has been boasting and exhibiting his money, or a valuable watch, and, perhaps, professing great regard for one of his new friends, so he, in turn, is pressed to "show his confidence" by going out for a while and leaving his property in the custody of the other, with a result which we need not mention. Perhaps we forget the exact *modus operandi*, but what has been given is near enough to illustrate the working of our typical small *Mufassal* Banks. Neither the "young man from the country," nor the depositor in the Bank, ever sees his money again if he leaves it too long in the "Bank of confidence."

But there is another and a more pleasing side to the picture. We have been describing the Bank that is founded on nothing but the desire for personal aggrandizement, and conducted to its close on unsound principles, which entail a system of concealment and deceit that could never continue to exist under a properly qualified directorate and with a *bond fide* audit. Let us now look at a better type of Indian Bank, such as the reader may select for himself from the Table given above.

This sort of Bank, though it also may have had a modest beginning, was started to meet a public want, and with a determination that it should be worked on sound principles and with business-like prudence. Its share-capital was not all lent out to the leading Promoters on bad or insufficient security, and deposits to a greater extent than could be profitably utilized in legitimate business were not attracted by the offer of an unduly high rate of interest. Accounts, that seemed likely to get into a bad state, were promptly closed, and debts were not allowed to mount up to unmanageable dimensions. The divisible balance of the "Profit and Loss Account" was not purposely inflated by large amounts of unrealized interest, and from the *bond-fide* profits enough was periodically left undivided to provide for bad debts and to form a Reserve Fund at the back of the share-capital. Economy was observed in the management, and, by the gradual increased investments in Government and other good securities, a reputation for safety and stability was gradually built up. By-and-by, as the "working-capital" grew to be more than could conveniently be employed at, or managed from, head quarters, branches were opened in various places where good business offered, and ultimately, to preserve a proper proportion to the ever increasing amount of deposits, and to justify the opening of more branches, the share-capital was largely increased, or even, perhaps, doubled.

As the business of the Bank increased, the salaries of the establishment were raised in moderation, and the shareholders

recognized the services of the Directors and auditors by increasing their fees to amounts more in accordance with their increased responsibilities and the work they had to do. During its rise and progress our model Bank did not seek to attract business by allowing too high rates of interest, or by underselling its brethren in the rates of interest and discount charged; it worked amicably with its neighbours, and even helped them in case of need, and grew to its position of eminence by sheer force of character, attracting business to itself as the nucleus of a nebula gathers in stardust.

It will now be profitable to consider in more detail the main object of a Joint Stock Banking Company, and some of the conditions which are essential to its prosperity. The *raison d'être* of such a Bank, as of most Joint Stock Companies, is, of course, that the contributors of its share-capital wish to make a good profit on their money without the trouble and labour of personally looking after their investment. They wish to trade with their money, without being themselves the actual traders. They know that, perhaps a twenty-five per cent return might be got by personal trading, but they do not like so to risk their capital, or they are in Government or private employ and have no spare time for trading, or they have retired from such employment and want to lead a quiet life, or they are widows or spinsters without business habits, or training, and wish to eke out their means by an investment which promises to yield a better return than they get from "Government Paper," or even fixed deposits in a Bank. They therefore subscribe for shares in a Bank when it is formed, or buy shares in a going concern.

Various reasons guide them in their selection of a Bank, or other Company, in which to become partners, and too often it is a matter of personal preference: they know a Manager, or a Director, and believe in him, and do not scrutinize the accounts of his Company with reasonable care, or are incapable of doing so. But they know the broad facts of such a case,—that there is a Manager presumably competent and honest, with a staff to assist him, that, above the Manager, there is a Board of Directors to superintend and control the affairs of the Company, that there are auditors to examine and certify to the correctness of the accounts, and that the duties and responsibilities of all these officials are strictly defined and laid down by law. All, therefore, ought to go well, and they ought to have nothing to do but to draw their dividend half-yearly. And such investors see the name of their Bank in the daily share lists, and comfort themselves with the thought that they can sell out of their Bank at any time. If they

thought they were really risking the existence of their capital, they would not become shareholders. And, accordingly, the main duty of the Directors and Manager of a Bank is to safeguard the share-capital the shareholders did not contribute it with the object that it should be risked and lost they expect to get it back, whenever they please, by selling their shares in the market

Risk of course there is, for trading cannot be carried on without risk but, intrusted to the collective wisdom and experience of a Bank, and under the protection of special law, a shareholder's money ought to be safer than if he traded with it himself. The shareholders' capital is the foundation of the credit of a Bank, and it must, therefore, not only be kept intact, but must be surrounded by guarantees in the shape of Reserve Fund and other provision from which all ordinary losses can be met. If the accounts of the Bank do not show that this is so, customers will cease to come to it, its profits will fall off, and the depositors, who furnish the bulk of the working capital, will withdraw their money as soon as they can.

The "Reserve Fund" of a Bank must be a reality, and not a mere account. It must be funded money. Having been made by allotments from profits belonging to the shareholders, it belongs to them as much as does the share-capital, but as it has been accumulated for the purpose of safe-guarding the capital, it must not be traded with, but kept absolutely safe, by investment in first class securities. And the securities in which a "Reserve Fund" invested must be registered and kept, not sold or pledged for cash when an opportunity for risky gain offers and the cash in the till has run rather low. This wholesome rule does not prevent the sale—and re-investment of the proceeds in another description of good security, of securities belonging to the Reserve—when a chance of legitimate profit offers, but the Reserve Fund must not be risked in the general business of the Bank.

It is a good rule, moreover, to let the Reserve Fund accumulate, by adding to it half-yearly the interest it earns, over and above any sums which the Company may resolve to add to it out of the divisible balance of Profit and Loss Account. It may be said that the sums transferred to Reserve are generally more than the interest the fund has earned, but nevertheless, respect for the natural accumulation of such a fund tends to make it more sacred, and, after a while, if necessity has not occasioned encroachments on the capital, or on the Reserve Fund itself, it ought to be quite enough to allow the fund to be self-increasing. A fund of 2 lakhs will, at compound interest, in six years, amount to over 2½ lakhs, and one of 4 lakhs will, in six years, become 5 lakhs.

If this course be adopted, the interest on the securities belonging to the Reserve Fund must not be debited to the general interest account. But in course of time, when it is evident that the Reserve Fund is large enough to require no increment for the present, the interest it earns may be taken to Profit and Loss, or else paid separately to the shareholders as a bonus on their shares. And it is even conceivable that, as the Reserve Fund incontestably belongs to the shareholders, part of it might be capitalized and divided into shares, to be allotted to the shareholders in proportion to their holdings of the original capital, the payment of dividend, however, on these bonus shares depending upon the balance remaining after payment of the usual dividend on the original shares, and after making provision for bad debts.

Shareholders, after setting apart sums to be added to Reserve, are apt to forget that these sums, if not used to meet extraordinary losses, or to equalize the ordinary dividends, really belong to themselves. This may be because the Reserve Fund is entered in the balance-sheet as a "liability," and not as an "asset," but the liability is to the shareholders, and they should remember the equivalent that ought to appear on the assets side of the account, in the shape of Government and other securities. If Reserve were treated as a reality, as above suggested, it would be much better looked after, and all the different interests bound up in the Bank would benefit in a corresponding degree. Should it ever be necessary, from any cause to trench upon the Reserve Fund, the amount should be replaced from future profits as quickly as possible, and the Shareholders should insist upon all such encroachments being submitted for their confirmation in general meeting.

Uniformity of the rate of dividend is a thing much studied by Managers and Directors, and it is very desirable from an investor's point of view, but striving and contriving for this sometimes leads to irregularities, if not to absolute fraud. Losses will occur, and, even, if they do not, business may have been bad, and a Manager is tempted to propose to take to Profit and Loss interest on a doubtful account to which nothing has been credited for, perhaps, several years. In this case, probably, the Bank had at first too rapidly raised the rate of dividend, instead of setting aside sufficient sums to meet losses. But to lower the rate of dividend would be to send down the price of the shares in the market, and perhaps also to lessen the confidence of depositors, and a dilemma is presented. Here a capable and honest auditor might step in, but in some cases the dividend is declared by the Directors, and even paid, before the auditor is called to his work.

Properly speaking the dividend ought not to be declared by

the Directors, or paid until it has been sanctioned by the shareholders in general meeting. This is prescribed in the model regulations attached to the Companies Act, and is, indeed, laid down in the Articles of Association of most Companies, but a practice has arisen by which the Directors take upon themselves to declare the dividend and to pay it as soon as possible after the close of the half-year to which it relates, trusting to the shareholders to confirm the accomplished facts. Sometimes the dividend is called an *ad-interim* one, but that term seems more strictly applicable to the case of a Company whose profits cannot, like those of a Bank, be ascertained half yearly, but whose shareholders, liking to have a payment to account about the middle of their financial year, allow their Directors to pay them a safe amount *ad-interim*. Had this system been adopted by Banks, and were less than the half of the usual yearly amount paid to the shareholders for the first half of a year, it would be much easier than now to fix the dividend for the second half at a rate which, with that already paid, would amount to only what the Bank really ought to declare. These considerations show that the shareholders of a newly-formed Bank ought to restrain their ardour for large dividends, and to check rather than approve of Directors who propose them.

To amass deposits is, of course, of great importance for every Bank, for deposits go to make up its "working-capital," and it is the main object to get other people's capital to work with. But the management of a young Bank ought not, any more than the depositors who contribute to the working-capital, to forget that, after the subscribed-capital has all been called up, and pending the accumulation of substantial reserves, there is no real security for the repayment of deposits at due date. All depends upon the state of the current business. If the Bank flourishes, new deposits come in, and with these previous deposits can be paid off with interest, provided the working-capital has been made good use of. It is only if subscribed-capital be not all called up, and when a substantial Reserve Fund has been formed, that there is real security for the payment of any considerable amount of deposits suddenly and unexpectedly withdrawn. The deposits have been lent out (say) on fairly good security, paid no doubt on demand, but the greater part for fixed periods, and in neither case can prompt repayment at due date be always counted on. Investors ought, therefore, not to be eager to deposit for long periods with a new Bank, and, *per contra*, the management ought to be careful not to seem eager to receive fixed deposits.

Much harm is done by the competition in rates. No Bank ought, even in India, to offer six per cent for a year, or even, perhaps, for any period, and yet most, if not all, of the minor

Banks do so. The margin of profit left, even upon a small capital, is too narrow for such a rate. Of course, the Bank with the smaller share-capital can apparently afford to give the higher rate of interest, but, as has above been shown, the security to depositors is inferior, and the risk of failure to the Bank is greater than if a lower rate were allowed.

One risk which recent events have shown to be commonly incurred by depositors, generally through ignorance or inexperience, is that of depositing their money without at the same time giving notice of withdrawal. They see a Bank advertising rates of interest allowed for money deposited for fixed periods, and that the longer the period for which the money is deposited the higher is the rate of interest allowed. They therefore go in for the long period, but they forget that if they do not give notice that they will withdraw the money at the end of that period, they will not be able to get it, except perhaps as a favour. And the Banks generally foster this forgetfulness by taking no notice when the depositor omits to ask them to record notice of withdrawal, and also by continuing to allow interest after the nominal period has expired, even although no express renewal of the deposit has been made. On the other hand, they advertise that, if a deposit is not renewed before it expires, it will cease to bear interest. Depositors ought, in every case, to require notice of withdrawal at the end of the period corresponding to the rate of interest they have asked for to be enfaced on the deposit receipt. If they make up their minds afterwards to renew the deposit, it is easy to give notice and to send the deposit receipt, or renewal, with or without the accrued interest added.

A Bank, in good circumstances, is always willing to oblige a depositor by repaying his deposit, with interest to date, before due date, should he be in want of it, either on payment of discount for the privilege, or without charge, but when a Bank is getting into difficulties it will not do so, as depositors for fixed periods with the recently "failed" Banks have found to their cost, and in such circumstances a Bank is within its rights. But to refuse payment of a deposit at due date, that is, when notice of withdrawal has been given and has expired, is to commit an act of bankruptcy.

If a depositor finds that he has omitted to have notice of withdrawal recorded in a deposit receipt, he ought not to lose a day in sending it for enfacement. *Per contra* (we are dropping into technical language), the management of a Bank ought to beware of considering "fixed deposits" (the slang term for deposits made for fixed periods) as permanent deposits. They know to some extent the probabilities of even enfaced deposits being renewed, but this should not be taken for granted, and the probability

of deposits being withdrawn at due dates should be provided for. Any increase, on the average of withdrawals, any increase of notices of withdrawal, especially during the currency of a period, and any decrease of new deposits should be taken as a warning, and provision to meet a possible run should be made at once. A mere whisper may have been breathed by a timid or spiteful person, but that whisper may be re-echoed from rock to rock of ignorance and malice, until it culminates in a roar which the rattle of all the coin in the Bank's till may be unable to silence.

The high rate of interest which some Indian Banks give to the public and even in an emergency, to each other, is much to be deplored. These Banks simply cut their own throats, if not each other's, by their insane competition for fixed deposits. An agreement not to give more than a certain moderate rate would be better for every one, the Banks themselves included. In one Indian station that could be mentioned, three Banks competed for deposits at six per cent, until the most prudent of the three, finding it could not profitably lend out so much money on good security, was fain to deposit large amounts with other Banks on no security at all, except their reputation, and to attempt to refuse to take any more money at so high a rate. But the other two Banks continued to swallow up all they could get at six per cent, and the consequences of this policy are now being disclosed, the money of which, in their blindness, they thought they could not get enough has been lent out on bad security, or on no security at all. For a Bank with, perhaps, only two lakhs of share-capital, a small amount of current accounts, and a merely nominal reserve, to accumulate (say) twenty-five lakhs of money on fixed deposit, is sheer folly, however profitable it may seem. The best Banks give the lowest rates of interest, and have the smallest proportion of fixed deposits to share-capital and reserves.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, *deposits for fixed periods*, it seems proper to call attention to the disadvantages in the position of a depositor for a fixed period in India as compared with that of one in England. In England deposit receipts are now "negotiable instruments" in India they are not. Nor were they so at home before the passing of the High Court of Judicature Act, but since then equity has prevailed, and a deposit receipt can be endorsed like a cheque, though of course payment cannot be demanded before due date.* The advantage to the holder of being able to transfer a deposit receipt is apparent, and it may be presumed that the only disadvantage to the Banker is that, when once the deposit

* The authority for this statement will be found in McLeod's Treatise on Banking, not at hand at the present time of writing.

receipt has got into the market, he cannot at all count on the money it represents being left in the Bank after payment becomes due

The definition of a "negotiable instrument" in Act XXVI of 1881 "An Act to define and amend the law relating to Promissory Notes, Bills of Exchange and Cheques," Section 13, is,—“A 'negotiable instrument' means a promissory note, bill of exchange, or cheque, expressed to be payable to a specified person or his order, or to the order of a specified person or to the bearer thereof, or to a specified person or the bearer thereof” Thus, if we may presume to interpret the utterance of the Legislative oracle, a negotiable instrument is payable to the bearer of the order of a specified person, or even to the bearer (?) of a specified person, but, we are afraid, a deposit receipt cannot be brought within the four corners of this Act Yet there seems no reason why a deposit receipt should be transferable at home and not in India, and to pass an amendment of Section 13 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, so as to assimilate the law as to deposit receipts in both countries, would be a salutary caution to Indian Banks, as well as a boon and a blessing to Indian depositors Moreover, at home, a deposit for a fixed period in a Bank is now considered an insurable risk, the rate of premium charged varying according to the reputation of the Bank, but we have not yet heard of any such business being conducted in India

An intelligent, skilled and honest auditor is an essential adjunct to any Bank, but such a 'bird' is rare in the Indian *Mufussal* There is no Indian enactment which specifies the qualifications required of a Bank auditor Banks were excluded from the scope of the original Limited Liability Act for India, Act XIX of 1857, and in Act VII of 1860, entitled "An Act to enable Joint Stock Companies to be formed on the principle of Limited Liability," there is no mention whatever of an audit, and that Act, so far as it went was incorporated with, and deemed to form part of Act XIX of 1857 The Act now in force with reference to Joint Stock Banks with limited liability, as well as other Joint Stock Companies, *Limited*, is Act VI of 1882, and in the text of this Act the only mention made of auditors is in Section 74, in which, treating of *Provisions for the Protection of Members*, it is enacted that "once in every year the accounts of the Company shall be examined and the correctness of the last balance-sheet and its conformity with the law ascertained and certified by one or more auditor or auditors No balance sheet shall be filed with the Register unless its correctness and conformity with the law have been so ascertained and certified, and it has been laid before, and adopted by the Company in General Meeting" But in Table

A of the First Schedule attached to that Act (which does not supersede or affect Table B in the schedule annexed to Act XIX of 1857, so far as the same applies to any Company existing at the time of the commencement of Act VI of 1882) there is a series of regulations, Nos 83 to 94, for "Audit," and neither in any of these are any qualifications laid down, as required of an auditor, except negative ones, which are—that an auditor must not be interested otherwise than as a member in any transaction of the Company the accounts of which he is appointed to audit, and that no Director or other officer of the Company is eligible during his continuance in office. The first auditors of a Company are to be appointed by the Directors, and subsequent auditors are to be appointed by the Company in General Meeting, and one auditor is sufficient, also auditors may be members of the Company. These regulations of Table A are word for word taken from Table A of the first schedule appended to Act 25 and 26 Vict, c 89, the Companies Act, 1862, except that the words "the Local Government" are substituted for "the Board of Trade." Furthermore, in India, as at home, a Company limited may exclude or modify any or all of the regulations contained in Table A, and instead thereof, adopt Articles of Association of its own, by which it will be bound.

Indian Banks sometimes embody in their Articles of Association all the model regulations of Table A, and sometimes substitute more vague and meagre regulations of their own devising. Sometimes they provide for one auditor, sometimes for two. In a recent case, where a Bank had provided that there should "at all times be two auditors to audit the accounts of the Company previously to each half-yearly Meeting thereof, such auditors not being paid servants or officers of the Company, and being appointed at the half-yearly Meeting preceding their audit," one of the auditors resigned owing to ill-health just before an audit fell due, and it was found that there was no provision for appointing a successor to him before the next half yearly Meeting was held, which seemed to amount to a dead-lock. Had the regulations of Table A regarding auditors been adopted, No 90 would have obliged the Directors to forthwith call an Extraordinary General Meeting for the purpose of supplying the vacancy in the auditorship, instead of which, the Directors took upon themselves to appoint a person to be the second auditor, trusting to the Company to confirm the appointment at the next Meeting.

This was against both the letter of their own Articles of Association and the spirit of the Act, for an auditor is intended to be appointed by the members of a Company to examine the accounts prepared under the orders of the Directors, whereas,

if the appointment were left to them, Directors might appoint a creature of their own. This, however, was not the result in the case we have in mind.

The minor Indian Banks generally "keep the thing in the concern," by appointing any shareholder to be auditor who is not glaringly incompetent and who will accept the office, which usually is not very remunerative, but occasionally they have to go outside the Bank for auditors, which, in most places, does not mend matters, for professional accountants, other than the servants of companies and private firms, are non-existent in the *Mufassal*, and these even have "griowed," rather than been trained to their work. Chartered accountants, who at home do the work of auditing, have not yet, that we know of, spread beyond the presidency-towns in India. And even if they had, unless they had prolonged local knowledge, they might not be better than the amateur casuals generally picked up, for the latter, with local knowledge, and an honest desire to do the best they can for the Company, can, in time, acquire sufficient knowledge of Banking, and of the affairs of the Bank whose accounts they audit, to become useful auditors. Mr Francis W Pixley, FICA, in his book, "*Auditors their Duties and Responsibilities under the Joint Stock Companies Act,*" &c, treating in chapter II of the mode of "Appointment of Auditors," says—"The custom of electing the same auditors annually is a very sensible one. It is a great mistake to change the auditors, as long as the shareholders are satisfied they do their duty properly. The longer an auditor is in office, the more familiar he becomes with the business of the Company, and, consequently, the more likely to detect any inaccuracies in the accounts, either accidental or intentional."

But if a Manager does not want a searching audit, and cannot find a subservient tool, he may get the shareholders to change the auditors of the Bank as frequently as possible, so that, being new to the work, they may be the more easily hoodwinked. During the examination of the late Manager of the Uncovenanted Service Bank, *Limited*, now in liquidation, before the High Court of the North-Western Provinces, Mr. Justice Straight took down the names of the auditors who had acted in each half-year from the end of 1866 to June 1889, and it appeared that about 32 different persons, apparently all shareholders, had acted in those 45 half-years, and that though certain persons were frequently re-appointed, they always had an interval out of office, so that there was no continuity of work. The thread of many an account would be lost during the intervals, for if an auditor, being re-appointed, wished to follow the line he had held before, he would be obliged to go back to where

he had left off, and to go through the accounts of the intervening half years for which he would be in no way responsible, as well of those he was appointed to audit, and this could hardly be expected of him. In this case, however, the Manager denied that he ever had a hand in the election of the Auditors. The Shareholders selected them.

In the case of another Bank, it was provided that there should be only one Auditor, and that he should be elected only once a year but here change was avoided as much as possible, and ultimately the farce of asking the Shareholders to re-elect the favoured individual was abandoned and he sat tight till he died.

The Manager or Accountant of another Bank would, of course, make the best Auditor of a Bank, but it is considered undesirable that one Bank should know the details of the business of its rival.

The theory of the audit of the accounts of a Joint Stock Company is thus stated by Mr Pixley —

“As it would be impossible in many cases, and very inconvenient in all, for each partner to examine these statements of accounts with the books kept at the offices of the Company, and frequently elsewhere, their correctness is usually certified by their representative or representatives elected annually for the purpose of ascertaining that the funds of the Company have been properly accounted for, that such of them as have been expended have been applied in the manner stated in the accounts, that the unexpended portion is invested as stated in the accounts, and generally that, in their opinion the accounts, as put forward by the Directors for adoption by their co-partners, are accurate in every respect, and to be relied on as showing the result of their management and the true position of their Company, as set forth in the statement of its liabilities and assets. This representative of the Shareholders is known as the Auditor of the Company.”

Mr Pixley goes on to point out that the duties of an Auditor are not only onerous and responsible, but frequently intricate, and at times, even disagreeable. It may happen that he differs with the Directors as to the manner in which the accounts should be stated, or as to other matters connected with his office. He must have regard principally to the interests of the Shareholders, whom he represents, and though he may be accused by the Directors of improper interference, he should not give way when he feels sure that his suggested alterations would, if carried out, be beneficial to the general body of the Shareholders —

“As a rule, however, Directors are men of honour and

integrity, and when that is the case, an Auditor will find his occupation easy and pleasant to perform. He will obtain ready access to all books, documents and securities, and every facility will be afforded him in the prosecution of his audit. If, on the other hand, the Directors have neglected their duties, or have intentionally prepared false accounts to be laid before the Shareholders, the Auditor has not only a very responsible, but a very unpleasant and difficult task before him. Every possible obstacle is thrown in his way to prevent his discovering and exposing their intended deceptions, but the Auditor should be firm, should require all his questions answered, and each unsatisfactory item explained before he affixes his certificate to accounts. He should not allow himself to be tired out and hurried into signing them before he is thoroughly satisfied they are absolutely and entirely correct. The Directors are in his power, if he be firm, as they would be placed in an embarrassing position if they attempted to face the Meeting of the Shareholders without the Auditor's certificate."

Mr Pixley, being himself an expert, takes a very high view of the qualifications an Auditor should possess, and his enumeration of all he ought to do must be appalling to an amateur. In the last chapter of his book he says —

"It must be evident, after a careful perusal of the foregoing pages, that the duties of an Auditor are not only grave and responsible, as guarding the interests of a number of Shareholders relying on his ability and honesty, but that in order to fulfil them properly, he requires, beyond the possession of these necessary qualifications, a perfect knowledge of book-keeping and accounts, also an acquaintance with business matters generally, which can only be possessed by those whose training has been directed to this especial object. The absence, however, of these qualifications is, strange to say, not considered an objection by a Meeting of Shareholders when making an election to the important appointment of Auditor of their Company's accounts. One of the most absurd qualifications, and yet the one most frequently put forward by a candidate, is the fact of his being a Shareholder, and for this reason alone most incompetent persons are frequently selected to fill the office."

Assuming, Mr Pixley argues, that such amateurs do their best, what will that avail them if the accounts are wilfully fraudulent?

They are amateurs pitted against professionals. To make it a *sine quâ non* for an Auditor to be a Shareholder, is certainly a mistake. Supposing the possession of an interest

in the Company to be an incentive to do his best, it does not follow that he will use any knowledge gained during his investigation for the benefit of his co-partners. If he finds the apparently satisfactory accounts presented to him for confirmation to have been evidently prepared with the intention of deceiving the Shareholders, he is tempted by selfish motives to fail in his duty. He knows that, if he refuses his certificate, and the accounts be in consequence altered the market price of the shares will fall and his own holding be thus depreciated. *Per contra*, if he signs, the shares may be kept up, or rise, and he may be tempted to sell out, except to the extent of his qualification as Auditor. This suggests that an Auditor should not be allowed to own more than one share.

But we agree with Mr Pixley that, being a Shareholder is an absurd qualification for an Auditor, and that professional men should be employed whenever possible. Here in India, as we have said, we must often be content with amateurs, but let us make the best of them, and allow them to remain in office until by experience they learn something of their work, and, if they seem honest and independent, continue to re-elect them, and raise their remuneration in correspondence with their experience and responsibilities. A week or ten days would hardly suffice to do all that Mr Pixley says an Auditor should do, including the inspection of the securities which represent the assets, and the ascertainment of their value. And yet any Auditor is expected to audit the half-yearly accounts of a Bank for a fee of sometimes as little as one hundred rupees for each audit.

One very important duty of an Auditor is to see that dividend is not paid out of capital, and Mr Pixley shows how the Revenue Account should be prepared in order that it may show at a glance when dividend is paid out of past profits, or when its payment creates or adds to a previous deficiency, in other words, when it is paid out of the Shareholders' capital.

"It is clearly the duty of the Auditor," says Mr Pixley, "to resist the proposal to pay a dividend to the Shareholders out of their own capital, and should the Directors persist in their intention of doing so, he should, in his Report to the Shareholders, clearly state that no dividend has been legitimately earned, and that he disapproves of the proposal of the Directors."

If this is what an Auditor should do in the case of a Joint Stock Company which trades with only Shareholders' capital, how much more necessary is it that the Auditor of Joint Stock Banks should take care that dividend is paid only out

of profits. The share-capital is, perhaps, only one-tenth or one-twentieth of the working-capital, which includes fixed and floating deposits. When losses occur, it is, of course, the share-capital that goes first, but then, if a large profit is not made on what is left, future dividends and interest to Depositors can be paid only out of the Depositors' own capital.

Depositors for fixed periods at present put their money into a Bank on the understanding that it is to be invested, or speculated with, according to the powers of the Bank and the rules laid down for its business, and they risk it accordingly. There is no contract that the money is to be laid up in lavender, and to be forthcoming on demand. And even persons who have current accounts with a Bank, into which they pay money, in "floating deposit," have parted with their money, and have merely the right of action for its equivalent, should their cheques be dishonoured. In view of this it might be suggested that Joint Stock Banks should allow their Depositor-creditors to appoint, at the Banks' expense, a professional Auditor (where one can be got) to act along with the Auditor or Auditors appointed by the Shareholders. Depositors themselves should not be allowed to act for obvious reasons. Or Government might attach to each Provincial Registrar of Joint Stock Companies one or more official Inspectors, who should be present and take part in the audit of several Joint Stock Banks every half-year, and, at other times, go the round of the Banks, make themselves acquainted with their books and affairs, keep their eye upon things generally, and make reports to Government both periodically and when occasion might necessitate them. Such reports would, of course, be made public, but, except in extreme cases, individual accounts would not be reported upon, nor would names be mentioned. The cost of this Government inspection would, of course, be chargeable, under the authority of the Act of Legislature which would be necessary to provide for the inspection, to the Banks rateably, in proportion to their capital, or to the amount of deposits held.

Some such provision for the protection of Depositors, combined with the amendment of the Negotiable Instruments Act, so as to make it apply to deposit receipts, which has been suggested above, would much comfort Depositors, and, at the same time, greatly safeguard Shareholders. In one Province that we could name, the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies seems to do nothing for his pay, though, in the Panjab, we believe the late Registrar, when on his rounds as Inspector-General of Stamps and Registration, used to look up his Joint Stock Companies and see that they were complying with the

provisions of the Act , and we have heard a Banker say that great good came of these inspections. Mere provisions for the protection of Shareholders and Creditors of Joint Stock Companies, and for registration of these Companies, are not of much use if no one enforces them nor has Government any moral right to levy registration fees and stamp duties unless it insures that some good is got by paying them

ART IX.—“KILWINNING IN THE EAST.”

THERE are probably few Scotchmen now living in India to whom the title of this paper will have any meaning, and even those of the Masonic Fraternity who may recollect that there once existed in Calcutta a Masonic Lodge bearing that name, will (unless possessing antiquarian proclivities, or being themselves Ayshire men) most likely attach no special significance to the title.

And yet it is one of the ancient landmarks which identify the lives and interests of some of the oldest and best blood of Scotland, with the acquisition and development of the British Empire in the East. I need not repeat the truism, that Scottish men have always been foremost in foreign enterprise and adventure, but will point out what is equally true, though not perhaps so widely known, that, of all the shires of Scotland, none contributed so largely in this direction as Ayrshire.

There was hardly an Ayshire family of note in the last or present centuries, which had not one or more of its cadets in India, either in the Military, Naval, or Civil services of the East India Company, or pursuing fortune as free merchants or sea-captains.

Ayrshire had, from the very earliest ages, been the battleground of contending kings and factions, hardly an acre of its soil but had been imbrued with the blood of slain warriors, or murdered clansmen. From the time of the wars of Alpin with the Picts, when, as Wyntown, the venerable chronicler of Scotland, says —

“He wan of were all Galluway

Thare was he slayne, and dede away,”

down to the last abortive attempt of Prince Charles Edward in 1745 to regain the throne of his ancestors, Ayrshire was in a periodical state of internecine warfare.

The Alclud Kingdom, of which Ayrshire formed a principal part, was involved in a series of wars, domestic and foreign, throughout the greater portion of its existence—sometimes with the Picts, sometimes with the Saxons, and constantly one clan against another. They defeated Aidan of Kintyre, at Airdrie in A. D. 577, and the Saxons in 584. In 642, they killed Donal-Breac, King of Kintyre, and slew his brother in battle in 649. In 681 they defeated the invading Irish Picts at Mauchline, and again in 702-3, at Cullinfield, but succumbed to King Arthur of the Round Table.

They waged a long and sanguinary war with the Scots, until peace was secured by the marriage of their King, Caw,

with the daughter of Kenneth II, King of Scots, but scarcely had they thus secured peace with their neighbour, than in 870 the Vikings landed on the shores of the Clyde, and sacked Alcluyd, after a siege of four months' duration.

It would take up too much space to recapitulate the whole of the wars that devastated the shire in the early ages, nor would it be within the scope of this paper, and I will only refer to some of the principal events to illustrate my remarks regarding the scions of Ayrshire families who came out to seek their fortunes in the East.

One of the leading events between the accession of Edgar, son of Malcolm Canmore, and the death of the Maid of Norway, was the battle of the Standard, fought in 1138. Another, of even greater importance, was the battle of Largs in 1263, in which Haco, King of Norway, was defeated with great slaughter.

"The Kyng Alysandyre of Scotland
Came on them wyth stalwart hand,
And thame assaylyd rycht stowtly"—(*Wyntown*)

Then followed the wars of Bruce and Wallace with the English garrisons of King Edward of England and his successors, the troubles of the time of Mary, Queen of Scots, throughout which Ayrshire was never free from strife.

Again, during the Civil War, few Ayrshire families escaped being involved in the struggle between Crown and Parliament, and this was followed by the bloody strife of the Covenant, including the battles of Drumclog, or Loudoun Hill, and Bothwell Brig.

Ayrshire had its share in both the risings of 1715 and 1745 in the cause of the Royal Stuarts, and very few families of any note but suffered severely in person, purse, and landed property.

What wonder, then, that the descendants of a fighting race, like the men of Ayrshire, should ever have been found foremost, wherever adventure was to be met with, and wealth to be acquired, to mend the broken fortunes of their families, and, it is a matter of recent history, that a large proportion of the existing county families built up their present houses with the gatherings of the Indian pagoda tree.

There are no people on the face of the earth who are so thoroughly national, or who cling so stoutly to their national characteristics, in whatsoever part of the world they may be, as the sons of Scotland. They love their national traditions, their national feasts, and national dishes, their costume and their music, and the broad '*burr*' of their own tongue, with a fondness and fidelity possessed by no other people in the same degree, it was but natural, therefore, that when a

number of men of Ayr found themselves thrown together in a foreign clime, they should try to establish among them a reminiscence of their own well-beloved Western county, and as many of them (as was often the case with those who went abroad in those days) were Free Masons, they formed a Lodge, which they named after the mother Lodge of Scotland, and the parish in which most probably many of them were born, "KILWINNING IN THE EAST"

The origin of the name of Kilwinning is from the Scottish Saint St Winnin, or Winning, who flourished about A D 700, and upon the site of whose 'Kil,' or chapel, the splendid monastery, or Abbey, of Kilwinning was erected (according to some accounts) by Hugo de Morville, Constable of Scotland, in the time of David I, A D 1140, but according to Pont, "It was foundit by a nobel Englishman, namit Sir Richard Morwell, fugitive from his owne country for ye slauchter of Thomas a' Becket Archbichope of Canterbury (being one of them) in the raine of King Henry II of England, quho, flying to Scotland, was by the then Scots King (Malcolm IV he elsev here affirms) velcomed and honoird with ye offisc of grate Constable of Scotland, as also enriched with ye Lordships of Cuninghame, Laigis, and Lauderdaill, quhosse posterity for diverse generations possessed the said offises and lands

Now ye foisaid Richard being as vald seime, touched with compunctione for ye safty of hes soule (according to the custome of these tymis,) did founde this Abbey of Kilvinnin in testimony of hes repentance, &c"

A party of foreign artisans, aided by such workmen as they found in Scotland qualified to join them, were engaged to build this Abbey. The architect, or master mason, who superintended the work, was chosen to be the master of all the Masonic bodies then working in Scotland, he gave rules for the conduct of the craftsmen at all meetings, and decided all disputes amongst the lodges.

Down to the fifteenth century little is known of the history of Free Masonry in Scotland, although an old French author writes in the thirteenth century, that—"Jacques, Lord Stewart recus dans sa loge a Kilwin en Ecosse, en 1286, les Comtes de Gloucester et Ulster, l'un Anglois, l'autre Irlandois," and the Scottish King James I presided as Grand Master. The successive Scottish Grand Masters held their Grand Lodges at Kilwinning down to 1736, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was constituted, and the Lord of Roslin, hereditary Grand Master, resigned his right and title thereto.

The Kilwinning brethren, however, long resisted what they considered the usurpation of their ancient rights, and continued to hold independent meetings and grant charters as before, till

1807, when the mother lodge relinquished her ancient privileges and joined the general Masonic body .

The Masonic fraternity will, probably, dispute the correctness of the following account of the origin of the Craft, claiming for it a much higher antiquity, even so far back as the building of King Solomon's Temple, but Tytler, in his "History of Scotland," gives the following succinct history of the introduction of Masonry into Scotland—"The art of executing very large and magnificent buildings in timber frame-work, was carried to high perfection in the Northern countries of Europe during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Owing, however, to the perishable nature of the materials and to accidents by fire, these buildings were frequently either destroyed, or reduced to a state of extreme decay, so that the ruinous state of the ecclesiastical edifices in the northern parts of Europe became a serious subject of enquiry at Rome, and measures were taken to obviate the grievance. The Pope created several corporations of Roman and Italian architects and artisans, with high and exclusive privileges, especially with a power of settling the rates and prices of their labour by their own authority, and without being controlled by the municipal laws of the country where they worked. To the various Northern countries, where the churches had fallen into a state of decay, were these artists deputed. In consequence of the special privileges conferred upon them, they assumed to themselves the name of Free-Masons, and under this title became famous throughout Europe. These corporations from their first origin, possessed the power of taking apprentices, and admitting into their body such masons as they approved of in the countries where their works were carried on."

King James I. of Scotland settled an annual salary, to be paid by every master mason in Scotland to a grand master, chosen by the brethren and approved by the King. It was a *sine quâ non*, that the grand master should be of noble birth, or else a high dignitary of the Church. He had his deputies in the different towns and counties in Scotland. Every new brother paid him a fee at entrance. He was empowered to regulate and determine such matters in dispute between the founders and builders of churches and monasteries as it would have been improper to bring before a court of law. The office of Grand Master was conferred by King James II, on William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and Baron of Roslin, and by a subsequent charter of the same King, the office was made hereditary.

Although the charter and archives of Lodge "Kilwinning in the East" have, as I understand, been long lost, or destroyed, there is no doubt whatever that it was, if not the oldest at least one of the very oldest Masonic Lodges in Calcutta, and must

have been established under a charter granted by the mother lodge of Scotland, at Kilwinning, and under the authority of the last of the hereditary Grand Masters. The Lodge was in existence down to the time of the Indian Mutiny, but when it ceased to exist I have been unable to ascertain

Amongst the Masonic Notabilia in the Indian Freemason's Diary for 1891, I find the following reference to Lodge "Kilwinning in the East," which must, however, be incorrect — "Warrant granted by the Grand Lodge of England for Lodge 'Kilwinning in the East,' No 845, 'Calcutta (erased in 1845), 23rd December 1826" The original Kilwinning was more probably established in or about 1726, and was a Lodge under the Scottish constitution, and was certainly working long after 1845, as proved by certificates

I have said that there was hardly an Ayrshire family of note which had not representatives in this country, and I will proceed to give a short account of some of the more prominent of them, it would be impossible to notice them all within the limits of a magazine article

Turning first to the troublous time of the "Sack of Calcutta by the Nawab Suraj-ud-Dowlah," we shall find that several of the Ayrshire families had to mourn the fate of relatives who perished in that catastrophe. Almost first among the victims of the Black-hole we find the name of William Baillie, one of the Company's Civil servants. He was the grandson of William Baillie, of Monkton, a merchant of Edinburgh, and a resident proprietor of Kilwinning, where he was noted as one of the restorers of the ancient practice of archery, for which Kilwinning had always been famous

The first of the family of whom I find any notice was "Hew Baillie in Kilwinning, 1651" This family had a very extensive, and, for many of its members, a very unfortunate connexion with this country. William Baillie perished in the Black-hole, his uncle Robert commanded an India ship, and of his three brothers,—Leslie died a Commodore in the Company's service, Robert commanded an East Indiaman, and Hugh, who was also bred to the sea, held a lucrative appointment in Calcutta, and acquired a handsome fortune. Three of his nephews, who were all in the Company's service, fell victims to the troublous times,—Hugh died in India, John was taken prisoner by Hyder, or Tippoo Sultan, at Conjeeveram, and died or was put to death, William, who commanded the 4th Regiment N I, or "Baillie's Battalion," was in command of the detachment which was destroyed by Hyder and Tippoo at Perambakum in September 1780, and died a prisoner at Seringapatam. A curious example of the vicissitudes of families is afforded by the history of the Baillie family estate. Owing to the

embarrassed circumstances of Hugh Baillie, the father of William, the victim of the Black-hole, the estate of Monkton, or Orangefield, was sold, the purchaser being one "James MacCrae of Blackheath, in the county of Kent, late Governor of Fort St George in the East-Indies" This person (also an Ayrshire man) was an orphan, who, in his boyhood, tried to earn a living by running errands, and was taken care of, out of charity, by one Hew Macquire, the town fiddler in Ayr. He went off to sea, and proved to be one of fortune's favourites, for he rose to be Governor of Madras, in which position he amassed a large fortune, and, on his return home, purchased several estates in the West of Scotland, including the Baillie property. He never married, and, on his death, left the bulk of his fortune to the descendants of his early friend the fiddler.

Another of the Black-hole victims was Stair Dalrymple, the seventh son of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Stair, one of the most ancient and illustrious Scottish houses. The sister of Stair Dalrymple was Anne, Countess of Craufurd and Balcarres.

Patrick Johnstone was a cadet of the Johnstones of Westerhall and also perished in the Black hole.

Another Ayrshire family, largely connected with Calcutta, was that of Kelso of Kelsoland and Dankeith, the first of whom was Hugo de Kelso, Dominus de Kelsoland, whose name appears in the Ragman Roll in 1296. The first of the Kelsos connected with Calcutta was Robert Kelso, Captain of an East Indiaman, who, after acquiring a considerable fortune in the East, died in 1752. He was followed in his career by two of his grandsons,—Millar Kelso, who was drowned in the Hooghly, and George Kelso, who commanded an Indiaman, and married Miss Plumb, of Calcutta, some time in the last century. This name will be well known to the older residents of Calcutta in connection with the Bank of Bengal, between thirty and forty years ago.

Alexander Kelso, of the H E I C Service, after serving in this Presidency for some time, became Commissioner of Tranquebar during the war with the Danes, *inter* 1800—1811.

The last direct descendant of the elder branch of the family was William Kelso, a Lieutenant Colonel in the H E I C Service, who died unmarried in 1844, but Archibald William Kelso, a Captain in the Durham Volunteer Artillery, who died in Calcutta in 1885, must have been a descendant, as he bore two of the most frequent family names.

Another link connecting the Kelsos with India was the marriage of John Kelso of Kelsoland, with Mary Hamilton, niece of James, first Viscount Claneboyes, which title merged in that of the ancestor of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, *temp* 1671.

Another worthy from the same parish was William Fairlie, merchant, whose name survives in "Fairlie Place," he was one of the Fairlies of that Ilk near Largs

The Warners of Ardeer were connected with India for several generations. The Rev Patrick Warner was Chaplain of Fort St George, on the coast of Coromandel, sometime between 1667 and 1677, in which year he returned to Scotland, and, having been concerned with the upholders of the Covenant, he was obliged, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, to flee to Holland, but, returning some time after, he suffered a long term of imprisonment and persecution. After the publication of King James' Indulgence, he became minister of Irvine, and lived to be the oldest minister in Scotland.

His grandson, William, born in 1717, was drowned in the Ganges, and another, John, a Surgeon in the H. E. I. C. S., died in Bombay in 1726.

One of the best examples of success in the Company's service is afforded by the career of Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle, whose sister Wilhelmina was the original of Burns' "Bonnie Lass O'Ballochmyle," a ballad written in the very year of the catastrophe of Calcutta. Miss Alexander, who could not have been less than 17 or 18 when she thus attracted the poet's notice, must have been considerably over a hundred years old at the time of her death, which took place in 1843.

The noble house of Kennedy of Culzean was represented in Bengal by two brothers, David and Fergus, sons of Archibald, Earl of Cassillis, and Marquis of Ailsa, both of whom were officers in the Military service of the Company.

The ancient family of Craufurd was represented by Moses Craufurd, who, coming out to Calcutta as a Surgeon's Assistant, was appointed an Ensign in the First Regiment of Infantry on the Bengal Establishment in 1766, and, as such, gave evidence at the Court Martial which sat upon the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher for mutiny. He was the son of Robert Craufurd and his wife Marion Brison, heiress of Groateholme in Kilwinning, and rose to be a Major in the Company's service. His son, Archibald, was also a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Artillery, and his fourth son, Patrick, M.D., died in India.

The descendants of this branch of the Craufurds claim to be Chief of the name, but this claim is untenable, as they descend from Hugh, younger brother of Sir Reginald Craufurd, Sheriff of Ayr, who died on the same scaffold with his illustrious cousin, Sir William Wallace. The elder branch, the Craufurds of Baidland and Ardmillan, now of Grange, are descended from Sir Hugh Craufurd de Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr, the grandfather of the aforementioned Sir Reginald.

Fullarton of Fullarton, anciently spelt Foulertoun, the founder of the family having held the office of Fowler to the King (1250) James Fullarton of that Ilk (1634) was commissioned under the Great Seal by King Charles I, as Baillie of the Bailery of Kyle-Stewart.

One of the first members of this family connected with Bengal, was Dr William Fullarton, Surgeon to the garrison of Patna, who was distinguished in his own profession, in the exercise of which he had endeared himself to the natives, so that he alone of all the European officers, was saved from the massacre of the Patna garrison by the renegade Sumroo, on the 5th October 1763. He was also a gallant soldier, for not only did he behave with the greatest gallantry at the assault of Patna, driving back, with the assistance of volunteers and some of the Company's sipahis, the French soldiers under Monsieur Law, who had planted their scaling ladders, and actually gained a footing on the ramparts, but, at the previous action of Musseempore, being the only European officer surviving of the detachment, he effected a masterly retreat, carrying off the guns, in the face of an overwhelming force of the enemy, by which they were almost entirely surrounded.

Another of the family, John Fullarton, was an officer in the military service of the Company.

Colonel William Fullarton projected the expedition against the Spaniards in 1780, and, in conjunction with Major Mackenzie of Humberstone, raised a force of two thousand men at their own expense, this force was, however, diverted from its original purpose, and eventually served in India, Colonel Fullarton being appointed to the command of the Southern army on the coast of Coromandel.

In 1792 he married Mariamne, eldest daughter of George, 5th Lord Reay, ancestor of the late Governor of Bombay, by his wife, Elizabeth Fairlie, of Fairlie, thus making another link in the chain of Ayshire worthies connected with this county.

Later members of the family were James Fullarton, Lieutenant Colonel, H. E. I. C. S. (1801), Robert, M. D., Surgeon, H. E. I. C. S. (1806), Stewart Murray, Captain H. E. I. C. S. (1807), Craufurd, Lieutenant, H. E. I. C. S. (1821).

The Hamiltons of Sundrum are an off-set of the Hamiltons of Broomhill. Robert Hamilton married Janet Blackwood, daughter of Robert Blackwood, ancestor of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, late Viceroy and Governor-General of India. John Hamilton, while in command of the H. E. I. C. S. "*Bombay Castle*," one of the best known of the old Company's fleet, captured "*La Médée*," a French frigate of 36 guns and 330 men, on the 5th August 1800.

He had, as two of his officers, his brothers Archibald and

Montgomery, both of whom eventually became Commanders in the Company's service, Archibald was placed in command of the prize, and carried her into Rio de Janeiro, where the vessel, proving unseaworthy, was sold to the Portuguese. At Sundrum House are still preserved four small brass guns, trophies of this action.

Captain Hamilton was still in command of the "*Bombay Castle*," when, as one of the H E I C's fleet, commanded by Commodore Nathaniel Dance, of the "*Earl Cambden*," on the homeward voyage from China, they beat off the squadron of Admiral Linois, consisting of the line of battle-ship "*Marengo*," of 84 guns, the "*Belle Poule*" and "*Semillante*," heavy frigates, a corvette of 28, and the Batavian brig, the "*William*," of 18 guns, thereby preserving the Honourable Company's property, valued at eight millions sterling. For this gallant action Captain Hamilton, in common with the other Commanders, received a sword valued at 50 guineas and a purse of 500 guineas.

A son of Captain Hamilton's, Archibald, was in the Company's Civil service and died in India.

The Captain Alexander Hamilton who visited Calcutta in about 1710, and has left on record his impressions of the settlement at that early period, was most probably either one of the Hamiltons of Cambuskeith, one of whose family names was Alexander, and many of whose members followed the sea, or one of the family of Ardoch.

The once well known firm of Ferguson Brothers and Co, Calcutta, was established by John Ferguson of Doonholme, one of the Fergusons of Castle-hill. According to the history of the county, Mr Ferguson went to India when a young man, and rose to great eminence, as one of the most enlightened and enterprising of British merchants. He made a handsome fortune, and established in Calcutta a mercantile house which long continued to perpetuate his name, and to be distinguished over the whole of India. The firm is now extinct, and the last member of it, J Beckwith, Esquire, once one of the best known sportsmen in Bengal, died at an extreme old age at home in this present year.

There is still a long roll of Ayrshire men connected with this country, but space will not allow me to do more than mention their names. Among these were the Hunters of Abbotshill, who succeeded to the Fergusons at Doonholme, the MacNeights of Barns, Montgomeries of Braidstane, Auchinleck of that Ilk; Kennedy of Bennane, Ralstoun of that Ilk, Shedden of Morrishill, Patrick of Drumbuie, Chalmers of Gadguth, Cathcart of Carbiston, Wallace of Cairnhill, Neill of Bainweill; Rankin of Whitehill, McRedie of Perceton, Buchanan of

Cunninghamhead, Montgomerie of Annick, Cameron of Craighouse, McKerrill of Hillhouse, Dunlop of Dunlop, and many others too numerous to mention.

The Western county has reason to be proud of the share her sons had in the acquisition and establishment of the great Indian Empire

REGINALD CRAUFUIRD-STERNDALE.

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ART. X—A GLIMPSE OF BENGAL IN THE 16TH CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

SOME particulars of the history of the people of Bengal, of a time not, however, anterior to the 16th century, are available in the scanty Vernacular poetical literature of the period. These materials have not yet been brought together, and it may not be labour lost to collect them for such use as the future historian may choose to make of them. They are not valuable as records of striking events, such as ordinarily find place in histories, but as records from native sources, of how the people lived, how they felt, and what was the limit of their intellectual progress. In collecting these materials, care must be taken to sift them from poetic imageries and imitations from Sanscrit sources. The works of the few poets who had anything of merit about them, have been preserved to this day and of these few, Kavi Kankan was one of the best of Bengal.

Mukand Ram Chakravarti better known as Kavi Kankan, the author of the poetical work *Chandi*, or *Chandi Mangal*, was born at Dhamania, a small village in Thana Selimabad, in the district of Baidwan, which has the honor of being the birth-place of more than one of Bengal's early poets. He was a Brahmin of the Rahi class, and was the grandson of Jagan Nath Misir, and the son of Rhidhoy Misir. Rhidhoy Misir had two sons, Kavi Chandia, and our poet, Mukand Ram.

Following the example of some of the later Sanscrit authors and the Bengali poets who preceded him, Kavi Kankan, in one of his Bhanatics (ভণতি) (a couplet at the end of a chapter, disclosing the authorship), describes his family thus —

“This poem is composed, at the command of the Goddess Chandi, by Kavi Kankan, younger brother of Kavi Chandia, the beloved son of Rhidhoy Misir, son of Jagan Nath Misir.”

The title, “Kavi Kankan,” appears to have been bestowed on Mukand Ram by his patrons and contemporaries on account of his poetical genius. The Kavi Chandia, given in the above lines as the name of his elder brother, seems also to be a title, and not the real name, and it is probable that the brother, too, was a poet, though his poetical works are not now extant. Probably he was the writer of the early Bengali poem, *Datta Karna* (*Karna, the Charitable*), which formed a part of *Shushu-bodhuck* (শিশু বোধক), that was the Bengali primer, before it was superseded by the excellent primers of Modan Mohan Tarakankar and Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, for, in one of

the Bhanatjes of *Datta Karna*, we find "By the grace of Vyas, the Dwija (Brahmin), Kavi Chandra sings, and he who gets it (*Datta Karna*) recited, comes to have sons and riches"

The family name, "Misra," the same as the Misra class of Brahmins of Upper India, which scarcely exists as a family name amongst the Bengal Brahmins of the present date, appears to have been retained till then, but it gave place to the family designation "Chakravarti," of the modern Brahmins, in the time of our poet

It is not difficult to fix the approximate date of Kavi Kankan. He begins his work by narrating the circumstances under which he had to leave his native village Dhamania, on account of the exactions of tax-collectors, during the time when Man Sinha was Subadar of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as a sort of prelude to his work. Therein he says —

"Hear, assembled people all, how the poem originated? It was on a sudden that the Goddess Chandi, descending from on high, sat by the head of the sleeping poet, assuming the form of his mother. There lived in the township of Selimabad, Neogy Gopinath, an honest Raja. We lived and tilled lands in Dhamania, in his taluk, for six or seven generations. All praise to Raja Man Sinha, the bee to the lotus foot of Vishnu, King of Gour, Banga and Utkal! During the reign of the above Man Sinha, on account of the sins of the people, Muhammad Sharif got the Khillat, Rajada became his minister, the merchants and traders became alarmed, and the régime became the foe of Brahmins and Vaishnavs. They measured lands, by placing ropes on the angular sides of fields, and they measured 15 *cottahs* to a *bigha*. They disregarded the cries of the rayats. They came to be the death of many people, and they entered uncultivable lands as cultivable. They exacted compensation, without conferring any corresponding benefit. The *poddars* (money-changers) became *Jom* (death). For every rupee they gave you 2½ annas less, while they took for themselves as interest one pie per day per rupee.

"A *khoja*, who, in his angry mood, paid no sort of regard to the poverty of the people, became *Dihidar* (village official). His anger could only be appeased by presents of rupees, but there was nobody to buy your cow and paddy. Our lord, Gopinath Neogy, by an accident, came to be arrested, and there were no means for his release. *Peadas* were all about, for fear the rayats should abscond, and kept guard at every man's door. The rayats were sore of heart. They sold their stock of rice, paddy and cows from day to day and articles worth a rupee sold for ten annas. Sumant Khan, of Chandighur, was of help to me, and, taking counsel with Gambhir Khan, I left Dhamania, Ramanand Bhye accompanied me, having

met me on the way. We reached Telegawa. Rupia assisted me, and Jadu Kundu Teti protected us. He gave us his own house to live in, allayed our fear, and gave us alms which sufficed for three days. Descending the river Garain with the stream, with our minds fixed on Providence, we arrived at Teota. Passing Darakeshwar, we arrived at my maternal uncle's house, and Gangadhur conferred on us many favours.

"Leaving Narain, Parasar and Amodar, we arrived at Gokra. My bath was without oil, water only was my drink and food, and my infant child cried for hunger. Sheltering myself under the raised bank of a tank, and with offerings of *shallook* (tuberous roots of the water lily), I offered my *pujali* to the mother of Kumud. Overpowered by hunger, fear and fatigue I fell asleep, when Chandī appeared to me in a dream. She was all gracious, and, offering me the shelter of her feet, she bade me compose this song.

"Leaving Gokhia, accompanied by *Ramanand Bhye*, we arrived at Arrha.

"Arrha is Brahmin land, and a Brahmin is its lord, as wise as Vyas. I addressed this lord of men (নবপতি) in poetic stanzas, and he gave me 10 *arrahs* of paddy. Son of the brave Madhav, he, Bankura Dev, possessed of all virtues, employed me thenceforth as a tutor to his boy. The boy Raghunath unequalled in beauty of mind and body, accepted me as his *guru* (tutor).

"I learnt the *mantra*, which she (Goddess Chandī) inspired me with, and I long meditated on this *Maha-mantra*. Then I took the leaf and the ink, and she (Goddess Chandī), sitting on my reed pen, caused poetry to be written by me in different kinds of stanzas. *Bhye Ramanand* was my companion. He knew all about my dream, and always took the greatest care of me.

"By order of Raghunath, lord of men, the songster who has got his dress and ornaments, daily rehearses the song—Praise be to Raja Raghunath, who has no equal in caste-dignity, and who is unrivalled in courtesy of demeanour! By his order Sri Kavi Kankan sings, and a new religious poem (*Mangal*) receives publicity."

The poem, like all works in Sanscrit and the Vernacular, was preserved in manuscripts, and, as in case of other Vernacular *Mangals* (religious poems), in the memory of those songsters who made it their business to give recitals thereof. Various readings crept in, for the same reasons for which different readings got in other ancient works before the introduction of printing. With the introduction of printing in Bengal, some of the popular Bengali religious poems were printed. *Battollah* the Grub-street of Calcutta, undertook the printing in its

presses. All honour to *Battollah*, which, though now another word in Bengali for cheap and nasty printing, was thus the pioneer in a useful undertaking. But *Battollah* printed the works as it found them, and the men into whose hands the proof-sheets passed, wherever they found anything unintelligible, substituted in its place insipid lines of their own composing. We have various examples of this in the poem *Chandi*, which took *Battollah* very early in hand. Pandit Ramgati Nyaratna, author of a very excellent treatise on the 'History of Bengali Literature,' found in a copy preserved in the house of the descendants of Raja Raghunath Dev, under whose patronage the poem *Chandi* was composed, readings of the introductory portion of the poem, the substance of which is given above, different in some places from that which is given in the bazar copies.

This manuscript copy, said to have been written by the poet himself, gives the lines with respect to Raja Man Sinha thus — "All praise to Raja Man Sinha, the bee to the lotus feet of Vishnu, to all Gour, Banga and Utkal!" During the reign of *the infidel king*, on account of the sins of the people, Muhammad Sharif got the Khillat." This would, perhaps, mean that Muhammad Sharif got the Khillat during the disorders of Usman's invasion of Bengal, which took place in A. D. 1600, for the poet could not have referred to Raja Man Sinha, as the infidel king, when he describes him in the preceding lines as *the bee to the lotus feet of Vishnu*. The time, therefore, when the poet left his native village of Dhamania, appears to have been the year 1600 A. D. It is just possible that the poet allowed both readings to pass in recitals of the poem as we find to be the practice in Bengali recitations even now, sometimes the recital being "during the reign of Man Sinha," and, at other times, "during the time of the infidel king," both intended to indicate and emphasize a particular year of disorder, when the poet had to fly from his native village.

But it is not to much purpose to determine the particular year in which the poet thus introduces his poem. It is sufficient for the purpose in hand, if we can sufficiently indicate the time when he flourished, and to which his descriptions apply. It is clear from the above that he flourished when Man Sinha was Governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Man Sinha was appointed Governor of Behar in the 32nd year of the reign of Akbar (A. D. 1588). He remained in the Eastern provinces till the 44th year of that reign (A. D. 1600), when he, by Akbar's order, joined the forces then in the Deccan (Blochman's *Ain Akbari*, p. 340), leaving Bengal in charge of Jagat Sinha, his son, who died shortly after. The Afghans, under Usman, availing themselves of the opportunity, emerged

from Orissa, defeated the imperial forces near Bhadrak, and occupied a great portion of Bengal

Man Sinha hastened back over the Rohtas, defeated the Afghans near Sherepur Attai, and obliged Usman to retire to Orissa. From this time up to the 3rd year of Jehangir's reign (A. D. 1608) he remained in Bengal and Behar. Our poet flourished during this time (1588-1608).

There is an invocation to Chaitanya, with which, amongst others, the poet begins. Now Chaitanya was born at Navadip in the Saka year 1407 (corresponding to 1485 A. D.), and he expired at Puri in the Saka year 1455 (corresponding to 1533 A. D.)

Makundram evidently flourished after Chaitanya, and between the years 1533 and 1600, *i. e.*, within only 70 years of the death of the religious reformer, his religion appears to have taken deep root in Bengal, he himself came to be deified almost as a god, and is called a Sanyasi Churamani by our poet and his followers, Vaishnavs, are spoken in the same breath as Brahmins, and allowed some of the Brahminical privileges, amongst others, rent-free grants of land.

The descendants both of the poet and of his patrons are still living. The former now live in the village of "Baenan," a few miles distant from Dhamania, the birthplace of the poet. Pandit Ramgati Nyaratna made some enquiries of them. They, too, have a manuscript said to have been written by the poet in red *atta* instead of ink, which they worship, but they cannot say how many generations they are removed from the poet, the descendants of the patron Raja Raghunath Rai now live at Senapati, a village 4 miles distant from the village of Arrha, the seat of Raja Raghunath Rai, and are now ordinary zemindars. They are, according to their own account, ten generations removed from Raja Raghunath Rai, and from the family records it is found that Raghunath Rai was Raja between the years 1573 A. D. and 1603 A. D., but during a great part of the period he must have been called a Raja by courtesy, for we find his father, Raja Bankura Rai, living in 1600 A. D., and his son a boy whose education was entrusted to the poet.

There is also a chronogram as to the date of the poem, in the bazar editions now extant. Whether the chronogram exists in the manuscript copies, said to be in the handwriting of the poet, we cannot say. The chronogram is in the following words —

“শকে রসে রস বেস শশাঙ্ক গণিতা।

কত দিনে দিল গীত হরের বণিতা ॥”

—“Saka rasa ras ved sasanka ganita, &c.,”—the ordinary reading of which is 1466 Sakavda (corresponding to 1544 A. D.) This

would place the date of the poet and of the poem 44 years before the time when Man Sinha first came to Behar. Pandit Ramgati rejects it as an interpolation, but if the chronogram was really appended by the poet, he would read it as meaning 1499 Sakavda (corresponding to 1577 A. D.), as the word *ras* (রস) may also stand for the figure 9. This, too, would be some years before Man Sinha came to Bengal and Behar. The only explanation possible is that the whole poem was composed some years before, and the introductory portion written subsequently, at the date when the poet had to leave his native village. However, as we said before, we are not concerned with the exact date.

The villages were situated in talukas. The revenue collection and criminal administration in the case of smaller offences, with the power of arrest of offenders in grave cases, as also the administration of civil justice, with perhaps an appeal to the Subadar, were entrusted, as of old under the Hindu system, to *lords of villages*, who came to be called, under the revenue system of the Moghuls, *zemindars*. They were popularly known as (নরপতি) lords of men, *Rajas*, and, being the units of administration under the Mahomedan régime, they had more extensive powers than the *zemindars* of our regulations. They were in fact vassal princes, who had, until Todar Mal's revenue settlements, only a certain amount of tribute to pay to the paramount power. Their head-quarters used to be called a *sahar* (town), and they lived within a *garh* (fortified place). At the time of our poet, Bengal appears to have been dotted with these petty chieftainships, townships and *garhs*. Gopinath Ncogy, probably a Kayesth, was such a chief, who had let out a large part of his estate rent-free to Brahmins and Vaishnavs. He was probably a victim of Akbar's new settlement, which was introduced in Bengal by Todar Mal in A. D. 1575-1583 (*vide Ayn Akbari*, pp. 351-352), or of the exactions of those who were appointed to carry out such settlements. He was imprisoned for default of payment of revenue by Muhammad Sharif, probably the Naib Subadar, the Subadar's district agent, whose native subordinate was Rajada, "*the foe of Brahmins and Vaishnavs*," because, perhaps, he carried out, under the terms of the new settlement, the resumption of all rent-free grants.

On Gopinath's arrest, the process adopted was what is even now known in *zemindari* management in Behar as the appointment of a *Sasawal*. It is somewhat like this, The *zemindar* grants a lease with a stipulation that, in case of default, a *Sasawal* (meaning a collector of rent) is to be appointed by the

zemindar to collect rent in supercession of the lessee, and the appointment of the *Sasawal* to last till all arrears have been realized. The process is also known in our revenue system, under which the collector can, under some circumstances, realize certain Government dues by appointing a Tehsildar, and realizing the zemindars' dues from the rayats. An official called a *Dehudar*—a *khoja*—who, according to our poet, "in his angry mood, paid no sort of regard to the poverty of the people," and whose office corresponded to that of the *Sasawal*, was appointed. He was to collect all rent due to Gopinath Neogy from the rayats, but as this involved payment all at once, under, perhaps, Police and Military coercion, without that kind of indulgence which the good Raja Gopinath showed to his rayats, the rayats began to desert. Thanadars were posted at the rayats' doors to keep guard lest they would abscond. They could pay only by selling their stock of cattle and paddy, but, as every one had to sell and there were not many to buy, a rupee's worth sold for ten annas.

Another resource of poor people in extremities is the Mahajan, but the *poddar* (money changer) of the village, who had a double character, in his character of a receiver of the Government dues, received a rupee at $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas discount (this refers to the elaborate *batta*-system introduced by Todar Mal), and in that of a *mahajan* charged as interest one pice per rupee per diem. The poet, eluding the vigilance of the guards, probably by their connivance, fled from his village, leaving behind him his ancestral home, always very dear to a Hindu, and the *jote* which he and his ancestor before him had cultivated for six or seven generations, with his wife and children, to seek a home and livelihood elsewhere. It was a flight against the orders of the authorities, and the poet had to remain in hiding for fear of arrest, while, of course, all the household gods had to be left behind.

It is not necessary to suppose a very rampant state of mal administration of the district in the time of the poet, from the account here given. The case appears to be parallel to that which overtook several zemindars and their tenants at the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793.

The poet, probably, was in the enjoyment of a rent-free grant of land under a pious Kayestha landlord, or a large area at a small quit-rent. The Todar Mal settlement resumed all such grants, and assessed them for revenue purposes according to their quality. There appears also to have been a stricter measurement of the lands by a standard pole, the effect of which was to increase the area of the rayats' holding, and lands not actually waste were marked as cultivable and assessable. The new settlement rules also provided for the depreciation of

the current coin by wear and tear, laying down elaborate rules for charging *batta*. The effects of this greater strictness, were felt as a hardship by the people. But what caused much misery in this instance was the change in the position of the poet. Perhaps the poem would not have come into existence, if it had been otherwise. His family had long lived at their ancestral abode on the produce of a few bighas of Brahmottai land. They were a family of Brahmins, respected by all their neighbours, living on their own resources, without much personal labour, for the cultivation was carried on by hired servants, with ample leisure to learn and think. The poet appears to have been very well read in Sanscrit literature and the Purans. Perhaps, too, he had some knowledge of music, which served him in good stead when evil days befell him. He addressed his new patron, not living very far from the zemindari of Gopinath Neogy (a fact which shows that there was no general mal-administration, but that our poet's case was a hard one under the new settlement), in poetical stanzas, and at once got into favour, receiving a present of 10 *arraks* (measure of paddy) for his present needs and gracious promises for the future. Under such changed circumstances in the life of the poet, the composition of the poem went on.

The above narrative also reveals a pleasing picture of hospitality amongst the lower and poorer classes, and of that willingness to assist people in distress, which characterized and still characterizes the people of Bengal. Jadu Kundu Teli, who went to live, perhaps, in one of his out-offices, giving his house to the fugitive poet and his family to live in, has still, we are happy to say, his type amongst the lower classes of our people.

The "*Ramanand Bhye*" of the above extract is another side picture, which, perhaps, is scarcely intelligible to those who are unacquainted with the domestic relations of the Bengalis of a bygone age. It exhibits a tender trait in ancient Bengali character, creditable to both masters and servants. Ramanand appears to have been a family domestic servant, if not a serf, older in years than the poet, and therefore the poet speaks of him as '*Ramanand Bhye*' (brother Ramanand), he does not leave his master, in his vicissitude of fortune.

We get a glimpse of how, in those days the rich people, who were popularly called Rajas, encouraged literature and learning. An assembly of learned men graced their little courts, and the poetical composition of some among them beguiled their leisure hours. The Muhammad Sharif, and Rajadas, as an oppressive type of Government servants, were held up to public execration, not in newspapers, but in verses recited in such courts, and, with characteristic simplicity, all oppression of the oppressors was set down to the "sins of the people" •

We also discover how the poems came to the public notice, and how anything worth preserving was preserved. The poets lived in the courts of their patrons, and as soon as a piece was finished, it was recited in melodious tones to the assembled multitude. A *pujah* of the deity, who figured conspicuously in the poem, was the occasion. After the *pujah*, which of course need not have been very ostentatious, in the *Natmandir*, before the god or goddess, commenced the song. The usual time in most cases was the *pujahs* in the morning, and that of the recital of the poem in the afternoon. The head songster, with *chamor* (চামর) in hand (waving it perhaps in adoration of the deity, the special god of the poem, and perhaps also as an accompaniment to the expression of feelings of the piece) led, and a number of men, some with *chamors* and others with *manjiras* (মঞ্জিরা), beating time, sang in chorus some snatches of the song, ordinarily the last line of a poetical stanza. If it amused the people assembled, the *pujah* and the song were repeated at other houses, and thus the whole thing was perpetuated.

The poems are called *mangals*, which primarily means 'welfare, joy', and, in a secondary sense, means joy in honour of a deity. The subject of the poem under notice is also religious. It is in honour of the Goddess Chandi. The story, or rather stories, for there are two, do not appear to be borrowed from any of the known Purans, though the poet would lead one to suppose so. They are the poet's own, or, as Pandit Ramgati Nyaratna supposes, the stories may have had their origin in some fragment of folklore previously current. There is not much of artistic beauty in the story of the poem as a whole, it is rather common place, and somewhat absurd. It is in two respects,—in the delineation of characters of Bengali men and women, and in the true pictures of the every-day life of the people of his time, which the poet paints,—that its merits lie.

The object of the poem is to popularize the worship of the Goddess Chandi, amongst others, in her form of *Kamala-Kamini*, a beautiful damsel standing, or sitting, on a lotus growing on the surface of a fathomless deep, and taking in and out of her mouth an elephant, standing on the same lotus, and in that of *Mahish Mardini*, the form in which she is ordinarily worshipped, as the Goddess Durga, in Bengal. Both the pieces begin in heaven.

Chandi is anxious that her worship shall be popular on earth, Nilambar, a son of Indra, for some slight offence, or no offence, is cursed to be born on earth, of a woman, he fades away to assume his mortal coil, and his disconsolate and faithful spouse ascends the funeral pile. They are born

of women of the hunter caste, and when they grow up, are united in marriage and pass a life of misery and toil as a hunter and his wife, until Chandī takes pity on them, of course not without the selfish object of propagating on earth a belief in herself, gives the hunter, whose name is now Kalkathu (a precious jewel), which brings to him unlimited sums of money, and directs him to clear out the jungles of Guzrat and there to found a city. He does so. Chandī, by a flood, destroys the town of Kalinga, in order to drive the people to the town founded by her favourite Kalkathu. The Raja of Kalinga, instigated thereto by a Kaestha, by name Bharoo Datta, attacks the new town of Guzrat. He is at first worsted, but Chandī, taking into consideration that Nilambar's term on earth is shortly to end, and that her worship must spread before that time, deprives Kalkathu of his extraordinary prowess. He is taken prisoner, but the Raja of Kalinga and his ministers are asked—of course, in dreams—by the Goddess Chandī, to let him off. They compare their dreams on rising in the morning, and, all agreeing, Kalkathu is let off, shortly to ascend to heaven with his celestial spouse. Their infant son becomes the Raja of Guzrat, under the care of the Raja of Kalinga, and both adopt the worship of Chandī for themselves and for their subjects.

In the second story, for a precisely similar purpose and for reasons as trivial, Ratnamala, a celestial nymph, is cursed by Chandī to be born as a mortal, and, in consequence of her entreaties, Chandī promises to watch over her while she devotes herself to the task of propagating her worship amongst mortals. For this, it is of the utmost importance that she should be able to induce some of the worshippers of the great God Shiva to adopt the worship of his consort. Ratnamala, who is called Khuluna when she takes her birth on earth, becomes, on account of this divine purpose, the second wife of Dhānapati Soudagur, a devout worshipper of Shiva and the merchant functionary attached to the great Court of Ujain, the King of which, according to the poetical conception, reigned over a kingdom which comprised an area no greater than the district of Burdwan. Khuluna's troubles in this world, therefore, commenced early. Taking advantage of the absence of Dhānapati on a frivolous errand of his King, to the King of Gour, Lohana, the first wife, forces her to take on herself the task of tending the family goats. After some months of misery spent in this base service, she is pitied, according to promise, by Chandī, who appears in a dream to Dhānapati at Gour and makes him return home with all expedition. Before his arrival, however, Lohana brings Khuluna home, decks her with ornaments, &c, and prepares her to receive her lord. Khuluna complains to the husband of the treatment she has received, but a few sweet words to

her and a little scolding to the co-wife appease her. A serious trouble is, however, in reserve. During the annual *shraddh* of Dhanapati's deceased father, there is a vast assemblage of his caste men (Ganda Vanik) in his house. Dhanapati offends some by giving precedence to others, and, in consequence, they rake up reports and scandals, and refuse to take their food at his house, because he had received into his bed a woman who had to wander in the jungles tending goats. Dhanapati is sore annoyed with himself and his first wife Lohana, but Khuluna extricates him from the difficulty, by agreeing to accept any ordeal which might be proposed, to test her fidelity to the nuptial bed. Then there are ordeals through which she passes most successfully, and which satisfy the most hostile and incredulous.

This difficulty over, the stock of sandal-wood, spices, &c, things of a sort which Ujaini people get from foreign lands, becomes exhausted, whereon the Raja of Ujaini orders Dhanapati to go to Ceylon, to get, in exchange for the produce of the country, such things as the Ujaini people want for themselves. At his going he proves very disrespectful to Chandī, whom he sees his wife Khuluna worship, and for this all his vessels, excepting one, founder in a storm in the river Ganges, at a place called Magara. Chandī appears to him in the form of *Kamala-Kamini*, at Kalidaha (a fathomless deep of blackwater), on his way to Ceylon.

On arriving at Ceylon with his single vessel and reporting what he has seen at Kalidaha, he is asked to verify his statement, and, on failing to do so, he is imprisoned for attempting deception. Khuluna was *encrente*, and Malakar, a celestial musician, being cursed by Chandī for the purposes noted above and for an offence not more serious, is born of her. He grows up, and by his 12th year has acquired knowledge of all branches of Sanscrit learning. He becomes so fond of scholastic wrangling as one day to offend, by his conceit and priggishness, his tutor, who, an old Brahmin, becomes very much enraged at something Malakar, *alias* Simant, says, and, exhibiting a Brahmanic or un-Brahmanic temper, taunts him and his by referring to his birth, and the conduct of his mother, in not till then accepting widowhood though his father had been missing for 12 years. This annoys Simanta, and he shuts himself up in his room till his mother tells him all about his father's whereabouts, and gives her consent to his going to Ceylon in search of him.

All difficulties in the way are smoothed by the Goddess Chandī. A number of sea-going vessels constructed by the heavenly carpenter, Viswakarma, with the aid of Hunooman, the Monkey Chief, spring up in a night. Simanta goes to Ceylon, being

protected on the way by the divine interposition of Chandī. He sees *Kamala-Kamini*, as his father saw her before him, and, on his arrival at the Singalese court, he reports it to the King, and, failing to verify his story, is taken, bound, to the place of execution to be beheaded. Then Chandī interposes again, fights the whole host of the Singalese forces and kills them, to revive them all, when the Raja appeases her by worship and promises to give his daughter in marriage to Srimanta, his scruples on the ground of caste being removed by what Chandī told him. Srimanta, however, will not marry till he shall find his father; whereon a search is instituted in the prisons, and Dhanapati is found. The marriage follows, and they return home, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the King, Queen and the rest to let *Srimanta* depart with his spouse.

On their return, Srimanta, during a visit to the King of Ujaini, notwithstanding his previous experience, narrates what he has seen at Kalidaha. He is taken for a cheat and a liar and required to verify his story on pain of death. Chandī here interposes again, appearing to the King and his assembled ministers in the form of *Kamala-Kamini*. The King, though evidently a Kshetriya, gives his daughter in marriage to Srimanta, and Dhanapati, seeing that Shiv and Gouri, in twain, make one, accepts the worship of the female divinity, and is thereon blessed, all his illnesses being forthwith removed.

The allotted time of Ratnamala Malakar and his two wives on earth having ended, they ascend to heaven in a celestial car, Dhanapati being consoled with the birth of another son, and this time out of the womb of the barren Lohana.

These are the main arguments of the stories, out of which we have selected the few following descriptive pieces to show what Bengal and the Bengalis were at the date of the poet —

FOUNDATION OF A TOWN IN A COUNTRY CALLED GUZRAT

"Leaving the city of Kalinga, the rayats of all castes settled in the city of the Bir (the brave) [the hunter Kalkathu of the story] with their household gods. Accepting the pan (*betel*) of the Bir, in token of their consent to the agreement, the Mussalmans settled there, the western end of the town being assigned to them as their abode. There came Moghuls, Pathans, Kazis mounted on horses, and the Bir gave them rent free lands for houses. At the extreme western end of their settlement they made their *Hosimbatti* (place of *Mohurru Tazia*), and they congregated all about the place. They rise very early in the morning, and, spreading a red *patty* (mat), they make their *namazes* five times during the day. Counting the Sulaimani beads, they meditate on Pir Paigambar. Each of them contributes to the decoration of the *Mokam* (the Hosein's house).

Ten or twenty Birdars sit together and decide cases, always referring to the *Koran*, while others sitting in the market-place, distribute the *Pir shiruz* (the confectioneries offered to the *Pir*), beat the drum and raise the flag. They are very wise according to their own estimation, they never yield to any one, and they never give up the *roza* (fast) as long as they have life in them.

" Their appearance is rather formidable. They have no hair on the heads, but they allow their beards to grow down to their chest.

" They always adhere to their own ways. They wear on their head a *topi* (cap) which has ten sides, and they wear what they call an *yar* (*payama*), tied tight round the waist. If they meet one who is bare-headed, they pass him by without uttering a word, but, going aside, they throw clods of earth at him. Many *Mians* with their followers settled there, they do not use water, but wipe their hands on their clothes after taking their food.

All four classes of Pathans settled there. Some contract *nikas*, and others marry. The Mollahs, for reading the *nika*, get a gift of a *sikka* (4-anna bit) and bless the pair by reading the *Kulma*. With a sharp knife they (the Mollahs) butcher the fowl (*বুরগ*) and get ten *gandas of cowries* (less than $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of a copper pice) for the job. For butchering a she-goat (*bakri*), the Mollah gets six *boursies of cowries* (about a copper pice), as also the head of the animal killed.

" By making the *Rosa Nemas*, some become *Gola* (Moghul), while by accepting the occupation of weavers, one becomes a *Jolha*. Those who drive pack bullocks call themselves *Mookheri*. Those who sell cakes call themselves *Pitari*. Those who sell fish are called *Kaburi* (a people who wear no beards, and pay no regard to truth). Those who, being Hindus, become Mussalmans are called *Gorsal* (mixed). Those who beg for alms are called *Kals*. Those who make the weavers' looms, call themselves *Sulakars* (a people who make a living out of the *Tantis*). Some go from town to town making colored stripes. Some make bows and are called *Turgars*, while those who make paper are called *Kagoris*. Some wander about night and day and are called Kalandars (*Fakirs*)."

A description of the Hindu quarters follows. — One quarter is called Kulastan (the *Bhadrilogue* quarter) where live the Rarhi Brahmins and the Batendra Brahmins, with their temples and *talas* (schools). The poet then proceeds: " Here also live the unlettered Brahmins. They officiate as priests, and teach the rituals of *pujah*. They mark their forehead with sandal, or with *Tilak* marks, they worship *Devalas* (idols), and run from house to house with bundles of offered rice tied in their cloth.

They get a pice worth of sweetmeat in the house of the sweetmeat seller, they get a vessel full of curdled milk in that of the milkman, while the oilman give them their cup full of oil. They get their monthly *cowries* from some houses and their *dalbaris* (dried balls of pulse) from others. The village priest thus swims in happiness.

"In the town of Guzrat, the citizens perform *shraddhs*, the village priest officiating at the ceremony.

The *mantras* over, the Brahmin declares the *dakshina* (final present) to be a *kahan* (a little more than three annas of the present coin), and they haggle for the *dakshina*, tying the hand of the *Jusman* (person for whom the priest officiates) with *Kusa* grass."

"The Ghatak Brahmins live by abuses. Their occupation is the reading of the *Kulapanji* (genealogies). People who do not secure their good will by presents, are abused at *Sobhas* till such time as the presents come."

We have, after this, a description of the astrologers, Sanniasis, Vaishnavs, Khetris, Rajputs, Bhâts, and of the Vaisyas. Regarding the latter the poet says "They serve Krishna. Some till lands, others tend cows. Some act as carriers with pack bullocks, while some make purchases, at the proper seasons, growing crops, to sell them when the markets rise. Some travel from place to place, making purchases of precious stones. Some arrange for long journeys in boats with various goods, and bring back with them *chamors*, sandal wood and *conch* shells, Bhutia *chamors*, shawl pusthus, and coats (*anga rakhi*). They are always buying and selling, and the Vaisyas are a happy lot at Guzrat."

The poet then says "Let us now describe the medicine men (*Vaidhyas*). They are the Guptas, Senas, Dasses, Duttas, Kuis, &c, who live in this (*Kulastan* part of the town. Some become famous by adopting the mercurial treatment prescribed in the *Tantras*. They rise in the morning and place a *Tilak* mark high up on the forehead. They wrap a piece of cloth round the head, and, putting on a fine *dhuti* and taking the *pooti* (palm-leave book) under their arm, they stalk forth in the different wards of the town.

"When the disease is curable, the *Vaidhya*, beating his raised chest, proclaims a cure, but if the disease is incurable, he contrives a retreat, and asks for leave on various pretences. Says he, "If I can make a decoction of camphor, I am sure to effect a cure." "Search for camphor," says the sick man with all eagerness, and the medicine man on the pretence of procuring camphor, takes to his heels.

"*Agardanis* (a low class of Brahmins who officiate at funerals) live close to *Vaidhyas*, and they are in daily search for patients.

They pay no taxes, but it is their due to take the cow that is given away by the dying to secure a safe passage across the river *Bytarini* (the Indian Styx) and the *Til-dan* (sesamum gift) with gold pieces”

We have then an account of the settlement of the Kayesthas, on the south side of the town, by themselves, as perhaps representing the middle class. They made their demands thus: “The Goddess Vani (Saraswati) is bountiful to us all. We can all read and write. We are the ornaments of a town. We, Kayesthas, hearing of your glory, have come to you. Decide to give us the best lands and houses and make them rent-free. Do it without delay?”

Then comes an account of the lower classes, the great mass who occupy the east end of the town.

“There settle the Hakil Gopes, who do not know what deceit or anger is, and in whose fields all kinds of wealth grow. Each of them has his home well filled with pulses of sorts, linseed, mustard, wheat, cotton and molasses. There you find the oilmen who express the oil with the *ghani* (the oil-pressing machine); some of the class buy oil to sell it in the market. The blacksmith, with his smithy, makes spades, axes, arms, and bridle-pieces. With his betel and betel nuts settles the *Tambuli*. Here settle the potters who make earthen vessels and the earthen frames of *mridang* (drums) and *karras* (musical instruments).

“Hundreds and hundreds of pairs of *dhuties* are woven at one place by the weavers of Guziat. The *Mali* grows flowers, makes garlands and toy-flower houses, and, with baskets full of flowers, he goes round the town selling his wares. *Baroos* are there, who grow betel in the betel nurseries, and if any one forcibly takes their things, the only resistance they offer is by crying *Do-hai*. The barbers are there, who go about with their leathern cases under their arms and looking-glass in hand. The confectioners manufacture sugar and confectioneries of sorts, and some of them go about the town with their stock of confectioneries for children. There settle the shroffs (*Jains*), who never kill animals, and who abstain from meat all the year round. Those who make silk filatures are encouraged to settle here by the grant of rent free lands, and the Bir’s heart rejoices when he sees the first red silk *sari* (*pat-sari*) being woven in his town.

“The Ganda Banias (গন্ধ বনিয়া) settle here. They go to the market with their baskets full of various kinds of spices and scents. The Sanga Banias (those who make *conch* shell bracelets) cut *conch* shells, and some of them turn them into beautiful forms. The braziers, on their anvils, make *gharris* (a kind of jug), cups and *thalis* (large plates), *lotas* (large cooking vessels), and *sips* (spoons), *dhabars* (large vessels for washing purposes),

pan-dans (betel-boxes with compartments for the various necessary spices), *ghantas* (ringing bells), *singashans* (thrones for idols) and *panch'dip* (lamp stands) There are the goldsmiths who test gold and silver, and, if there be any suspicion, melt them in the fire They sell and buy, and, in the process, they draw to themselves the wealth of the people Then there are two kinds of Dasses the one class catch fish, and other till the lands There are Bowries, who are the musicians of the town The Bagdies, accompanied by ten or twenty spearmen, go about the town with arms The fishermen make nets and catch fish, and the Kuch leads here a merry life There are a number of washermen who dry the clothes washed by them on ropes hung up on poles There are the tailors who sew clothes by the job, or who engage as servants on salaries, and all these occupy one ward of the town There are the Shiulis who tap the *khajoor* (date) trees and make molasses from date juice There are carpenters in the market-place and people who fry and prepare parched rice, and there are painters The *Patneys* (ferry-men) are there, who receive the Raj-dues for ferrying people over The bards settle there, and beg from house to house "

Then comes an account of people living outside the town The Kols, Korengs, Dhowaras, Dhajis, Malvas, and, amongst others, the Mahrattas, whose occupation, it is said, was to tap for the cure of diseased spleens, and to operate for cataract

The first thing that strikes one in this description, is the segregation of the various classes of people in different quarters of the town It is the same kind of segregation of Brahmins and other classes which still exists in southern India, but is no longer the characteristic feature of habitations in Bengal towns But that it is not merely a poetical fancy of our poet is amply attested by the vestiges of it which we see in old villages, where we still find the Brahman-para the Kayestha-para, the Gowala-para, the Mussalman-para, &c

The poet, it will be observed, entertains a certain amount of concealed hatred for the Mussalmans and their ways, while he holds up to the admiration of his own people, their religious zeal, their unity amongst themselves, and the submission of their people to a government of their own

He does not see why, while living side by side with the Hindus, they should not adopt the ways of the Hindus, or why they should stick to their ten-sided *topis* (caps) and *yars* (the ten-sided *topi* was the prevailing Murshidabad fashion till a later day) Nay more, he does not see (as a Bengali) any reason for the Mussalman's scorn of a bare-headed man (বাকী শের) This feeling of scorn, perhaps, still exists, but the overt act of throwing clods has been long since unknown The poet hits at

the Mussalman fondness for grand names, and does not see why those who sell fish should be called *Kabaris*, or why those who make weavers' looms should call themselves *Sallakars*, and so on

Though *nika* means the marriage contract, it has always been understood by the Bengalis to be an inferior kind of marriage amongst their Mussalman neighbours. Sometimes they understand by it the widow marriage of the Mahomedans, and the poet has hit at this kind of marriage. "The Mollahs," he says, "for reading the *nika* get a sika (4-anna bit) and bless the pair by reading the *Kulma*"

"With a sharp knife the Mollahs butcher the fowl (মুদগ) and get 10 *gundas of cowries* (less than $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of a copper pice) for the job, &c." The butchering cannot be done without repeating the *Kulma* a stated number of times, and handling the knife in a certain way. This shows that the ordinary Mussalmans were ignorant of the necessary formula in those days, and the butchering could only be done by Mollahs, who used to get a certain fee for the job. The formula is now known to the Mussalman butchers as a class, and the Mollah's occupation is gone. Amongst the Jews in India there are only a few who, we are told, are initiated in the rites of sacrifices, and people have to live without meat for days together because a man, acquainted with the proper formula, is not to be found near at hand.

The poet's contemporary Mussalmans appear to have been all Shias, who contributed to the decoration of the Hosein's house, and raised the green flag and beat the drum. They appear, however, to have been a poor lot, for it was not the red carpet, but a red *patty* (mat) that they use as a *Jamemaj*.

"Accepting the *pan* (betel) of the Bir, the Mussalmans settled here." Agreements between parties were settled by giving a betel leaf as earnest money. As for the rest, the poet expresses his Hindu feeling of repugnance for people who wipe their hands on their clothes after meals.

The Bengalis appear to have been more priest-ridden than they are even now, but the poet, though a Brahmin, has no sympathy for priestcraft. The description of the unlettered Brahmins who officiate as priests is even now true to the letter, only the village priests do not now "swim in happiness" as they did of old, and, excepting at Gya, if they tie up the hands of their *Jusmans* in *Kusa* grass, to haggle for the *Dakshina*, the settling of the amount is no longer in their hands, but in the hands of those who pay the *Dakshina*.

The Ghatak Brahmins lived then as they do now, only they feed as parasites on the Brahmins themselves.

Amongst articles imported from distant lands, we find shawls, pusthus and *anga rakhis* (probably shawl or pusthu

coats). The Bhutea *chamors* (yak-tail fans), sandal-wood, *conch* shells and precious stones

The undignified position of the medicine man (*Vaidhya*), who, clad in fine *dhuti*, with his head wrapped-up in a piece of cloth and his palm-leaf book under his arm, strolled over the town in search of patients, followed, at a near distance, by the *Agra-dani* (the pioneer on earth of death), is a contrast to the present proud position of the class and the caste to which they belong

The demand of the Kayestha settlers for rent free houses, on the ground that the Goddess Vani (Saraswati) is liberal to them all, and they can all read and write, is expressive of a notion even now extant in Zemindari management, that the caste, as a class, are troublesome tenants, who, when once settled on land, become the masters of their masters. The Kayesthas in Bengal appear then to have been called "Lallas," as the Kayesthas of Upper India are called to the present day. In one place the wife of a Kayestha is spoken of as a *Lalla* Thakurani

"The Hakil Gopes, who know not deceit or anger, and in whose fields all wealth grows," present a pleasing contrast as rayats. The pleasing groups of happy classes of craftsmen, supplying the wants and luxuries of the people, is faithful as a picture of what existed even within the memory of the present generation. They made their own clothes, and the class which manufactured silk clothes (*bat-saries*) were much encouraged

Of domestic utensils, we have a long list, all made of brass, as at present. The *gharris* (jugs), *lotra* (cups), *thalis* (large plates), *lotas*, *handis* (large cooking pots), *sips* (a kind of spoon for pouring water as libations to gods), *dhabars* (vessels for washing purposes), *pan-dans* (betel-boxes with compartments for the various accessories), the *ghanta* (bells), *singashans* (thrones for idols), and *panch pradip* (in which with oil, in a common receptacle, standing on a metal stick, five lamps burn on five sides), appear to have been almost identical with utensils ordinarily used even now, but of a ruder kind.

The goldsmiths, who made, as we find elsewhere from the poet's descriptions, only the following kinds of ornaments, *viz* — *tarballa* (a kind of bracelet which seems to have been ordinarily of silver), *kankan* (a bracelet surmounted with small knobs), a gold piece for the ear, a gold necklace of beads of 5 or 7 strings, and the sounding anklet (नखुन्न), also of silver, *pansali* (पौंसली) (a kind of flattened silver rings) for the ten fingers of the hands, ornaments in variety much less, and in quality ruder than those now in use—were as dishonest a set as their descendants are at the present day. Our poet says — "They sell and they buy, and, in the process, suck the substance of the people"

The process of making silver and gold wire appears to have been known only to the goldsmiths of Gour.

The *conch* shell bracelet (কঁচা) was generally worn. When worn, it indicated (as it still indicates), that, the wearer was not a widow. They were worn by both unmarried and married females, but the distinctive badge of married life was an iron round piece worn on the hand.

The *pat-sari* was the richest dress for women. It was a red silk *sari*, sometimes decorated with a coloured apron. The *kanchali* (a kind of short jacket without sleeves, and made of chequered cloth) formed also a part of the dress.

The carpenter's trade does not appear to have been very flourishing. The domestic furniture which he made for rich people appears to have been a sleeping cot (খাট), and wooden stools to sit upon at meals (সিঁড়ি), but his services, along with those of the blacksmith, must have been called into requisition in making *dollas* (sedan chairs for rich people), *sakats* (bullock carts let on hire at a rupee-a-day by Banias), *ghamies* (oil-pressing machines), *dhenkies* (husking machines) and boats.

The Bengalis appear to have been a meat-eating people before Chaitanya effected amongst them his social and religious reforms. The poet speaks of the hunter and hunter's wife as often as he speaks of the fisherman and of his wife. The hunter kills wild animals in the forest and jungles, and his wife sells the meat in the bazar, or goes with her vessel of meat, from house to house, Brahmins' houses not excepted. They are represented as a low class of people, indeed, but are not considered unclean.

When Durbela, Dhanapati's maid-servant, goes a marketing, to arrange for a big feast at her master's house, she purchases hares and goats in numbers, and the meat is cooked for food. Khuluna, in her first interview with Dhanapati before the marriage, when she takes away his pigeon, says she cannot allow him to have it, as she does not like it to be killed, and he must make shift to do one day without his pigeon soup.

The shroffs (probably Jains) are distinguished from other people as 'a people who never kill animals and who live without meat all the year round.'

It is a relief to find that in this detailed description of the various classes of people composing the community, in which we even find the courtezans settled in a special part of the town, the *Saunri* (সাঁও), or wine-seller, finds no place, and though we have hits at several vices which afflicted the people, not a single reference is to be found to the vice of intemperance. Even our poet's Bowrie and Bagdic classes, now almost always found

drunk, are not spoken of as given to drink. The *Tantras*, which appear to have been the fashionable religious code, not having brought about drunkenness then, cannot be held responsible for the prevailing drunkenness now.

It is interesting to note that the Mahiattas, before the rise of Sevaji, and before the time when they used to come to Bengal on their marauding expeditions, were not altogether unknown to the Bengalis. In the time of our poet they used to come and live outside the towns, like Kuchies and Malays, doctoring to diseased spleens and affected eyes.

BHAROO DATTA'S GOING TO THE AUDIENCE OF THE KING OF KALINGA

"Bharoo revolves in his mind how best he can do mischief, and resolves to seek an audience of the King of Kalinga. Clad in his wife's *sari*, Bharoo wrapped round his head the *pug* (*pugri* of the present day), which, however, did not cover all his hair. With due deliberation he took in his hand the book of Kaifoth, and, pronouncing the name of Hari, put the reed pen behind his ear. But who was to carry his presents to the King? The question did not puzzle Bharoo long.

"Bharoo had a younger brother, by name Shiva. Though twenty-five years of age, he was not yet married, the fact being that he had elephantiasis in both of his legs. Says Bharoo to his brother: 'Be cheerful, my boy, when the *mandali* (assembly) next comes, I will arrange for your marriage,' and thus he easily coaxed him to act the beast of burden."

Thus the bare-headed Bengali, whom the Mussalman does not accost when he meets him in the street and whom he abuses as "*Langa sir*," had to put something on his head (called here a *pug*) when he appeared before the authorities, or when he wished to assume a dignified appearance. The medicine man, as we have seen, puts a piece of cloth round his head. For the rest, the *dhuti* appears ordinarily not to have reached down to the ankles, but public appearances required that one should have a long one, with a flowing tuck. Whether the *dhuti* and the *pug* alone sufficed for such occasion, and the body was allowed to remain uncovered, does not appear, but we have elsewhere accounts of *anga rakhis* (coats), and the Bir's new settlement included a colony of tailors.

Bharoo Datta probably went barefooted, but the richer classes are elsewhere described as wearing shoes (*paduka*).

Marriageable age—Bharoo's brother, Shiva, was considered past marriageable age, because he was as old as twenty-five Srimanta, the boy hero in the second story, marries two wives when he is only twelve years of age. He, however, is represented as mastering all the branches of Sanscrit learning.

at that age, and as having undertaken a sea-voyage in search of his father. It was, however, not because he was rich, or unusually precocious, that he performed this extraordinary feat in the marriage line also. It would appear rather that one of the reasons which made the poet overlook the other consistencies was, that he could not, according to prevalent notions, keep him unmarried much beyond twelve years of age. Kalkathu, the poor hunter hero in the first story, also marries at that age.

For girls the marriageable age was much below twelve, and when the poet, to suit a story of 'Love at first sight,' has to keep Khuluna in the second story unmarried till her twelfth year, her father is soundly rated by Danāi Ojha, the Brahmin match-maker, for keeping his daughter so long unmarried.

"Be cheerful, my boy, when the *mandali* (assembly) next comes, I will arrange for your marriage," says Bharoo to his brother. Such assemblages to discuss and settle marriages appear to have been then held in Bengal, as they are even now held amongst the Sawti (Sutri) Brahmins of Durbhanga.

Polygamy—We said that the poet represents his boy-hero, Srimanta Soudagur, as marrying two wives when he was only twelve years of age. His father, Dhanapati, has two wives. Raja Vicram Kesuri, of Ujaini, to whose court Dhanapati is attached as a merchant functionary, has also more than one wife. The sixteen years old beautiful damsel, in which form Chandī appears in the house of Kalkathu, when pressed for a reason for coming away from her home, says she did so because she could not tolerate her husband's devotion and fondness for her co-wife (Chandī perhaps meant Ganga), Lillabati, the friend of Lohana, to whom Lohana applies for medicine to be administered to the husband, after his second marriage, to bring him back to her allegiance, is one of seven wives of a Kulin Brahmin, whose affections she had succeeded in securing to herself, through, as she discloses to Lohana, the virtue of medicinal charms. Polygamy thus appears to have been generally prevalent, not only amongst Kulin Brahmins, but amongst other classes as well. The poet, however, takes every opportunity of exhibiting the evils thereof, and describes the constant warfare that was going on in the house of Dhanapati between the two wives—Lohana's jealousy and Khuluna's assertion of her rights,—which often led to pitched battles. One of the scenes is graphically described, when Lohana produced a forged letter of her husband during his absence from home, enjoining on her, because of the alleged inauspiciousness of the second marriage, to degrade Khuluna from her position as wife to that of a menial for tending goats. Khuluna, on reading the letter, declared it to be a forgery, as it was not in her husband's handwriting, thereon from words the two came to blows, until Khuluna had the

worst of the fray, and was bound fast hand and foot, and released only on condition that she would tend the goats Dhanapati's experiences as a polygamous husband are also depicted, in more than one place, as not at all enviable

Females could read and write.—Khuluna, then only a girl about 12 or 13 years of age, reads the letter which Lohana hands over to her, and at once pronounces it to be a forgery, the handwriting not being that of her husband. The forgery itself was done by Lillabati, the Brahmin friend of Lohana, and Lalla Thakurani makes out the list of the he and she goats that were made over by Lohana to Khuluna's keeping

In the second story the poet describes two voyages from Burdwan to Ceylon. His geography is precise from Burdwan to the sea, but further on, the descriptions are drawn from imagination. There is, however, a general correctness in the outlines of the poet's description of the east coast of India, sufficiently indicative of the fact that, at some date antecedent to his time, native crafts from Bengal, with merchandize, used to visit Ceylon, and that some traditionary accounts of places on the coast were extant in his day. Perhaps, too, vague reports of places on the coast had reached the poet from sources other than native

We have, at the point where the Ganges falls into the sea, "the *Feringi Desh* (the country of the Feringis), where they ply their boats night and day for fear of the *Harams* (a term of abuse, referring to the *Feringis*) and pass it in twenty days." It is just possible that by the *Feringi Desh* are indicated the piratical regions where the Portuguese and Arakanese seized and plundered vessels. Again, on the return journey, after Rameshwar Satu Band, they came again to the *Feringi Desh*, which here, perhaps, indicates Madras and its vicinity—the country of Dravira and Utkal (Orissa), where they visit Jagannath Puri

From Burdwan to the sea, the poet appears to be on sure ground, and the places passed and touched are as follows —

"Floating down the river Ajai, the boats came to Indrani. Further down they passed Bhūgu Sinha's Ghât on the right and Materi Ghât on the left. Then they passed Chandī Gach, Balanpur Ghât, Putavastali, Navadip, Parpur, Mirzapur, Ambua on the right side, Santipur on the left, Gupte para on the right, Oola Kismar Fula, Joshepur Kodai Ghât, Halishahar on the left side, and Tribeni on the right, Saptagram, Garafa, Andalpara, Jagathal, Nowpara, Telipur, Nunai Ghât, Mahesh on the right side, and Kurdaha, Konnagar, Kotrung, Kuchinan, Chitpur, Sulkhia, Kalikata (Calcutta) Bithoor. Leaving, on the right, the way to Hijuji (Hijli), they turned to the left, passed Balughata, Kali Ghât, Mirnagar,

Nachangacha, Vaisnav Ghata, Barasat, Chatra Bhuj, Ambri Bhuj, Hithagar, and then come to Mogara

There are some points in the geography which deserve notice —

1st—That the Tribeni Ghât, where the bathing took place, was just opposite to Halishahar,

2nd—That the Ganges flowed past Saptagram, and this Saptagram was an important mart

Referring to Saptagram the poet says "The merchants of Kalinga, Troilinga, Anga, Banga, Kainoul, Mahendia Satava, Maharastra, Guzrat, Barindra, Vindapingal, Utkal, Dravir, Raht, Bijonagar, Mathura, Dwarka, Kashi, Kankhol Kakawn, Putamull, Manmull, Godavary, Gya, Sihatta, Kowurkaj, Hargar, Tihatta, Manika, Funika, Lauga, Balumbu, Bagan Maladis, Kurakshetra, Biteshwari, Ahisanka, Siva Chatta, Mahanatta, Hastina, and many other countries which I cannot name, come to Saptagram with merchandize, but the Saptagram merchants never go out of their town. They command the wealth of the world, as also such comforts at home as are procurable only in Paradise. Their place is a holy seat of pilgrimage, incomparable in sanctity. It is called Saptagram, because it is under the rule of its seven patron Rishis."

3rd—That while in the above text, we get Halisahar, Gourya, Mahesh, Khurdaha, Konnagar, Chitpur, Saleekha, we do not find Hughli, Chandarnagar, Serampur, Bali, or Barrackpur

4th—That Calcutta (with respect to the origin of the name of which there has always been so much controversy) was then in existence, that it was an important place between Chitpur and Kalighât, and, though not requiring any special notice of the kind which the poet gives to places like Navadip, Tribeni and Saptagram, yet was of sufficient importance as a village on the route down the Ganges to deserve mention. Calcutta, therefore, is at least three hundred years old, and was in existence before the Company of English merchants had set foot in Bengal, and it is as vain to seek for the origin of its name, as for that of Saleekha, Chitpur, Khurdaha and other names of places in the above list, yet such vain speculations appear to have been at least as ancient in India as the age of our poet, for he himself has his speculation with regard to the name of Saptagram, which he derives from Sapta Rishis, perhaps believed to be seven patron saints of the city, then the richest in Bengal

5th.—That there were two streams of the Ganges near Calcutta, one going down to Hujji (perhaps Hiji) and the other, now called Adiganga, flowing past Kalighât, and that the latter branch was usually used by sea-going vessels

There is one thing noteworthy in connection with the account

of the voyages. The boatmen are from East Bengal, and, perhaps, from Chittagong, the predecessors of the Lascars of the present time. Our poet introduces them as *Bangals* who pronounce *s* as *h*. The tendency of West Bengal men to poke fun at their brethren of East Bengal for their uncouth pronunciation, therefore, appears to be inherited.

How the people amused themselves — We are afraid they did so with gambling and betting, a vice to which the people were much addicted. To whatever other faults they may have to plead guilty, this certainly is not one of their vices now, so the last three hundred years have produced a salutary change in this respect.

When Dhanapati reports what he had seen at Kalidaha, the Raja of Ceylon says that if he can verify his statement by showing him (the Raja) the *Kamala Kamini*, he will give him half his kingdom, else he will take as a forfeit all he has and cast him into prison for life. The betting compact is reduced to writing, and Dhanapati is plundered and imprisoned by way of forfeit.

The same thing happens when Srimanta, in his turn, states what he has seen. The Raja of Ceylon, in this case, bets half his kingdom and agrees to marry his daughter to Srimanta if he can verify his statement, and Srimanta bets his all, as also his life, if he fails to do so. This, again, is reduced to writing and signed by both parties, and Srimanta loses, and it is only when, in pursuance of this betting agreement, he is about to be beheaded, that the Goddess Chandi interposes.

The same story is repeated, when Srimanta, notwithstanding his previous experience, narrates what he saw to Vicram Kesari, the Raja of Ujaini, on his return to Bengal.

Gambling with dice was a somewhat universal vice. The boy, Srimanta, gambles with other boys with dice before he goes to school. When Dhanapati comes home after his first absence, Lohana, to prove that under her care the life of Khuluna was very easy, tells her husband, that, while she (Lohana) looked to the management of the household, Khuluna, the girl-wife, had been all day gambling with dice with her companions. Dhanapati gambles with dice with his girl-wife. He is also found playing with dice in the Pātsala when a certain event happens at home. Furthermore when he goes to Gour and is found to be a very agreeable companion by the Raja of the place, the two gamble with dice night and day, with occasional intermissions for the most necessary purposes, and Dhanapati forgets home and wives in the midst of this excitement.

The lords of men (নরপতি) of our poet are very small men perhaps in position intended to represent the master of a

pergunnah, or so Judging the class by what we know of their successors not long ago, we can well suppose that, while they entrusted the care of their estate to a Dewan (*Mantri*), the class were addicted to the idle habit of spending nights and days in playing with dice

Another amusement of the people was keeping pigeons, pigeon-flying, and a kind of betting in connection therewith. This was one of Akbar's amusements (*Ayin Akbari*, pp 298-302).

Dhanapati has his first interview with Khuluna before marriage—an interview at which he is at once smitten—when he is engaged with his companions in this kind of amusement and has been running through jungles and brakes in pursuit of his pigeon.

The amusement was something after this sort Each man had a pair of pigeons, one male and the other female The male pigeon was released, while the female was held in the hand, and he whose pigeon, soaring aloft, came down and perched on the hand of the owner out of fondness for its mate, was regarded as the winner

There is also a full list of juvenile games, which, with Tic-gooli, blindman's buff, baughchal and dice, included swimming, climbing trees, mock fights, &c

If the Bengalis are to be congratulated on having got rid of the vice of gambling and betting, there has not since then been any general substitution of other and rational amusements in their place, and, judging from what we see, there is something in the observation that the Bengalis are growing a sombre and gloomy people There is no "go," no life, and no combination of work and play

Character of the people—It is interesting to note that the people are described as very truthful The *Kamala-Kamini* appears only to Dhanapati in the first voyage, and to his son, Srimanta, in the second, and, though they point out what they see to their companions, and the crew of the boats, they see nothing When, therefore, on going to the Kalidaha with the King of Ceylon, Dhanapati and Srimanta fail to show him what they had seen, the evidence of these others is taken, and none of them, even to save himself, his master, or his all, which was to go as a forfeit, would tell a lie

Lillabati's committing a forgery, on being instigated thereto by Lohana, is an incident introduced as a thread to the story. It is incorporated in the story to show the evils of polygamy and is held up for deserved condemnation

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

ART. XI—RANJIT SINGH "THE LION OF THE NORTH"

- 1.—*History of the Panjab*, by Sayad Muhammad Latif, 1891
- 2.—*History of the Sikhs*, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, 1849
- 3.—*Military Memoirs of Col James Skinner*, by J. B. Fraser, 1851

THE strange mixture of devilry and devotion in which soldiers of fortune have in all ages found a common and convenient source of inspiration, appeals with greater force to the educated European imagination from the rough doings of an Eastern adventurer, than from the weird heroism of the more familiar crusader. The glamour which superstition or partisanship has thrown over crimes committed under emblazoned banners, seems to be withdrawn, for the Western observer at any rate, from the outrages of Eastern freebooters, big and small, whose record is judged directly according to obvious motive and visible results, irrespectively of infection from religious or political cant. It is well that it is so, since no real good can accrue to either society or civilization, to either men or culture, from any extension to such characters as those which move over the face of all the larger Asiatic dramas, of the absolution which sentiment has pronounced over the marauders of medieval European history. To struggle, and if necessary to die, for personal fame, under the pretext of rescuing palaces or tombs held sacred by particular races, from the grasp of others, only ceases to be a degrading pursuit when the pretext is not a transparent untruth, or, being a truth, involves no criminal waste of treasure or blood, and secures some commensurate gain to individual character or general human happiness, and no illusion that this kind of fanaticism is pleasing to any fetish that has been invested with any attribute of divinity can divest it of its essential immorality.

From one point of view, Ranjit Singh was a bold and successful crusader, with variations in his methods and purposes, challenging comparison indeed with antetypes of other climes and times, but withal as thoroughpaced a crusader as ever warred against the crescent, or saw triumph crowning the efforts of a busy and bloody life. From another, he was a successful warrior, guilty of nearly every crime which can stain the conscience of a man, and rather more successful, on the whole, than most of his predecessors or rivals on an unenviable roll whose inner thoughts and outer deeds, with the language that was used to disguise them both, have been

. . .

brought within the reach of modern analytic criticism by modern research.

Environment and heredity would necessarily leave their marks on such a career, and they would begin their influence on it at a period long anterior to its own day of intelligent willing and of conscious effort. The Indian Continent found itself, in the eighteenth century, an ocean over whose surface ripples played from every quarter of the compass. The Moghal Empire stood rooted in Delhi during its earlier years, rich in its traditions of conquest and plunder, but offering alike to foreign invader and domestic foe, the identical temptation which oriental despotisms, depending mainly on individual sovereigns, have always presented to avarice or jealousy. Between the line of the Indus, over which the Persian Nadir Shah and the Durani Ahmad Abdali had come, in turn, in 1738 and 1748, and the imperial capital, there stretched away the whole breadth of the Panjab, with its masses of intense and vigorous populations, among whose various ingredients of Jât, Khatri, Bhatti and aboriginal hillmen, the Sikh element was gradually gaining solidarity and domination, awaiting the hour and the man to charm it into a consistent and powerful nation.

The more or less philosophical propaganda of Nanak in 1486 had been not only warmed into quicker and keener life, but also made to beat with a fuller pulse, in which Sikh patriotism was being schooled to make the best of both worlds, under the later revelations of Govind. The religion of Nanak, as pure a theism, perhaps, as the human mind has ever evolved anywhere under Eastern skies, did not suffice for all the secular problems of the earth, earthy, to which love of country and hatred of foreign dominance had been calling the manhood and even the womanhood, of the Khalsa. And when, after two hundred years of contemplative repose, the Khalsa consciousness awoke to the incantation of Govind, it was to find that the sword made no worse a defence for faith than religious abstractions, and cut through tangible enemies a good deal faster.

This is precisely the same lesson, in another form, that corrupt forms of Christianity have learned from even more pretentious endeavours to effect futile compromises between the seen and the unseen, but two centuries ago the uncultivated strugglers of the Panjab were unaware of the softer cults under which the cynical immorality of later and more vulgar hypocrisies could be concealed. The prophet of the Khalsa, finding the revelations of the Granth insufficient for a tangled skein of material relations, with fastenings in interminable social as well as political complications, all forming a knot that could neither be opened nor cut, forthwith invoked a new

inspiration to his aid, and added a new volume to the sacred scriptures of his day. The life of Nanak is almost touching in its simplicity and earnestness, as that of Govind is interesting for the sacrifices of sincerity which it made to present and pressing danger. This peril demanded more resistance—a sort of anticipation of the later device known as muscular Christianity—than Nanak's not unlovely conceptions afforded, and the change of mental attitude, progressing under external pressure rather than from internal impulse, from the repose taught by Nanak to the vigour inculcated by Govind, forms a chapter of spiritual evolution, or rather resolution, the first really worthy analysis of which, from the standpoint of the intelligent and not unsympathetic modern observer, has yet to be written.

It was from the moral atmosphere of this religious experiment, which is practically a sealed book to most European readers of history and students of philosophy, that the political ferment, begotten all over the Panjab by the clash of contending arms, took its colouring by absorption. It is not improbable that the intervening Gurus between Nanak and Govind, and in particular Arjun, left some impression alike on the faith delivered to their fathers, and on the political currents that got mixed up with it, on its way down to their sons, but for most foreign observers, and especially for the historical student of this day, it is enough to know that an incongruous religious belief, combining some features of the Hebrew Nazarene with unbridled intoxication, and tempered with abstinence from tobacco, grew from an ideal faith into a very real fight, by which independence was achieved, for a whole generation, by one of the manliest Indian races—a race unhappily deeply tainted with sensuality and strangely treacherous in some of its dealings with its foes, but loyal beyond Asiatic example to its trusted friends, and bringing down from remote antiquity a faint flavour of a Macedonian inheritance (which the Alexandrian invasion is suspected of having infused into its life blood, in its Bactrian epoch) into the heart of a meat-eating, liquor-drinking, brave and reckless modern Hindu people.

This is the people whose history weaves itself as the tassar worm makes its own cocoon, round the lives of Charat Singh, Maha Singh, and Ranjit, and especially of the last.

When the religious philosophy of Nanak struck upon the lives of the Panjab races, it broke up into splinters of creeds, whose shadowy differences present absolutely no moral equivalent worth extracting or formulating. But of the 12 Misls, as they were styled, which subdivided the whole constituency of the Khalsa, two claim and are entitled to distinct recognition, as entering largely into the structure of the new nation which grew up in the Panjab. These were the Kanhya and the

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Sukarchakya Misls, to the latter of which Ranjit Singh belonged, while the former produced a woman, Sada Kaur, whose personal and political influence, freely exerted on behalf of Ranjit, actually embedded itself in his destiny and fertilized it.

In what is now seen to have been the dawn of the history of the Sikhs as a nation, the Sikh clans filling up the large intervals of the Panjab, not held by Mahomedan races, began to move uneasily under impulses directly imparted, doubtless, by the unrest of ambitious individual leaders but indirectly provoked by the ferment caused by the visits and withdrawal of Durani armies. Such a conjunction took place in 1762 and again in 1770, when the Afghan army of Ahmad Shah was followed and harassed by a body of stragglers under Charat Singh, the grandfather of Ranjit, who gave the foreign invaders a succession of those victories that are accounted worse than defeats. It is certain that any single pronounced disaster would have forced the Abdali army back on the Indus, in infinitely better plight than that in which it found itself at the close of its tedious successes, with the remnants of its original bands dispirited and reduced, leaving Charat Singh a brighter prospect than that with which he had started on his Fabian defence.

The death of Charat Singh in 1774, caused by the bursting of a matchlock in the hands of one of his soldiers, brought to the leadership of the Sukarchakya Misl his son, Maha Singh, then a lad of only ten years of age, who inherited, with his chieftainship, a fortune—no inconsiderable one in those days—of three lakhs of rupees a year, drawn in the way of territorial revenue. Charat's widow, Desan, assisted by Jay Ram Missar, who combined in his person the obligations of family priest and paramour, formed a regency during the first few years of the succession of Maha Singh, who, however, in 1778, took the field in person, and by a decisive victory over the Jât chief, Pîr Muhamad at Ramnagar,* at once established a reputation as a warrior of equal boldness and skill. Between his accession and this victory, Maha Singh married the daughter of the Jhind family, better known afterwards as the Mai Malwain, who, on the 2nd November 1780, presented him with the son afterwards known to fame as Ranjit.

It is one of the startling coincidences of Sikh story, that Maha Singh avenged the dishonor of his father by destroying his mother, Desan, in 1778, with both her lovers Jay Ram and Hakikat Singh, and that a similar fate overtook his own wife, the Mai Malwain, at the hand of his own son Ranjit, in 1794. Maha Singh, who was always of very intem-

* The name was changed from Rasulpur to Ramnagar after this victory, from the "town of the Prophet" to the "city of Rain."

perate habits, drank more heavily than before after the murder of his mother, and is said to have died in *delirium tremens*, while the army, which he was at the time leading, invested a Mahomedan fortress at Sodra in 1792. The European reader will con with a grave smile the verdict of the Mahomedan historian on the character which thus closed "His military genius, undaunted courage, stern temper and rigid observance of the rules of delicacy and honour, at times involved him in serious trouble, but he honourably acquitted himself on all such occasions."

It is not a mere coincidence that the history of the Sikh nation is the story of its sovereigns. Before the modern conspiracy between civilization and democracy began, which, without advancing either individual freedom or general happiness, has remitted sovereigns to the position of ornamental figure-heads, or of mere ultimate expressions of the reign of law, rulers arose among both emancipated and enslaved populations, the records of whose career became public history, without making it. It was different with the rulers of the Panjab. They made history, because they made the nation whose construction was the development of their own plans, and whose public records formed the story of their own deeds.

This was especially the case with Ranjit Singh, who, in the year 1792, at the early age of twelve, succeeded his father in the leadership of the Sukarchakya clan. There were only two clans at this time in the Panjab which could advance any claim to race hegemony. These were the Misl of Maha Singh, just named, and the Kanhya for the Bhangi, which had cut so prominent a figure for a few years, had almost collapsed when Ranjit succeeded his father. Gurbaksh Singh was now reposing in his grave, but in his widow, Sada Kaur, there survived a spirit of unusually keen political insight, resting on a broad foundation of personal intrepidity such as women have, from time to time, displayed in all ages and in all countries, when men have given them the chance. That was a glance of special wisdom and foresight which showed Sada Kaur, as she dreamed out her future from the midst of many present nightmares, that it was not given to the Kanhya Misl, good as its record of hard knocks and increasing influence had undoubtedly been, to take the lead among the Khalsa clans, for the temptation to do so, or at least attempt it, with the backing from the distant Durani empire and the nearer Jâts, neither of which would have been refused, must have been great to such a mind as hers. It was resisted, and Sada Kaur saw in the same glance that showed her this, the future that could be opened up by a good alliance with the heir of Maha Singh.

Her daughter, Mahtab, was offered to, and accepted for, the still youthful Ranjit, and this marriage, which at once gave her considerable influence among the Kanhyas, gave her a position of undisputed supremacy among them on the removal by death of her husband's father Jay Singh in the year 1793. It was something more than a spirit of either friendly rivalry or even gratitude that established the close concert which now sprang up between Ranjit's mother and this venturesome daughter of the Kanhya. The Mai Malwain recognized the intrepidity and sagacity which made Sada Kaur so valuable an ally to Ranjit in the most critical days of his widening horizon, and all the friendship that was not claimed by her own paramours was laid at the feet of this woman who was to prove of such signal service to her son. But the Mai Malwain was not destined to share any of the glory to which she thus sacrificed, for Ranjit Singh signalized the beginning of his public career by putting his mother and her two lovers, Laik Missar and Lakhpat Rai, to death, under an impulse which could only have represented some wild animal instinct, since it is difficult to trace in it any resemblance to indignant justice.

A people's misfortunes are often, perhaps usually, their truest opportunities, and the concurrence of one of Shah Zaman's many recurring dreams of founding a vast Indian empire, with Ranjit Singh's assumption of the Sukarchakya leadership, bolstered up as it was with the influence of Sada Kaur and the help of the Kanhya troops, sounded the first note of Ranjit's advance in fortune. A secret understanding with its chief Mahomedan residents, who were outraged by the alternate dissoluteness and rapacity of its *Ramgarhya* rulers, gained an entrance for Ranjit into Lahore, which he fastened on and retained. Sayad Muhammad Latif thus correctly gathers up and describes the conflicting elements of the general Sikh polity, which, in a less firm hand, might have proved so many stinging nettles, but which in his strong grasp contributed to establish his power.

"Firmly established in Lahore, Ranjit Singh occupied himself in consolidating his dominions and making arrangements to secure his authority. The success which had hitherto attended his arms and now the capture and possession of the capital of the Panjab, rendered him an object of envy, hatred and uncharitableness among his contemporary chiefs. In order to wrest Lahore from him, a powerful coalition was formed between Jassa Singh, *Ramgarhya*"—from whose uncle's immediate tutelary possession it had been wrested—"Golab Singh, *Bhangr*, of Amritsar"—the possession of which had carried with it a share in the custodianship of the future capital—"Sahib Singh, *Bhangr*, of Gujrat, Jodh Singh of Wazirabad and Nizam-ud-din Khan of Kasur. The confederate forces, several

thousands strong, left Amritsar for Lahore in the early part of A D 1800, under the command of their respective chiefs Jassa Singh, Ramgarhaya, owing to infirmity and old age, was unable to join the expedition personally, but he sent his sons to conduct affairs on his behalf. Ranjit Singh went out to meet them, taking with him as large a force as he could collect from Lahore, as well as the contingent furnished by his active mother-in-law Sada Kaur. The troops of both parties lay encamped opposite each other in Mauza Bhasin, ten kos east of Lahore, for a period of two months, and various fruitless skirmishes took place without either party gaining the advantage. These procrastinations led the Bhangi sardars to forget the object which had prompted them to take joint action against the common foe. The greater portion of both night and day was spent in carousing and rioting to the entire prejudice of their armies and their cause. This hard drinking proved fatal to Golab Singh, Bhangi, who died suddenly one night in a fit of *delirium tremens*. The death of this sardar spread consternation throughout the camp of the Bhangis, and, it being felt that the Sukarchakya chief was inflexible and well-prepared to keep the field, the army of the confederate sardars broke up, and Lahore was ever after left in the undisturbed possession of Ranjit Singh"—pp 351-352

The unconscious irony of the last few sentences is inimitable, and happily does not interfere with the historical accuracy and critical value of the context, which is confirmed in the main incidents recorded in it both by Murray's *Ranjit Singh*, and by Cunningham's brief record of Ranjit Singh, though it is worthy of note that Cunningham represents the tottering steps by which Shah Zaman retreated from the Panjab, and gathered up the skirts of the Abdali Indian Empire behind him, as reaching almost into 1803, possibly 1805, and thus overlapping the slow movements making up Ranjit's capture of the city of Lahore, instead of preceding it, as the Mahomedan chronicler's account would lead us to suppose —

"Ranjit Singh made Lahore his capital, and, with the aid of the Kanhya confederacy, he easily reduced the whole of the Bhangis to submission, although they were aided by Nizam-ud-din Khan of Kasur. After this success, Ranjit Singh went to bathe in the holy pool of Tarran Taran, and, meeting with Fattah Singh, Alhuwalhya, he conceived a friendship for him, and went through the formal exchange of turbans. During 1801, the allies took Amritsar from the widow of the last Bhangi leader of note, and of their joint spoil it fell to the share of the master of the other capital of the Sikh country.

In little more than a year after Shah Zaman quitted the Panjab, he was deposed and blinded by his brother Moha-

mad, who was in his turn supplanted by a third brother, Shah Suja, in the year 1803. "These revolutions hastened the fall of the entire empire of Ahmad Shah, and Ranjit Singh was not slow to try his arms against the weakened Durani governors of districts and provinces. In 1804-5 he marched to the westward and received homage and presents from the Mahomedans of Jhang and Sahiwal"—*Cunningham*, pages 139, 140.

The slight conflict of testimony in regard to the order of the surrounding circumstances which form the background of the capture of Lahore, is of political interest rather than of historical importance, but it is not useless to detect the political interest of it since it leaves in uncertainty the details of a drama immediately preceding, and not wholly irrelevant to, the first contact of Ranjit Singh with the British power rising on the South-eastern horizon, and already knocking at the gates of Delhi. Four years later, as we learn from neither *Cunningham* nor Sayad Muhammad Latif, but from a casual disclosure in the *Memoirs of Colonel Skinner* (page 86, Vol. II), Holkar, whose aims in the Panjab were undisguisedly hostile to those of the British, marched into the Panjab from Rajputana, where he largely recruited his forces, "in the hopes of securing assistance from the Sikhs, who, it was said, particularly Ranjit Singh, had actually made some promise to that effect." The promise might be as false as other promises of the Sikh sovereign, but so far as it was made at all, it was anti-British, about the same time,—though the exact date is not fixed,—when Ranjit Singh, while openly jealous of British influence, was engaged in efforts to propitiate it, and was not in acknowledged league with the Indor Darbar.

It was early in 1800 that Ranjit Singh made himself master of Lahore. It was late in the same year—after he had marched against Jaimmu and humbled its Rajah by exacting Rs 20,000 from him as the price of leaving his capital untouched, and after his indomitable mother-in-law had, in his interest, routed the Ramgarhyas under Jodh Singh—that Ranjit Singh received a formal visit from Yusaf Ali Khan, the British Agent, who had come with a present of Rs 1,000, and been dismissed with a khillat. It was not until the year 1801 that Ranjit formally assumed the title of Maharaja, and claimed charge of the *Sarkar* of the Panjab, and it would prove of something more than merely literary interest to decipher,—if that were practicable—from the hieroglyphics which the rival influences of the three great powers, now struggling for the mastery of the North, at this period carved upon its history, whether the subsidence of Durani domination in the Panjab preceded, followed, or was simultaneous with Ranjit's capture of Lahore, nearly synchronous as that was with his first friendly contact with the British

power, and how far the decline of Mahomedan dominion may have been owing to a recrudescence of indigenous forces, Hindu or Sikh, and how far to the power of Britain.

The sudden collapse of uncivilized powers under pressure of civilized foreign armies, has often formed a subject of study among thoughtful historians, and need only be briefly hinted at in this place. The strength of the Durani influence in the Panjab, continually weakened as it had been by internecine strife, and was destined further to be by the successful resistance of Ranjit, lay, during its last years of decay, as much in the surviving loyal affinities of Mahomedan chiefs scattered over the Panjab, as in its own direct manifestations. Ranjit was keen-eyed enough to see the value of this powerful prestige, and gradually, by cajolery or force, detached the distant abstraction from its chief local sources of strength. When, in 1805, Ranjit finally succeeded in forming treaties with the more influential Mahomedan families and chiefs about the Jhelam and the Chinab, it became suddenly true as the Sayad expresses the change, that "the court of Kabul was no longer regarded as the royal and highest tribunal of India. The chiefs of the Panjab looked upon the Maharaja Ranjit Singh as the greatest and most powerful chief of India, to him they did homage to him they looked for advancement, and around his standard they rallied in cases of national danger or of any greater emergency."

Two different elements mingled, like two distinct streams, in the character of Ranjit Singh. They were both the offspring of the rather low type of patriotism which fired his breast, and which consisted in the exaltation of his country and his race, so far as the double business harmonized with the exaltation of himself but one was talent shown in opposing foreign or domestic foes, the other was talent in conserving or constructing domestic institutions of any recognizable promise. It is conceivable that if the distractions of war had not engrossed so much of his energy and time, the problem of municipal reconstruction which opened up before him, in the harmonizing of conflicting domestic interests, might have placed his character in another light than that in which it now appears to the world. If the striking of a coin to celebrate his assumption of the title of Maharaja, and the inspiration which prompted him to appeal to both the religious instinct and the patriotism of his subjects by inscribing the words "Hospitality, the sword victory, and unfailing conquest from Nanak to Guru Govind Singh" on the coin, be accounted a mere flash, which only played over the popular imagination without sinking into the public mind, there was real genius in the internal administrative reforms by which law-officers were appointed with revised jurisdictions, and an ancient form of municipal and fouzdar administration was revived,

developed, and dovetailed into the general social system. But war was in the air in those days and the clash of arms and the din of battlefields left little leisure for the "consummation of peaceful administrative reform."

The wresting of Akalgarh from the heirs of Dal Singh, whom Ranjit had solemnly undertaken to respect, is of comparative insignificance, except in so far as it affords a fresh insight into his personal character, but it affords the Mahomedan historian the opportunity of leaving on record the fact that—"Ranjit showed not the smallest regard for treaties or promises. He entered into them or violated them as best suited his schemes," and the magic grant of two villages which was made to the widow of the Guziat chief for her maintenance hardly wipes off the stain from the escutcheon of the Maharaja.

In the same year—the first of his new sovereignty—into which were crowded so many crucial and typical acts, there came also this further one. He was enabled to pay off an old and large debt of gratitude to the Kunhja dowager, his mother-in-law, who had done so much to build up his supremacy, by marching to her help at Batala, when she was there threatened by Sansar Chand, the Raja of Kangra. Ranjit personally took the field on this occasion and not only drove off the invader and the allies whom he had induced to join him in the hope of plunder, but pursued the retreating Raja of Kangra into his own territory from which he sliced off the entire Lajpore of Naushera, and handed it over, with all its revenue, to Sadra Kaur, to whom he took advantage of the same opportunity to restore all the territory that had some years previously been wrested by Sansar Chand from Gurbaksh.

Sansar Chand renewed his ravages from time to time on territories claimed by Sadra Kaur or her allies, at varying intervals, as in 1804, but retreated on each approach of Ranjit to the help of his mother-in-law, until finally the game ceased to be deserving of the candle required to light it.

The story of successive victories which microscopic records have dignified with the proportions of conquests, wearies the thoughtful reader in search rather of critical incidents or of movements characteristic either of the ruling spirit or of the human clay on which he elected to exercise the right of a potter. Now and again an occurrence of domestic interest lights up a gloomy record of conflict, only, however, to sink back into it, like a light spluttering in a bog. The birth of Kharak Singh in 1802 gave Ranjit in lieu to his new kingdom. Later in the same year, a beautiful Mahomedan girl, named Moran, whom Cunningham inaccurately treats as a courtesan, fascinated the sensualist, and, after raising her to the share of his dignities which one wife could enjoy, and striking a new com-

to perpetuate her memory, he proceeded with her to Hardwar to perform one of those religious pilgrimages with which he varied the monotony of his sordid and sanguinary career.

The civil strife carried on in Afghanistan between Shah Shuja and the four sons of Faimur Shah, probably first suggested to Ranjit the complete crushing of the Mahomedan chief of Jhang, who had always been, if not in liveliest sympathy with the Kabul Darbar, at least livelier than most other Mahomedan cis-Indus chiefs, in reflecting the danger which menaced the Panjab from Afghanistan. The overthrow of Ahmad Khan and sack of Jhang were followed by what can only be described as a sweep of conquests which, though seemingly disconnected, and sometimes divided by intervals of years, must now be seen to have formed part of a fixed policy of emancipation for the Sikh kingdom from Durani domination.

To devise a policy of this kind demanded talent of no humble order, to enforce it, required military virtues of no mean kind. Ranjit possessed and exhibited both. The question whether accident or design, external provocation or internal character, was responsible for the unadulterated selfishness, unrelieved by a single ray of generous conduct, which stamped itself upon these proceedings, does not appear to have detained the historian, and need not delay the critic. The declining Mahomedan family of Rukot, which, during the life of Rai Jhas Khan, had possessed considerable influence in Ludhiana, was, after his death, simply wiped out by Ranjit, who found in this possession a bait by which the Hindu Raja of Jhind could be attached to his cause. The idea that moral influences pervaded human society and could be turned to future influence by present respect never once occurred to his one-eyed mind. Living for the present, and only for that in it which promised immediate gain or immediate gratification, he showed, even while displaying administrative capacity equal to all present demands, an utter want of the higher statesmanship, which had in a measure distinguished more than one Moghal sovereign at Delhi, and which, while preferring present to future successes, never sacrificed a single substantial advantage for any gratification not worth the cost.

But though wanting in that imperial instinct which brings a ruler *en rapport* with alien subjects, Ranjit possessed that more selfish and equally useful faculty which leads men to select serviceable agents. The choice of the Chatin Mohkam Chand of Guziat, for a chief command, and one or two other equally wise selections, buttressed his growing power in a manner not, perhaps, fully understood by himself at that time. If this faculty had been more largely and more widely developed, so as both

to enlist talent of all varieties, and particularly among Mahomedans, and thus to pacify the racial and religious animosities which his crushing triumphs everywhere aroused, his power might have been a less purely personal, and more a national, force than it proved to be after his death.

If in the first contact of Ranjit Singh with British power, the latter was suppliant for help, it was not so in the second. In the decisive battle fought at Delhi on 11th September 1808, in which 5,000 Sikhs had fought for Holkar, Lord Lake had routed the Mahrattas, and dispersed these Sikh allies. Holkar, as shown both by Cunningham and in Skinner's Memoirs, never recovered from the blow, and it was as a fugitive in 1805, after the defeats of Fattahgarh and Dig, that he claimed the attention of Ranjit Singh, whose aid he now sought against the British, who, in the pursuit after him, when he advanced towards Amritsar with an army of 15,000 men, crossed the Bias and encamped at Jallalabad. At that period British Indian statesmanship contemplated no further extension of territory than that already possessed, which sufficed for the commercial triumphs to which its views for the future were being restricted, under directions from the East India Company.

It was with something of a feeling of relief that Lord Lake appears to have looked to Ranjit Singh to act as an intermediary with Holkar, after the latter had been driven from his own territory. On the 11th January 1806 a treaty was concluded between Holkar and Lord Lake by which the former renounced all possessions in Northern India. To this treaty Ranjit was contributory, and it bound him to the pleasing duty—which he could renounce if it ever became profitable to do so—of giving no assistance to the Mahratta power against the British. As Sayad Muhammad quaintly, but not untruly says, "thus was the evil, which Ranjit Singh dreaded, averted, and his Sikhs blessed their stars that they had not been entangled in war with the foreigners."

The prompt retreat of the British force, which enabled Ranjit once more to breathe freely, also, by one of those strange freaks of fate which follow men against whom the stars in their courses do not seem to fight, actually added to his personal influence, to which it was held alike by his rivals and by his friends to be chiefly owing not only that Holkar escaped with the skin of his teeth, but that the new white-warriors, who had risen like a storm-cloud over the sky of the Panjab, had been suddenly and peacefully charmed away. It affords another of those glimpses of his real character, in which it must be said that the admirable and painstaking history of Sayad Muhammad abounds, that „Ranjit Singh, with his mind set at rest, freely indulged in

all kinds of excesses" at the filthy *Holi* festival which immediately followed. All that a formidable foreign foe might prove to structures such as that which Ranjit had built up in the Panjab, can perhaps only be rightfully apprehended in the perspective which distance has now given to the mixture of stirring and revolting events which make up his history. But the anxiety of Ranjit seems to have been as real as it was reasonable, and if the subsequent sense of relief was less intelligible to the Western military mind, it was hardly less natural in the peculiar type of Eastern hero who showed it. The fiercest of wild animals, which are also instinctively cruel, have moments of reactionary cowardice, bearing testimony to the operation of some obscure law of compensation, and the allowance which psychology makes for the beast can hardly be denied to the man.

The next foreign cloud which overshadowed, or more correctly, fluted over, the Panjab, caused the Maharaja less concern, though, if he had truly weighed the chances of war, as these were influenced by designs then actually felt to have been in operation, and by motives subsequently known to have been influential at the time, his judgment might have been revised.

The Gurkhas are, perhaps, the one Asiatic race on whom most Indian commanders have learned to place the greatest dependence. True brave, not addicted much to any degrading vice, they make admirable fighting men. A large body of them invaded Kangra from Nipal, under Amar Singh, in 1806, and it is easy to imagine more than one result of this invasion, which might have caused Ranjit Singh serious inconvenience, and might even have exposed him to some danger. If Amar Singh had given battle at once, and, cutting through the demoralized troops of Sansar Chand, made overtures to the Mahomedans of Rohilkand, who were only too ready to band against the new Sikh power that was crushing them all—instead of awaiting the approach of Ranjit Singh and then tamely offering to bribe him off,—the Panjab might have had another history than the one which we have to study to-day. Always provided that, when Amar Singh moved from his base, further relays of Gurkha troops could have followed to support him. Even if the Nipalese general had engaged the Kangra army, and, defeating it, as he must have done, had, in the flush of victory, encountered Ranjit Singh's by no means formidable host, it is impossible to say that the result must have been favourable to the Maharaja, or that, being unfavourable, it would not have been followed by disastrous consequences. But during a period of unwise delay, pestilence broke out among the Gurkhas, who retired as rapidly as they had come, and

Ranjit Singh himself withdrew, leaving an army of observation consisting of 1,000 men to watch the Kangra frontier

The tours in which Ranjit for the ensuing two years indulged, originating, though some of them did, in fringed desires for conquest and display, virtually degenerated, with a single exception which need not detain us, into a series of arbitrations between chiefs at variance with one another—or, as in one case where a chief had no one else near enough to quarrel with, with his wife—a judicial function which, however, seems to have resolved itself into the receipt of handsome presents from suitors for favour, and perverted awards in which the balance thus weighted audibly struck the ground. To this category may unquestionably be relegated the verdict in favour of Rani Aus Kaur of Patiala, whose gift of a diamond necklace, worth Rs 70,000, and the historic brass cannon known as Kara Khan, secured, jointly with her son, a jagu with an annual revenue of Rs 50,000

The calculating nature of Ranjit is disclosed in a new and almost amusing light in his tacit acquiescence in the fraud, which he is generally believed to have penetrated at once, and by which his mother-in-law and friend, Sada Kaur, endeavoured to atone for the sterility of her daughter, Multab, by presenting Ranjit Singh, during his absence on one of his periodical tours, with twins who had been procured from a humble home in Hoshiarpur

The lads thus juggled into spurious royalty grew up into manhood, and, as Sayad Muhammad naively adds, "Ranjit Singh was never deceived, but as he liked the idea of being called a father, he treated both as sons and called them Shahzadas or princes." The incident is both curious and instructive as shedding a flood of light on a type of character which is impracticable under any other conditions than those which here produced it. Ranjit Singh, even in the height of his power, was grateful to Sada Kaur for all her past devotion to his cause. He was not incapable, under stress of temptation, of exacting nazaranas from tributary sardars of the Kangra mountains who owed allegiance to Sada Kaur, on whom their gifts to Ranjit necessarily reacted in the way of a fine or sacrifice of revenue. But he found it impossible to repudiate the sons fathered on him by a transparent trick though the transaction must have cost him infinitely more than the money obtained from the Kangra sardars. For an explanation, "he liked the idea of being called father," may not strike the European reader as being absolutely effective, but for the true oriental despot, it is as good as, and sounds better than, any other which can now be substituted for it, and may be true

It is not easy with any information that is available to the

public—though full explanations of the whole transaction are doubtless to be had in the official records of the day—to understand the next reception of a British envoy by Ranjit Singh. In April 1808 an Indian wakil of the British Government, which had now consolidated itself in Bengal and was spreading itself in Hindustan arrived at Lahore with presents for the Maharaja, ostensibly designed to strengthen the friendly relations which had been established by the mission of Yusuf Ali Khan, already referred to, eight years previously. The wakil was well received, and presented with a khillat valued at Rs 5,000, together with other valuable articles, chiefly products of the province for his masters to whom, in addition, he doubtless took back the secret information regarding Ranjit Singh's relations with his own subjects, as well as with Holkar, and with the few remaining independent Mahomedan chiefs of the Panjab, which he was in all likelihood charged to obtain, and which Ranjit himself would have had no interest in withholding.

Though Ranjit Singh was now paramount in the Panjab, even he himself barely hoped that the Sikh jealousies, which had haunted his early successes, had been extinguished by his later triumphs. There is no authenticated evidence to connect the Sikh movement against him, that began to show itself now in Malwa and Sindh, with the visit of the British envoy, but it is not inconceivable that the visit itself innocently suggested the form which the movement now began to take. Jhindh and Malwa, though standing outside the circle which enclosed the 12 Misl of the old Sikh hierarchy, still shared with all Sikhs the Rajput ancestry and later conversion to the Khalsa, which may be held to constitute identity with the common cause, into which hatred of the big usurper now entered as a fresh element, and they found in Patiala the link that was wanting to extend the movement beyond the limits of a bourgeois conspiracy.

At a meeting held in Samana in the Patiala State, called to devise whether the remedy of an appeal to the British was more dangerous than the disease of absorption into a Sikh empire, that instinctive personal interest which blinds mere fighting machines such as most of these chiefs were to larger views, led the conference to devise an appeal to the British. To Mr Seton, the Resident at Delhi, accordingly, a mission, consisting of four chiefs and principal men, was sent, which took the precaution of submitting its views in a petition. The main ground of the claim, that independent Sikh chiefs had always been under the protection of the Resident at Delhi, must have fallen strangely on the ear of Mr Seton, if he remembered the commercial professions which had preceded the expansion of British influence in Hindustan, and contrasted them with the decaying influence of the

Moghal No British official worthy to hold the position of Resident at the Court of Delhi at such a time could have helped forming views more in harmony with the British future in India than the terms of the answer actually made to the Sikh chiefs, but the answer actually made to them was that no hope could be held out to them of any direct British interference in their relations with the Lahore Court. The abstract sympathy that was freely thrown into the disappointment thus caused to the Sikh chiefs does not appear to have altered its flavour in the least. Ranjit Singh, who was informed of this mission, called a meeting of these chiefs in Amritsar and strove to allay their fears by every device of his eager mind and ready tongue.

But events were ripening in India under influences which, though in it, were not of it. And here may be quoted a thoughtful and careful summary by Sayad Muhammad Latif of one of the most important crises in Indian history —

"The political aspect of affairs in India underwent a material change, and the policy of non-interference inaugurated by Lord Cornwallis was totally abandoned by the new Governor-General of India, Lord Minto, a statesman of great promise and of special experience at the Board of Control. The ambitious Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France, now in the zenith of his power, who had won brilliant victories in Europe, and had just concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Russia was believed to be meditating the invasion of India in concert with the Turks and Persians, and to prevent his designs, Lord Minto determined to form a defensive alliance, not only with the powers beyond the Jamna and Satlej, but also with those beyond the Indus. It was accordingly resolved to send ambassadors to the Court of Shah Singh the King of Kabul, the Court of Persia and of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, whose authority had now been firmly established in the Panjab, to negotiate with those monarchs, and to persuade them that their interests were identical with those of the British and that, in the event of an invasion of this country by the French Government, the interests of the Sikhs would be the first to suffer. He therefore urged upon them the necessity of a policy of unity, as the only means by which they could hope to keep the enemy at bay. Mr. Elphinstone was deputed to the Court of Kabul, Sir John Malcolm to the Court of Icheran, and in August 1808, Mr. (afterwards Lord) C. T. Metcalfe, a young Bengal Civilian, one of Lord Wellesley's ablest pupils, who had already distinguished himself for political sagacity and fairness, was sent as the British plenipotentiary to the Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore"—pp 373-74

As a sister picture to this one, a picture almost necessary to enable the reader to grasp the real questions-at issue in the

crisis that had come, the following equally telling passage from the same work may be read —

"Everybody had now seen the rising power and fortune of Ranjit Singh. He had conquered city after city and town after town, without being checked in any quarter in his ambitious career, which appeared to be unlimited. He had got the better of the strongest leagues which had been formed against him, he had broken the power of united confederacies and humbled many proud families and tribes to the dust. His arms had conquered the countries between the old Hydaspes and the Bias, forming the Panjab proper, and even penetrated beyond the limits of the Panjab proper. The Afghans who were left in possession of the north-west portions of the Panjab the Sadozai family of Pathans who held the province of Multan and the Hill Raja of Kangra had already felt the weight of his power, and were treated by him as ordinary vassals. His highest ambition now, as Maharaja of Lahore, was to unite all Sikhs under one banner, and extend his sway from the banks of the Satlej to the Jamna, and thus to absorb into his own dominions all the independent states encompassed by those rivers. Already his last two Satlej campaigns had borne good fruit, and his successive inroads and victories had reasonably led him to hope that another season would see the whole country annexed to the new kingdom of Lahore. He was munificent in his rewards and severe in his exactions. He was dreaded, if not loved, by his subjects, and respected by those around him. His power was absolute, and, from the chief of a state to the common soldier, every one implicitly obeyed him. The British envoy had personally observed how submissive the cis-Satlej Rajas and other chiefs were to him. He had no cause to be attracted to the side of the English whose interests, he knew, were adverse to his own, so far as the cis-Satlej States, the choicest object of his ambition, were concerned"—page 374.

The consent which even the English reader gives to this careful statement would, of course in any moral estimate of large social movements, have to be discounted by the fact, that no mental movement is produced by the record of this brilliant career at all corresponding with the heart-throb with which even the schoolboy reads the story of Hannibal. But whether because the greater fulness of modern history brings within reach details of individual life, which are lost to the critical consciousness in the story of ancient warriors, or there were seen in old-world heroes, glimpses of a great human nature which found something in the world to worship, that was wholly outside of self, the fact remains that a moral analysis of character is not indispensable to a just realization of the political crisis that was maturing in India.

The game which Ranjit Singh now played with Mr Metcalfe required both skill in its conception and boldness and courage in its execution. Unless we adopt a view which was not wholly unknown among contemporary official constructions of his conduct at this juncture—the view, namely, that Ranjit acted with reckless eccentricity leaving chance to explain his actions favourably—the alternative idea is, that he had determined on treating the British envoy with only so much deference as was unavoidable. He left him to follow him about as the representative of an inferior Power while he exhibited before him his irresistible force and matchless skill in conquering, in the very presence of the envoy, victim after victim, and among others some who had claimed the very protection of the British. Mr Metcalfe who, while complaining of the discourtesy shown him when being led about with almost contemptuous unconcern in the very sight and hearing of the Sikh chiefs who had sought British protection, only once ventured to offer any direct protest against the course actually pursued by Ranjit Singh. Finding that Ranjit Singh was actually breaking the agreement made with Lord Lake in 1805 by refusing to recognize the Satlej as the border of his kingdom, Mr Metcalfe abandoned the Maharaja's camp and returned to Delhi, leaving Ranjit (while he, Mr Metcalfe, awaited further instructions) to pursue his conquests over forbidden ground, unattended by himself in the rôle of a helpless witness.

It had by this time become evident to the Governor General that unless some decided change could be effected in the attitude taken up by Ranjit Singh, which was virtually that of a military ruler above all treaties, a conflict with him was only a question of time, delay in solving which only left additional advantages with the enemy. Mr Metcalfe was accordingly instructed to put his foot down on the earlier understanding that the cis-Satlej States were under British protection, and that Ranjit should not merely not trespass further on debateable ground, but restore to their rightful possessors all lands already wrongly taken. This ultimatum was delivered to the Maharaja at Amritsar by Mr Metcalfe on the 4th December 1808. Ranjit Singh procrastinated as long as he could, but finally determined on armed resistance. Ochterlony, on his appearance at the head of a British army in January 1809, was hailed as a deliverer by the Malwa and Sirhind chieftains, and a war, which must have proved bloody and desperate, would probably have broken out, but for one of those unforeseen incidents which often turn the scale in human affairs. A small band of Mahomedan troopers in British employ, while celebrating the Moharram festival with *Tassias*, was set upon by an overwhelming rabble of Sikhs, whom the disciplined valour of the troopers enabled them to scatter in very little time. The incident im-

pressed the Maharaja's imagination forcibly, and led him to form impressions regarding the probable consequence of a conflict on a larger scale, neither flattering to the Khalsa vanity nor calculated to encourage hopes. Under one of those impulses, his subjection to which at once separates Ranjit Singh by a gulf from any category of generalship now recognized as great, the Sikh ruler put an exaggerated estimate on a mere exhibition of superior military discipline, ignored all the national vitality which underlay all his own past successes, tamely apologized to the British Resident for the fanaticism of his Akalis who had interfered with the religious ceremonial of the British troops, withdrew his army from the Satlej and bound himself by treaty not to trespass beyond it. The establishment of a British cantonment in Ludhiana, which took place at this time, is charged with the origin of the grotesque jest in which the Maharaja is said, while gazing on a map in which British possessions were marked in red, to have muttered sadly *sab lāl hojāwēgā*.

The Gwalior chief Sindhia was for some years after this treaty suspected of conspiring with Holkar and the Rohilla chieftain, Amir Khan to induce Ranjit Singh to join them in a general movement which should wipe the British off the face of Hindustan, and it is more than probable that Ranjit himself endeavoured to tamper with the loyalty of the cis Satlej States. But, nothing coming of these negotiations, Ranjit resumed his habit of traversing his borders like a roaring lion seeking whom he might devour. A second encounter with and defeat of Amar Singh, the Gurkha commander, who made another descent on Kangra, prompted the Nipalese general to seek an alliance with Ochterlony, with the object of crushing the Maharaja, but this overture was rejected, and Ranjit Singh began the policy of appointing military chiefs to the charge of all his new conquests and such older conquests as were also threatened.

The British wars with Nipal and the British negotiations with Afghanistan which occupied the next few years, though they unquestionably made their results felt in the history of the Sikh nation a few years later, touch so lightly on the personal history of Ranjit Singh, at this particular period, as to demand no detailed reference to them in this place.

Shah Shuja's effort in 1810, to engage Ranjit Singh in the recovery of Multan, which he still claimed, and which the Maharaja proceeded to claim on his behalf, even while the dethroned Afghan sovereign was a fugitive from his own dominions, where a civil war was now raging furiously, enable us to resume the thread of Ranjit Singh's career only, however, to state at once, that he failed ignominiously in making any impression on the rebellious province, retired from it in con-

siderable mortification, and set about remodelling his army on European patterns. The valuable services by which Mohkam Chand consolidated the Sikh kingdom for his master during the next year, 1811, which closed with his reducing all the country between Manjha and Multan, culminated in his own appointment as Dewan, and his career is worthy of note as furnishing one of the striking instances of the Maharaja's loyalty to his friends. Mohkam Chand justified the honor conferred on him by his complete rout of the Afghan forces under Fateh Khan at Khyrabad in 1813.

Ochterlony's visit to Lahore in 1812 on the occasion of the marriage of the Maharaja's son, Kharak Singh, turned over the next page of British diplomacy with the Sikh ruler, but, beyond leading to more cordial relations than those which had previously existed, presented no substantial result.

No writer of the story of Ranjit Singh's life can afford to omit all mention of the circumstances under which he extorted the kohinur from Shah Shuja in 1813 while the latter was his guest in Lahore, after starving the Afghan fugitive and subjecting both himself and his family to great indignities. The disproportionate length at which the incident is dwelt upon in some histories of the Maharaja is possibly owing to an idea that it places a great historical character in some new and exceptional light. A truer view of the whole transaction will be found in the simple reflection, that the theft and extortion which are found in the occurrence, in addition to the want of chivalry which surrounded it, crystallize the ruling principles of the Maharaja's life, which perhaps come into clearer view when focussed in the incident of the robbery of the kohinur, than as we usually find them, dispersed over conquests surrounded with a halo of military glory, and this view of the larger part of Ranjit's career is in no way affected by the reticence of those historians who either minimize the incident of the kohinur,—as Cunningham, for example, has seen fit to do,—or envelop all its surroundings, which are full of the dramatical interest of a tragic romance, in secrecy.

From this period until 1826, when the Maharaja died, although the central figure is still clearly perceptible in all the movements of the Sikh nation, and their movements are still visibly coloured with the characteristics of the man who inspires or leads them, the record becomes more distinctly that of the nation and less that of the individual than it had hitherto been. The abortive expedition to Kashmir in 1814, undertaken against the counsel of the shrewd Mohkam Chand, adds a page to Sikh history in which, without dwarfing the sovereign, the valuable services of the Dewan came into play in a man-

ner illustrating the evolution of the policy of a state rather than a display of individual caprice—though the caprice is still predominant and results, in the case of the Kashmir episode, in merited disaster. "The Maharaja," naturally enough, "ever afterwards expressed a horror of the snow and cold of Kashmir, and the subject was such a sore one with him, that he never touched upon it without denouncing Kashmir as a vile place," an impression which, it is interesting to note, survived long after the complete subjection of Kashmir in the later days of his reign, and its final absorption into his dominions.

A formal council of the Sikh nation held in 1805, to which the Mahomedan writer hardly gives the prominence which is its due, but to which Cunningham does more justice, fairly reflects the type of national character into which Ranjit's subjects had been matured under the joint action of their opportunities and of his spur. In their earlier history, before their religion had been cast in political moulds, and inward impulse had been completely subordinated to external expediency, the old Gurumattas, or religious councils, had served a most important purpose in inspiring a race of warriors with sentiments in which the religious element served as a disinfectant against the sordid self-aggrandizement into which the plundering wars of their race necessarily degenerated. Nothing of the kind had taken place for years. The change, which can be matched from a striking phase in the history of the not wholly dissimilar Hebrew race, is graphically described by Cunningham —

"The singleness of purpose, the confident belief in the aid of God, which had animated mechanics and shepherds to resent persecution and to triumph over Ahmad Shah, no longer possessed the minds of their descendants born to comparative power and affluence, and who, like rude and ignorant men, broken loose from all law, gave the rein to their grosser passions. Their ambition was personal, and their desire was for worldly enjoyment. The genuine spirit of Sikhism had again sought the dwelling of the peasant to reproduce it in another form, the rude system of mixed independence and confederacy was unsuited to an extended dominion. It had served its ends of immediate agglomeration, and the "Misls" were in effect dissolved. The mass of the people remained satisfied with their village freedom, to which taxation and inquisition were unknown, but the petty chiefs and their paid followers, to whom their faith was the mere expression of a conventional custom, were anxious for predatory excursions, and for additions to their temporal power. Some were willing to join the English, others were ready to link

their fortunes with the Mahrattas, and all had become jealous of Ranjit Singh, who alone was desirous of excluding the strange invaders, as the great obstacle to his own ambition of founding a military monarchy which should ensure to the people the congenial occupation of conquest. In truth Ranjit Singh laboured, with more or less of intelligent design, to give unity and coherence to diverse actions and scattered elements, to mould the increasing Sikh nation into a well ordered state, or commonwealth, as Govind had developed a sect into a people, and had given application and purpose to the general institutions of Nanak"—p 141

It is a fair question however, and one suggested by Cunningham's own frank admissions elsewhere—as, for instance, in page 187, on the character of Ranjit Singh—whether the difference which he draws between the rural and town populations is not purely academic. Ranjit had swept over the Panjab in a series of tours, which had included nearly every large group of villages in some shadow of trouble or involved it in some chain of responsibility, for the tribute which he exacted from leaders came eventually from their tenants. Nevertheless the picture drawn above of a general course of demoralization is as striking as it is true, no matter who the victims of the process may have been. The capture of Multan in 1818 bulks largely in the declining years of Ranjit's reign, not less because, in setting as it were a seal to the final extinction of Mahomedan sovereignty from every important portion of the Panjab it closed that conflict between the Khalsa and Islam which formed, while it lasted, an open sore in the Sikh polity, than because it rounded off the South western territories of the Sikh nation by giving them a natural boundary.

This was the first great accomplishment of Ranjit's reign in which he was not the principal factor. He had taken a personal interest in supervising the preparations before his army left Lahore in 1817, but when it actually took the field in the following year, it was nominally under the command of Ranjit's son, Khairak Singh, supported by Missar Dewan Chand, who was to take the lead in the operations. Ranjit closely watched the operations as they were reported to him in his capital, and then tedious development admitted of his even communicating instructions to Dewan Chand on the field. When Multan fell, later in the year, Lahore became the scene of one of those public rejoicings in which boundless extravagance formed the most striking feature, but which have by no means been confined to Eastern or savage people. In the arrangements made for the Civil administration of the acquired province, there, flashed forth some last scintillations of the governing talent of which indications had been given in the early part

of his career, but how had the fine gold become dim ! Instead of enlisting local influences, or local genius on his side, Ranjit could devise nothing better than the coarse device of pensioning off all the Mahomedan patriotism that had not been preferentially obliterated with the sword, and entrusting the civil government entirely to the Khatri, Sukhdyal, who surrounded himself, or was surrounded by his master, with exclusively Hindu agents

The virtual extinction of all formidable Mahomedan power within the Panjab led Ranjit to cast prying eyes once more on Peshawar where Yu Mohamid represented Ayub Khan who had mounted the musnad in Kabul This man having fled on the approach of the Sikh force, Jahandad Khan, who had betrayed Attock to Ranjit Singh, and thereby proved his own complete detachment from the Afghan alliance, was rewarded with the control of Peshawar It was, however, too remote from Lahore, and too full of a mixed Mahomedan population to be anything but a thorn in the side of Ranjit Singh and in the course of very few months it was recaptured by Dost Mohamad As Jahandad Khan, whose name has just been mentioned, will not appear in these pages again, it may be added—as some kind of indication of Mahomedan sentiment in regard to the prospect of some Indian, as opposed to an Afghan, control being finally established over Peshawar—that, having failed, equally when representing Ranjit Singh on the Indus and again when aiding the final spurt by which Shah Shuja (in the year 1818) endeavoured to raise his standard beyond the Indus, Jahandad Khan finally shook the dust off his treacherous feet against the cities which he had successively betrayed, and cast in his lot with Shah Mohamad in Herat

The last years of Ranjit Singh though full of incidents of both administrative and political importance, representing, as they do, a series of repressive measures levelled mainly against the Mahomedan races of the Western Panjab—and susceptible, indeed, of being worked up into an historic tale as interesting as any which India has ever furnished for European students—give us few, it may be said, no more character pictures of the ' Lion of the North ' All that was original in Ranjit Singh whether creative or destructive, was now nearly played out Beyond the Indus lay the smouldering fire of Afghan bigotry, which wanted only some match alight with true fire to work it into a blaze—a blaze which would at once spread from Peshawar along the Hazarajat to Multan But the match did not turn up, and the fire did not blaze forth Beyond the Satlej, eastward, crouched quite another description of danger—a mysterious decree of Providence in the form of white traders, who seemed to avoid all unnecessary conflicts and spoke very quietly in conferences,

but who could be made to fight, and who struck hard when they fought, and finally swallowed territory as though to the manner born, *ze*, with all the skill of an oriental despot. The principles of British statesmanship, at this its miocene tertiary period, were probably so much mysterious nonsense to the Sikh Maharaja, who only foresaw the final predominance of the red line, and did not care much by what metaphysical process the extension could be finally explained. His dread of this mysterious power is best shown in his ready surrender of his old dreams of Eastern conquest, when brought into contact with Mr Metcalfe on the Sutlej.

But, before passing on to the last chapter of Ranjit's history, we may dwell for a few moments on the retribution which time brought for Sada Kaur, the Kanhya chieftainess, in return for the twins she had palmed off through her barren daughter Mah-tab on Ranjit. The Maharaja desired that Sada Kaur should endow one of her spurious grandsons with property belonging to the Kanhya territory, which Ranjit had not absorbed and the partition of which in the way now proposed by him, would finally diminish the possessions and influence of Sada Kaur. This lady, on the other hand, insisted that the whole patrimony of the prince should come from the father's side. The grim humour with which the Maharaja could study as much of this suggestion on the part of his mother-in-law as he thought really genuine may better be imagined than described. Sada Kaur was coaxed into a trap and forced to sign the deed of gift on which Ranjit had decided, while Kharak Singh, his son and heir, was sent on to despoil her of all her valuables and take possession of all her property. A baser return for the services which she had rendered him in the early days of his struggles for supremacy it would be difficult to conceive, but it brings no surprise to any careful student of Ranjit's career, who follows his actions with ordinary intelligence. He allowed no consideration to stand in the way of the gratification of any desire, and the comedy in the fate that overtook a meddling mother-in-law as it strikes a European mind, has no existence for the oriental imagination, or any Western mind that understands it.

The design of moulding his troops on European patterns, which had already been formed by Ranjit Singh, received an unexpected impetus from the arrival in his capital, in 1822, of the Italian Ventura and the Frenchman Allard, who, four years later, were joined by two other Frenchmen, Court and Avitable. The four foreigners were all placed in positions of trust in the Sikh Army, the two latter receiving the rank of Generals. The process of denaturalizing any uncivilized force is one of doubtful wisdom and of extreme delicacy. These foreigners had not a *tabula rasa* to build upon, or they might

have raised forces as effective as those with which the British were winning their way all over the country. But although the more experienced indigenous leaders offered a natural opposition to the new fangled craze, the influence of the foreigners in the army of Ranjit became very visible both to himself and to his men.

Sayad Muhammad is careful to record every instance in which overtures made to the British, by enemies whom Ranjit Singh failed in crushing completely, were studiously rejected on the ground that any interference would involve a breach of existing treaties, as well as every instance in which the British power, unsolicited, opposed the advances of Ranjit against territories under British protection. The combined loyalty and consistency of this attitude, at once intelligible and striking to the mind of a ruler who knew no law but his own caprice, evidently impressed Ranjit Singh very deeply. There was also this in it that he may not have fathomed. Servants of a remote master, these British soldiers and statesmen worked on principles which they had assimilated and made part of their individual identity. They were always equally loyal to their country and to themselves. The spectacle must have afforded ground for contemplation to a ruler like Ranjit, to whom disregard of all restraints is likely to have appeared an essential element of strength of character. Whether he was ever converted to another and sounder opinion, it is not improbable that the invisible restraints under which he sometimes seems to have acted in the later portion of his eventful life, and which wear an aspect of eccentricity in comparison with the consistent recklessness of his earlier manhood, may have arisen from a foreign inspiration of whose source he was himself imperfectly aware. The present of a handsome shawl tent, which Ranjit Singh sent King William in 1828, added a link to a chain, beginning early in what may be called his responsible public career, and extending into its close, a chain, never very tangible to a rough touch, and always liable to be easily broken, but still always remaining in evidence of an earnest desire, in a nature neither usually earnest nor consistent, to be in friendly relations with the red power that had arisen in India and was going some day to master it. Another and less intangible joint in the same chain is presented in the reception given to Burnes at Lahore in 1831, which Sayad Muhammad describes as follows —

"The streets were lined with cavalry, artillery and infantry, who saluted the British officer as he passed seated on an elephant. The streets were thronged with spectators, who filled every balcony and window overlooking the street. As the party entered the first court of the palace, they were re-

ceived by Raja Dhyān Singh, described as being a fine soldier-like person, dressed in armour, who conducted them to the door of the palace. While Lieutenant Burnes stooped to remove his shoes at the threshold, he suddenly found himself in the arms of a 'diminutive old-looking man,' the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh."

There was a great display of cordiality, and a grand parade of troops, and the Maharaja left nothing undone to impress his guest with a sense of his desire to honour the British power. The reality of this new influence in his thoughts was strangely illustrated in another way, when the Frenchman Allard attempted to arouse suspicions of British motives in the Maharaja's mind, and the latter summoned astrologers, who, "after consulting their holy books, declared that the British were sincere friends of the Maharaja." These auspices were sought when Ranjit consented to meet the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, in 1831 in Amritsar, and, proving favourable, they led to an interview that powerfully impressed the Sikh sovereign. As the result of this and the return visit, and the interchanges of presents and civilities that followed, a fresh treaty was formed and signed on the 31st October 1831, and the camp broke up on the following day.

These incidents bring us to the end of the period at which the purely personal history of Ranjit Singh properly closes. The events that crowded into the interval between 1831 and 1834, when the Maharaja died, form rather a preface to the drama that followed his death. Decaying health, already heralding the advance of death, left its mark both on his person and on his policy, which consisted mainly in conserving the kingdom he had built up, and shielding it from foreign danger.

On his death in 1834 his corpse was burned with great display, and his widows were burnt on the funeral pyre. A single incident of this final display which may perhaps soften the anger which its horrible details are calculated to arouse in every European mind, was the touching devotion of the warrior statesman, Dhyān Singh, who was profoundly moved by his master's death. This man is the reputed possessor of a character rare in Indian military leaders of any age, phenomenal in that of Ranjit. To have roused a devotion so profound in such a mind, may be proof of hidden virtues unrevealed to the remainder of the universe.

W C MADGE.

ART XII — THE USES AND ADVANTAGES OF AN INSECTARIUM

INSECTS play a highly important part in the economy of nature, for they not only serve as articles of food to the members of other classes of the Animal Kingdom, but also prevent the rapid propagation of other species of the same class, by destroying and feeding upon their larvæ. As many insects, on the one hand, prove pests to humankind, so, on the other hand, many of them minister to the daily wants of human beings. Some, such as the mosquito and the locust, are sources of great annoyance and loss to man, whereas others, such as the silk-worm and the bee, are of great benefit to him. Some members of the insect class are also characterized by the possession of great beauty of form and colouring. Thus, it will be seen that the group of Articulata, or Invertebrate Animals with jointed limbs, such as Insects, Spiders, Myriapods and Crustacea, are a source of endless interest to those who have an observing eye for the beauties of natural objects.

In India, where the invertebrate fauna is both rich and varied, there have lately arisen a number of scientific observers who are not only taking a great deal of interest in the study of this class of the Animal Kingdom, but also doing much to clear up many doubtful points regarding their life-histories. At the present moment, the problem of determining, classifying and collecting insects which are destructive to agricultural and horticultural produce, is engaging the attention of only the Government and one or two scientific observers in this country. Of the other articulated invertebrates, those which attract the greatest number of collectors and investigators here, are insects belonging to the favourite order Lepidoptera, both Rhopalocerous and Heterocerous (Butterflies and Moths). The next favourite order is that of Hymenoptera, or the Ants, Bees and Wasps. With regard to the other orders of insects, such as the Coleoptera Longicorna and Lamellicorna (Longicorn and Lamellicorn Beetles), Diptera, Hemiptera, Neuroptera and Orthoptera, the men in this country, who are collecting and scientifically studying them, are few and far between. Hence the knowledge of these last mentioned orders of Indian insects is somewhat meagre.

Though there exist in the various museums of India, collections of preserved insects, spiders, myriapods and crustacea, yet none of them, as at present exhibited, are sufficiently instructive. The knowledge of both Europeans and Natives regarding the habits, instincts and economy of the articulated

invertebrates of this country is very defective, though they are in no way less interesting than the other members of the Animal Kingdom. The dried specimens* in our museums are only beautiful to look at (and, even in the case of those that are gorgeously coloured, their beauty is deteriorated by continued exposure to light), and teach us nothing about the habits, instincts, mode of reproduction, metamorphoses and economy of the living insects.

The best mode of conveying instruction on these points in a popular way, is by exhibiting living specimens of insects in properly constructed glass cases. When living specimens of different species of insects, spiders (Arachnoidea), centipedes and scorpions (Myriapoda) and crustaceans, together with their peculiar food-plants, are placed in different glass-cases and under conditions resembling their natural surroundings, and all these are housed in a properly-constructed building, affording them as much protection from the weather as possible, the whole collection is called an *Insectarium*. The value of such an institution, as a means of imparting knowledge regarding the habits and economy of these animals, would be further enhanced by exhibiting, alongside of the living insects specimens of their respective nests, their economic products and the ravages wrought by them. The living specimens should be exhibited in glass-cases, in their systematic orders, so as to give visitors, both scientific and non-scientific, a general idea of the most interesting forms, and of their classification.

In England much has been, and is being, done for the dissemination, among the people, of a more accurate knowledge regarding insects and other articulates. In the United States of America, too, steps are being taken in the same direction, for it is proposed to establish, in connection with the "Natural History Gardens and Aquaria" at Boston, U. S. A., an institution of this kind. It is proposed, in the prospectus, that "an Insectarium should be built in Sargent's Field adjoining Long Crouch Woods in that city, and, both for economic reasons in construction and heating, and for the convenient proximity of the necessary food-plants, it should be an annexe to the greenhouse to be erected there. Colonies of striking and curious insects, especially the Hymenoptera, or social insects, undergoing their transformations, might be exhibited in a small, single-storeyed structure of glass and iron, like an ordinary conservatory, with no more flooring than would be required for passageways between the plants and shrubs. Such a collection would be inexpensive and attractive, and, without in any way curtailing its public use, would afford ample opportunity for scientific

experimentation of an important kind. Pedigree-breeding, for instance, or breeding in constant temperatures, whether high, low, or average, might here be carried on upon a large scale. Indeed, the opportunities are so great that the choice of subjects would be difficult, so many would claim attention, and it would be quite possible to display a changing round of attractive and instructive sights from week to week throughout the year."

The Insect class, although as a whole purely terrestrial and aerial in their habits, contains some orders the members of which pass either the whole, or a portion of their lives in water. With regard to these aquatic insects, it is proposed to form "an Insectarium in connection with the Boston Gardens, which would be furnished with aquaria, placed in the midst of suitable plants, and surrounded by ample cages of netting for the confinement and display of the adults after they have passed through their transformations and have begun to fly. This part of the exhibit could be made exceedingly instructive by means of a printed guide, explaining the transformations of the insects shown in the aquaria and cages."

The credit of establishing the first institution of this kind in England, belongs to the Zoological Society of London. This renowned body has founded, in its Gardens in Regent's Park, an Insectarium for the exhibition of various species of insects, spiders, &c, both living and defunct, in their different stages of existence, and, so far as practicable, accompanied with their natural surroundings. The institution is located in a building constructed of iron and glass, and standing on a sunny spot with a southern aspect. This building is situated near the base of Primrose Hill—a little to the south of the northern entrance of the Gardens—and is fitted up like a hot-house measuring about fifty feet by about twenty-five feet. "In the centre and at the ends of the house are placed some bananas and tree-ferns, and by means of heating apparatus a temperature of from seventy to seventy-five degrees Fahrenheit is maintained. The insects are kept in cases of wood and zinc, with glass sides and perforated zinc tops, the average size of these receptacles being about two-and-a-half-feet in height, one-foot-and-a-half wide, and one foot deep. The bottom of each cage is filled with moss and sand, thus allowing the pupæ or chrysalides of such species as enter the ground to undergo their natural transformations. In some cases the caterpillars—or larvæ, as they are scientifically termed—are to be seen feeding, the food-plants being kept in small phials or tubes of water, or sometimes placed in the moist sand."

The collection, though not a very large one, is nevertheless representative of the various orders of the articulated animals, and contains rare and beautiful specimens from all parts of

the world. A range of cases on the south side is set apart for the exhibition of some of the finer species of Silk-producing Moths of the *Bombycidae*. Here are usually exhibited the Great Atlas Moth of India (*Attacus Atlas*), of a rich chocolate hue, with paler markings, and silvery transparent ocelli, together with its cocoons made of silk and dead leaves, in which the insects wrap themselves while becoming chrysalides, the Tusser Silk-Moth (*A. Mylitta*), the Ailanthus Silk-Moth (*A. Cynthia*) from China, of a tawny colour, with delicate pink and silvery markings and beautiful eye like spots, the Japanese Oak Silk-Moth (*A. Japonicus*), Perny's Silk-Moth (*A. Pernyi*) both of which feed upon the leaves of the oak-tree (*Quercus robur*), the Cecropian Silk-Moth (*Samia Cecropia*), the caterpillars of which are of a brilliant green colour, with little fleshy tufts of red, blue and yellow, each surrounded by six black hairs, and many other species of silk-moths. The chrysalides and cocoons of most of these species, together with samples of the raw-silk they produce, are exhibited in the cases, along with the living imago or perfect insects. Here are also to be seen the lovely and delicately-tinted Moon-Moths from India and North America, of a light green colour, which is, however 'soon lost'. Along the north side of the building are to be seen examples of some of the gorgeous members of the Heterocerous and Rhopalocercous Lepidoptera (Moths and Butterflies) peculiar to the fauna of Europe. The specimens to be usually seen on this side, are examples of different species of the Morpho Butterflies from South America, which 'measure about four or five inches across the wings,' and are of an exquisite blue satin colour with pearly bands of white, the swallow tail Butterfly, the largest British species, found principally in the marshy tracts in and about Cambridge, the White Admiral from the New Forest, the Purple Emperor, and other species of the *Papilioninae*, or Swallow-tail butterflies. The members of the last-named group, ordinarily exhibited in this house are various species of the genus *Papilio*, viz, *P. cresphontes*, *P. ajax* and *P. asterias* from the Northern parts of the American Continent, *P. alexanor* from the countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea, and the beautiful black and golden green *P. maackii* from Japan. Among the members of the other genera belonging to this group to be seen here are *Doritis apollina* from Asia Minor, the *Serica telamon* from Japan, which varies much in coloration according to its sex, and the *Limenitis disippus* from North America. Among the Lepidoptera Heterocera, exhibited here are to be usually seen specimens of different species of Tiger Moths in their various stages of metamorphosis, and, especially, of the Garden Tiger Moth (*Chelonia carya*); the Gold tailed Moth, with wings of a pure

white, and a tuft of yellow-coloured hair at the end of the body, the Brindled Beauty Moth, of a dingy brown colour, with semi-transparent wings, the Vapourer Moth, of a rich chestnut-brown colour, with a white spot on each fore-wing, and the Goat Moth (*Cossus ligniperda*), which emits a very noxious odour and which is very destructive to trees. The *Sphingidæ* or Sphinx-moths, are represented by examples of *Deilephila alecto* and *D. nice*, both from the Southern parts of Europe and both of which are noted for their superb powers of flight. On the middle table other cases are arranged, containing insects of many different orders. The *Hymenoptera* are usually represented by that curious insect the Ant-Lion and other species, and the *Arachnoidea* by examples of the common Trap-door Spider, with its nest, composed of earth and silk, in alternate layers, and other arachnoids, notable among them being the huge hairy *Mygalebrasilensis* from South America and the *Tarantula maderiana* from the island of Maderia. The latter is allied to the famous Tarantula Spider of Italy, the bite of which was believed to have caused the dancing sickness—a sort of hysterical dancing mania, which appeared in an epidemic form in Italy during the 14th century, and spread all over the country, reaching its climax in the 17th century, after which it gradually disappeared, and which, it was formerly supposed even by such men as Pepys, the author of the well-known *Diary*, and Brookes, the author of a "*Natural History*," could be cured only by the soft, soothing influences of music. The fifth class of the order *Arachnoidea* has representatives in specimens of living scorpions which are occasionally exhibited here. The forms usually shown are the black thick-tailed Egyptian Scorpion, *Prionurus crassicauda*, from North Africa, the common *Buthus Europæus* from the Mediterranean littoral, and the small-tailed *Euscorpius spinic* from South Europe. The Ichneumon fly, which is very destructive to the *larvæ* of moths and butterflies, is also exhibited here. The *Othoptera*, or praying insects, leaf insects and walking sticks, which assume a variety of wonderful forms resembling leaves and dry twigs, are illustrated by specimens of *Diaphemara femorata*, the stick insect of North America and of *Empusa egea*, belonging to the family *Mantidæ*, from South Europe. The *Empusa* often assumes the form of an orchid, when hanging by its hind legs, head downwards, and moving to and fro as if blown by the wind. It catches passing flies in its powerful foreclaws, and hastily devours them. Among the aquatic insects exhibited in their native element are to be seen the beautiful but voracious Dytiscus Beetle, the Water Beetle (*Hydrous piceus*), the Dragon Fly; and the Caddisworm.

Another most interesting feature of this entomological exhibition is the inclusion therein of examples of that remarkable phenomenon of insect-life which is known to naturalists under the name of "Mimetic Analogy." Naturalists, notably Darwin, Bates, Wallace, Poulton, and others, observe that colouration of the exterior structures of animal organisms is of great physiological importance to them, and is, sometimes, of great use to them in aiding them in the struggle for existence, by deluding other members of the Animal Kingdom which prey upon them, or by aiding individuals of the same species, or by being intimately connected with animal courtship in attracting females of the same species. This relation of colouration to mimetic analogy also exists among that lowermost order of the Animal Kingdom known as Insecta. Many insects of different orders have been endowed by Nature with such hues as to make them closely resemble either surrounding objects, so as to render them imperceptible to their natural enemies, or other members of the same genus possessed of protective attributes.

This mimetic analogy among insects assumes four forms, *viz*, (a) Protective and Aggressive Resemblance, (b) Protective and Aggressive Mimicry, (c) Warning Colours, (d) Colouration of Animal Courtship. Insects are often possessed of such colours that they look very like the objects upon which they live, move and have their being. Some members of the *Geometrae* are examples of protective resemblance, for, when resting upon their favourite food-plants, they very often look exactly like the shoots or catkins of trees, or like lichens.

Mr Thomas Belt, in his delightful work entitled "*The Naturalist in Nicaragua*," observes that "amongst the insects of Chontales none are more worthy of notice than the many curious species of Orthoptera that look like green and faded leaves of trees. I have already described one species that resembles a green leaf, and so much so that it even deceived the acute senses of the foraging ants, other species, belonging to a closely-related genus (*Pterochroa*), imitate leaves in every stage of decay, some being faded green blotched with yellow. The *larva* of a species of *Phasma* resembled pieces of moss, amongst which they concealed themselves in the day-time, and were not to be distinguished except when accidentally shaken out. Other species resemble a brown withered leaf, the resemblance being increased by a transparent hole through both wings that looks like a piece taken out of the leaf. In many butterflies that resemble leaves on the underside of their wings, the wings being raised and closed together when at rest, so as to hide the bright colours of the upper surface, there are similar transparent spots that imitate holes, and others again are jagged at the edge, as if pieces had been taken out of them."

Examples of Aggressive Resemblance are to be found in the predatory insects of the genus *Mantis*, which are so coloured as to prevent them from being detected by those upon which they prey.

Protective and Aggressive Mimicry does not require much consideration, for it is but a special example of Protective and Aggressive Resemblance.

The next form is that of Warning Colours. Some insects mimic forms which have some kind of defence against insectivorous mammals, or birds, in being possessed of stings or unpleasant odours or flavours, or in being exceedingly swift of flight. Some butterflies and moths assimilate themselves, both in form and colour, to the butterflies of the family *Heliconidae*, because they are rejected by some birds. Some beetles, especially of the genus *Calopteron*, imitate those belonging to the family *Lampyridæ*, which are exceedingly distasteful to those birds and mammals which feed upon insects. Some insects, as the males of the mimetic *Leptalis*, attract the females of that species by the brilliant black, red and yellow colouration of their wings. Examples of the different forms of mimetic resemblance among insects described above are exhibited here. Among those usually represented may be mentioned the Lappet Moth (*Bombyx quercifolia*), which assimilates itself in colouring to dead leaves, and the larvæ of the Emperor Moth, which are of a bright green colour, with raised pink dots, surrounded by black rings.

It will be thus seen that collections of living insects, like those of defunct ones, are of great use in furthering the study of scientific and economic, or applied, entomology.

From a biological point of view, much may be learnt about the classification, the structure, the habits, &c., of insects from the living specimens in an Insectarium, while from an agricultural point of view, much information may be gleaned from such collections by agriculturists and horticulturists regarding the life-histories of insects which are destructive to farm and garden produce, as well as of those which directly minister to the necessities of human kind.

Applied, or Economic, Entomology treats of insects, which may be divided into six groups, according to their destructive propensities in injuring articles of economic importance to man, and to their beneficial habits to mankind. These six groups are *first*, insects which are directly injurious to man, such as the human parasites, entozoa, &c., the study of which is the province of medical science, *second*, those which attack domestic animals—a group, the consideration of which is restricted to veterinary medicine, *third*, those which attack and destroy cultivated plants—a group including the greater portion of the

insect-pests, the study of which, along with that of the fifth group, is mainly the object, of economic or applied entomology, *fourth*, those which destroy other property, such as furs, woollen goods, books and food-stuffs, *fifth*, those which are directly beneficial to man by supplying him with stuffs for his food and raiment, such as the bee and the silk-worm, *sixth*, those which are indirectly beneficial to man, by destroying other insects

Thus it would appear that living collections of invertebrate animals, like those contained in the London Zoological Gardens, may be an important factor in enlightening laymen regarding the first principles of economic entomology. Farmers and horticulturists, who annually sustain great losses from the ravages wrought on crops, fruits and flowers, by numerous insect pests in their fields and gardens, may profit by the inspection of living specimens, and by observation of their modes of propagation, so that they may be able to adopt effective steps for their extermination. For the last few years, the importance of the study has been recognized, and, in almost every civilized country on the Globe, quite a rage for it has set in. Economic entomology may be said to be on the eve of a great advance, for in almost every part of the world, a great mass of information regarding insects of economic importance is being gathered by savants and by scientific agriculturists.

In France (where the importance of these investigations has been recognized since the *phylloxera* began to commit sad havoc among the vines and the wine-industry of the country was seriously threatened), Italy and the United States, savants have taken in right earnest to the study of both the noxious and the beneficial insects of their respective countries. The interests of sericulture and agriculture are being greatly advanced by the introduction of new strains of silk-worms and bees, while those of agriculture, viticulture, pomiculture and arboriculture are being protected by the observation of the life histories of injurious parasites and insects which attack and destroy the crops, vines, fruits and timber-trees. In Italy and the United States, numerous experimental stations have been opened all over the country, for the purpose of investigating the injurious insects of these countries, and have been placed under the direction of eminent specialists in the branch of entomology. In England, though no such institutions have been opened for the study of the living insects, yet collections of dead specimens exemplifying both the insect pests, and the methods which have been found efficacious in preventing their attacks, have been established in connection with the Museums at Exeter and Bethnal Green in London.

In this country, too, the study of economic entomology has

been taken up in right earnest under the auspices of the Government of India. The Indian Museum, in Calcutta, however, is, as yet, the only place where it is being prosecuted, and most of the information extant regarding Indian insect pests is the result of researches carried on in its laboratory. Popular lectures on economic entomology are being delivered. It is only the other day that Mr. Cotes of the Indian Museum, delivered, at the instance of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, a popular but very interesting lecture (illustrated with diagrams and magic lantern slides) upon the various insect pests of this country, before a select audience at the Metcalfe Hall. To the students of the Forest School at Dehra Dun, a course of lectures on agricultural entomology is delivered annually by the same gentleman, whose services are lent to that institution by the Trustees of the Indian Museum for two months in the year.

It will thus be seen that a fair start has already been made in the study and popularization of economic or agricultural entomology, which, in the course of a few years, promises to be productive of very beneficial results both to the Indian Agriculturist and to the Indian Exchequer.

With regard to the work done in the Indian Museum in 1889-90, the Trustees report that, 'with regard to the study of economic entomology, a very large number of references, dealing with a variety of insect pests, have been received from both official and non-official sources in all parts of India. In connection with this work four pamphlets have been published during the year, as Nos. 1-4 of '*Indian Museum Notes*,' which have taken the place of the '*Notes on Economic Entomology*' of previous years. Nos. 1, 2, and 4 deal mainly with various insects injurious to agriculture, while No. 3 contains a convenient resumé of existing literature on Indian silk worms, with the addition of some useful notes. The publication is edited by Mr. E. C. Cotes, who has himself compiled several of the larger papers, including this one, on silk-worms. An exhaustive enquiry on the subject of locusts in India has also been instituted and two preliminary reports issued."

In Southern India, also, insects of economic importance are being collected for the purposes of study in the Government Central Museum at Madras. Those which are found to be destructive to crops are, it appears, forwarded to the Central Entomological Laboratory at Calcutta, for it is reported that "specimens of insects destructive to crops were received, from time to time, from various districts of the Presidency, and sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for identification." Insects which commit ravages on forest-trees are collected by the Madras Museum and forwarded to the Forest-School at Dehra Dun.

Thus much is being done with a view of working out the economic entomology of the Southern Presidency.

So far as the popularisation of the study of this branch of entomology is concerned, it may be noted here that steps are being taken in almost every Presidency of India for the exhibition of collections of Indian sericulture, which shall illustrate, in a typical form, the different metamorphoses of the silk-worm.

In Europe and America, insectaria have turned out great successes, as is testified to by the number of visitors who daily resort to the Insectarium, or Insect-house, in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London, and by the interest they evince in it.

Though collections of dried insects are exhibited in almost every museum in India, the exhibition of collections of living entomological specimens is a rarity in this country. Many living insects are sent from various parts of the country to the Indian Museum at Calcutta for identification. Eggs, pupæ &c., of others are also transmitted to that institution, from which imagoes, or perfect insects, are sometimes bred. But these specimens are not exhibited, as forming part and parcel of the regular entomological collections lodged in that institution.

An Insectarium, containing a collection of living insects of various orders, and other invertebrate animals, is a desideratum in this country, and an institution of this kind would, I am sure, prove very popular in Calcutta. I have elsewhere, on more than one occasion, shown that the people of India evince an intelligent interest in collections of Natural History specimens, and that they can be made to learn something about the elementary principles of the science if the remarkable objects in these collections are explained to them by competent guides. There is already in their minds a crude sort of taste for Natural History curiosities, and it is time that an attempt should be made to foster it. Such an institution as an Insectarium would prove a source of endless interest, not only to the natives of India but also to Europeans in this country.

There arises the question where the proposed Insectarium should be located. I am of opinion that such an institution would form a suitable annexe to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. An Insectarium, an Aquarium, and a properly-constructed and properly-equipped Reptileum, are three of the most urgent desiderata of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. I am pretty sure, that it would prove one of the most interesting sights of the Calcutta Zoo, and would add greatly to the already many attractions of the Gardens. There is still ample space left unoccupied in the Gardens for the building of an Insect-house. For the present, a representative collection, on a small scale, might be made, and exhibited in a house in some sunny spot in

the Gardens ; but, as soon as funds were forthcoming, an Insectarium on a grand scale, might be built and furnished with the requisite appliances.

Next arises the question whence the specimens of living insects, to be exhibited in the projected Insectarium in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, are to come. The answer to this question is a simple one, for the invertebrate fauna of India is so very rich and varied that there can be no difficulty in procuring living specimens. A tree, or a flowering shrub, is the favourite trysting-place of many species, while tanks and wheels are the homes of many aquatic ones.

It would be an interesting task to calculate the number of the species of insects which are included in the entomological fauna of a particular piece of land, or a garden plot, in this country. To take a particular example, the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, in which the establishment of an Insectarium is advocated in these pages, are a veritable entomologist's paradise, for the trees and shrubs in them are the haunts of many interesting species, and the lakes and serpentine tank abound with a variety of aquatic forms. In countries like England, where, owing to the coldness of the climate, insect-life is very scarce during the greater part of the year, and where collections of living insects require to be protected from the stress of the weather under adequate shelter, and by the maintenance of a constant temperature, such institutions cost a good deal for their up-keep.

There is another source which may be drawn upon for a plentiful supply of living specimens. The authorities of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, every year depute native insect-collectors to all parts of India and to distant countries, for the purpose of making entomological collections. Under an arrangement with the officers of that institution, instructions might be issued to these native entomologists to collect living insects and to forward them to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. On the other hand, the Government might be requested to issue a circular, as has been done on many previous occasions, to District officials, asking them to transmit living specimens of such insects as are peculiar to their respective districts. I am confident, too, that the public would liberally contribute specimens should they come to know that an Insectarium is about to be opened in the Calcutta Zoo, for it appears from the lists of animals appended to the published reports of the Gardens that specimens of leaf-insects and crustaceans have, from time to time, been presented to the institution. It is only on account of the want of proper accommodation in the Gardens for the exhibition of insects that the public have hitherto refrained from liberally contributing such specimens.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M A , B L

ART XIII—POLYGAMY AMONG THE JEWS.

“THE conception of a love-match,” says Charles Kingsley, “belongs to our Teutonic race, and was our heritage (so Tacitus says with awe and astonishment) when we were heathens in the German forests. You will find nothing of it in Scripture after the first chapter of Genesis, save a glimpse thereof in St Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians.”

How pleasant to contemplate our own virtues and our superiority to the rest of mankind! Only there is danger, as in the case of the Rev Charles Kingsley, that we may, in so doing, be guilty of gross injustice to others. One is simply astounded to hear a clergyman of the Church of England say that nothing of a love-match can be found in Scripture after the first chapter of Genesis.

Was not Jacob’s union with Rachel a love match? It was not a “falling into love,” such as is seen every day, followed, in ninety cases out of a hundred, by “falling out” of it again. Yet no evidence of genuine affection can exceed the significant and touching record. ‘And Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and they seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her.’ Here were deeds, not words, service, not protestations. And when deceived, as he was by Laban, into marriage with the other sister, Jacob quietly accepted another seven years’ service—making fourteen years in all,—for the object of his affection.

Without any of the meretricious pomp or ceremony of weddings in later ages, the quiet union of Rachel with Jacob can hardly be regarded in any other light than a love-match, and a case too, apparently, of love at first sight. “And he loved her and Isaac was comforted after his mother’s death.” The married life of Isaac and Rebecca is referred to in the marriage service of the Church of England as a pattern for any other married couple. We need do no more than mention Abraham and Sarah whose union was undoubtedly an example of a love match, and we have the list of Patriarchs complete.

It may not be irrelevant, or out of place here, to show that the conception of a love-match had grown among the people of Israel to such a degree as to form the ground-work of that much misunderstood and long disputed Book of Canticles which Canon Farrar regards as “not intentionally a religious poem, but a very lovely song of innocent love.” “If modern views of it are correct,” he says, “and they are accepted by an increased number of the most eminent critics, it tells us in dramatic form the story of how a pure love in humble life

triumphed over the splendid seductions of a royal wooer."* We give the story itself, as an illustration of the fact that, in spite of the polygamous Court of Solomon, the humbler classes of the people could yet cherish more elevated and purer conceptions of true love. "A maiden of Shulam, or Shunem, has given her whole heart to a young shepherd whom she has seen while he feeds his flock among the lilies. One day, as Solomon is making one of his progresses northward to some cool summer residence on the slopes of Lebanon, he sees the beautiful virgin, and takes her to Jerusalem, hoping that, amid the fascination of unaccustomed luxuries, she may forget her shepherd-lover and become one of the royal harem. But there, though all admire her matchless perfection, nothing can win her heart, or induce her willingly to exchange her humble home among the orchards and vineyards of the north for the pleasures and blandishments of the great king. Meanwhile the youth, to whom she is betrothed, has followed her to the palace, and receives from her own lips the assurance of her unalterable love. Feeling that he will not succeed in winning her heart, Solomon magnanimously resigns her, in all her simple innocence and virtue, to him whom she has chosen, and the lovers, as they return together hand in hand, express, in the language of metaphor, the happy conviction of their hearts, 'that the true love of one simple home is better than all the costly, but unblessed, enjoyments of a king's seraglio'."

In dealing with the subject of polygamy among the Jews, it is desirable first of all to clear the ground by the removal of the term "concubine," so recklessly used in our authorized version as the meaning of the Hebrew word (פִּלְגֶשֶׁת) (*Pee-leh-gesh*). The English term is nearly equivalent to *mistress*, and carries in it the suggestion of a temporary connection, dissoluble at the will of the man. Nothing could be further from the meaning of the Hebrew term, which pointed to a union for life. The *pee-leh-gesh* was merely a slave-wife. "Concubines," says Jahn in his *Biblical Antiquities* " (some of whom had previously acted in the humble capacity of maid-servants and others were females who had possessed their freedom), were sometimes permanently associated, by mutual consent, with individuals of the other sex, but although this connexion was, in fact, a *marriage*, and a *legitimate* one, it was not nevertheless celebrated and confirmed by the ceremonies above related"—*viz*, a procession, feasting, &c,—the examples given being Gen XXIV, 60, and Ruth IV, 11, 12. The absence of the ceremonies referred to marked the lower social position of the *pee-leh-gesh*, but her *legal* status

* See *Solomon His Life and Times* By Archdeacon Farrar

was nothing less than that of a wife. The qualifying phrase used by Jahn, "sometimes permanently associated," is not warranted by the case cited by him from Exodus XXI., 10 to 13, where a beautiful woman, taken captive, happened to take the fancy of an Israelite. For the term used is 'wife'—"thou wouldst have her to thy wife," and "thou shalt be her husband and she shall be thy wife."

We have not found a single instance in all Jewish history of a *pee leh-gesh* being regarded as a mere mistress, or as anything less than a wife, that is to say, as united to her partner by a *life-long union*, treated as legitimate by society, and recognized by the law. This is strikingly obvious from the injunction in Exodus XXI., 10, to which, however, we shall have to refer later on. To this may be added the fact that Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, is called by the Prophet Isaiah "the married wife" (Isa LXIV, 1), and the dishonoured concubines of David who were set apart, are said, in their separation, to be in a state of "widowhood."

That the offspring of such unions were legitimate, follows as a necessary consequence from the legal status of the *pee-leh-gesh*. And if confirmation were needed we have a conspicuous example in the case of the twelve Patriarchs, all of whom were regarded as on a footing of perfect equality as the sons of Jacob, and equally heads of the twelve tribes of Israel, no distinction being made between the children of Rachel and Leah on the one hand and those of Zilpah and Bilha on the other.

It is not without interest to consider the attitude of the Jewish legislator in respect of the whole subject of marriage. We fear that Moses has had but scant justice done him in the matter, especially in regard to polygamy. We have tried, and we think successfully, to show that what is known in modern times as concubinage was unknown to the Mosaic legislation or the practice of the Jewish people. And before proceeding further with the subject, we would remind our readers that the highest type of marriage, even as reluctantly acknowledged by Cannon Kingsley, is to be first found in the first chapter of Genesis. The founder of Christianity himself added nothing to it, although he enforced it and pointed out its implied obligations.

The problem before Moses was how to apply this highest type of the conjugal union to a people who had for ages been familiar with laxer notions of the relationship. One feature of the law on which Christ dwelt with peculiar emphasis, *viz*, the indissolubleness of marriage, Moses refrained from enforcing. Nor did Christ condemn the great legislator for this moderation. "Moses," he said, "because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives but from the beginning it was not so." To have enforced the stringency of the

original law on persons who chafed under the yoke, would have worked much unhappiness, especially to the unoffending party, to whom, he judged, it would be a lighter evil to be put away than to remain where her presence was already distasteful and would become daily more intolerable. Accordingly, while Moses marked his sense of the purity which should exist in the mutual relation of the sexes by penalties severe enough even for the rough fashion of those times, as, for example, by making *rape* a capital offence (Deut XXII, 25), and providing that the seducer should be compelled to marry his victim, paying the full dowry demandable by the wife's father (Deut XXII, 28, 29), and putting both adulterer and adulteress to death (Deut XXII, 22), he permitted facilities for divorce and tolerated polygamy. These two relaxations of the rigid law of the Paradisaic state would not perhaps, have been called for, but for the stringent provisions we have already noticed in any case they must not be viewed as standing alone, but as a relief to an environment of severe conditions.

Our present business, however, is rather with polygamy than divorce, and we ought, in justice to the Jewish legislator, to remember that he could hardly have put down that which had been practised by the Patriarchs themselves. That it was practised by Israel in Egypt has been inferred "from the fact that the first-born of 603,550 men above 20 years of age amounted merely to the number of 22,373" (Num III, 42)*. Accordingly Moses did not see his way absolutely to prohibit polygamy. Yet it is most interesting to see the various methods by which he endeavoured to moderate its evils, and so to girdle the Upas tree that it could not flourish and extend.

It will be readily admitted that restraint on our liberty, being in itself an evil, should be imposed by the legislature only on harmful practices, and on them only where experience has demonstrated their harmfulness. It was notorious that one of the Patriarchs had been the cause of much domestic misery through having married two sisters. Accordingly Moses, with his usual sagacity, enacted the provision "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her beside the other in her lifetime" (Lev XVIII, 18).

While, however, the Mosaic law did not absolutely forbid polygamy, it did not accord perfect liberty to the practice of it. The wise legislator conditioned it after a fashion which, in many cases, would prove an insuperable obstacle, and would be construed by conscientious men as a decided prohibition. "If he take him another wife, her food (that is the food of the first

* Jahn's *Biblical Antiquities*, Ch X, s 151

wife), her raiment and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish " The significance of this is too striking to be overlooked, and when we consider that it was said of a slave-wife, a bondswoman like Hagar, its force can hardly be over-rated. No pretext is allowed to interfere with the full, legal and conjugal rights of the wife even of low degree. On his failure to discharge any of these obligations—"if he do not these three unto her,"—she might go out free without money.

As polygamy in any country and in any age is at best an expensive luxury, it does not appear to have been practised among the masses, or, as far as we are aware, to have been general even among the well-to-do classes. It seems to have been regarded by the Jews, as among other Oriental races, as one of the privileges of royalty. But the far-seeing legislation of Moses did not fail to perceive and provide against this tendency. "When thou shalt come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee and shalt possess it and shalt dwell therein and shall say 'I will set a king over me' (Deut XVII), then they might do so, but rules of conduct were laid down for his guidance among which was this one "Neither shall he multiply wives to himself that his heart turn not away"

And though this injunction was disregarded by many of the kings and conspicuously by Solomon, there is reason to believe that the number of wives (300) and "concubines" (700) allotted to him in one version is exaggerated. For the record in the historical part of the Old Testament is contradicted in Canticles (VI, 8), where the number in each of the two classes is given as respectively sixty and eighty. The text in I Rev XI is supposed, and it would seem with reason, to be a corruption. "The largest harem," says Fariar, "of which we read, either in ancient or modern days, was that of Darius Codomanus, and of him we are only told that he had one wife and 329 concubines. It is hard to suppose that the Canaanite and surrounding tribes could have furnished seven hundred 'princesses,' and still harder to imagine how Solomon's palace, had its dimensions been tenfold greater than they were, could have found room in the women's apartments for a harem of one thousand, with their very numerous necessary attendants"

It is impossible to close the subject without allusion to what may, perhaps, be regarded as the strongest reason for Moses tolerating polygamy, namely, the prevention of the far greater evil which has obtained for itself in Western lands the name of "the social evil." Prostitution among the Patriarchs was punishable with death. By the law of Moses a priest's daughter found unchaste was to be "burnt with fire," and the lot of any woman, discovered after marriage to have deceived

her husband as to her virginity, was to be stoned to death. It was sought thus to tread-down and trample-out the evil in question by these Draconic provisions. They seem to have been effectual, except where the kings went into idolatry, for the worship of idols was always accompanied by prostitution and the foulest licentiousness. Where, however, the law of Moses was observed, 'the social evil' seems to have been kept under to an extent not exemplified in any country in Christendom.

Accordingly modern Europe, before affecting to view with contempt polygamy as it existed among the Jews, is bound first to wipe out the plague-spot in her own social life. For the two evils cannot be compared. The degrading and corrupting influence of the Western evil on character and morals being infinitely worse—a canker eating into the vitals of society whose touch is the extinction of domestic purity and of the home itself.

L

THE QUARTER.

IF we rank the events of the past three months in the order of their importance to mankind at large, the failure of the harvest in France and Russia probably claims the first place.

As far as purely local interests are concerned, the deficiency in the former country, which, by the way, seems to have been somewhat exaggerated in the first instance, means merely a rise in the cost of the necessaries of life which all but the very poorest of the population can bear without much hardship. In Russia, on the other hand, where the deficiency is far more serious, and the normal standard of living is much lower, it means semi-starvation to multitudes.

In these days, however, the effects of such calamities spread in ever widening circles. Russia is the chief granary of Europe, and the effect of the failure on the price not merely of wheat throughout the civilized world, but on the prices of other cereals, and notably on that of rye in Germany, which, in ordinary seasons, imports considerable quantities of the grain from Russia, has been very marked. Fortunately America has been able to step in with the surplus of a bumper wheat crop, amounting, it is said, to 200 million bushels, to supply part of the deficiency, or the consequences would have been much more serious. As it is, prices in the English markets have risen by about fifteen per cent, and a stimulus has been given to the wheat trade of India, which has extended, for good or evil, to the remotest villages of the Panjab.

Next to the failure of the wheat harvest in Europe, the events of the quarter to which the most far-reaching significance attaches are, perhaps, the visit of the French fleet to Cronstadt and the serious anti-foreign riots in China.

The statement of M. Blowitz, that Admiral Gervais brought a draft treaty away with him from the Russian capital, is, no doubt, unfounded. Indeed, it has since been modified by M. Blowitz himself, but it seems to be admitted that the French admiral spent a suspiciously large portion of his time in consultation with the Russian ministers, and M. Blowitz's subsequent statement, that an understanding of importance was arrived at, is probably not very wide of the truth. When M. Blowitz further says that this understanding tends to the preservation of peace, he probably has in view the maxim *Si vis pacem, para bellum*. This maxim, however, is far from

universally true ; and the conditions to which it is applicable have no existence in the case of either France or Russia, whom no one threatens, or is at all likely to threaten, in the absence of very strong provocation

Whatever the understanding may have been, it has been followed by no relaxation of military preparations on the part of either of the Powers concerned. France is engaged in the execution of military manœuvres on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, in rather irritating proximity to the German Frontier, and Russia is said to be massing extraordinary numbers of troops in the neighbourhood of Warsaw.

The renewed outrages against foreigners in China are of enormous importance, not only on account of the magnitude of the commercial and other interests immediately involved, but in view of the serious complications which may at any moment arise among the European Powers concerned, in connexion with the retaliatory, or remedial measures which they may be induced to adopt. So far, there appears to be a common understanding between England, France, Germany, Russia and America, and they are acting together. This they will very probably continue to do as long as the question is merely one of the immediate safety of their subjects in China, or of the exaction of penalties for what has occurred. But if, as is not at all unlikely to happen, the question should become one of taking guarantees for the future, there is grave risk of a conflict of interests arising and leading to international quarrels.

This risk is materially increased by the conviction which exists on all sides, and is, no doubt, well founded, that the extreme weakness and unpopularity of the Manchu Government at Peking, though not the primary cause of the outbreaks, is fatal to all chance of a reasonable degree of security being obtained for foreigners in China, without arrangements which would make prompt intervention in force on the part of the Powers chiefly concerned possible.

The difficulty is aggravated by the fact that a mere change of dynasty would probably make the position worse, instead of better. The proximate cause of the recent outrages is obscure, and it is possibly nothing more than a popular feeling that things generally are going wrong in the Empire, but it is beyond doubt that the real root of the mischief lies in a belief deeply engrained in the minds of the Chinese, ignorant and learned alike, that the presence of the barbarian in the country is inevitably a source of evil to its inhabitants. This is a belief which no mere change of dynasty will materially affect, and the expression of which would probably find freer play under native Chinese, than under Manchu rulers.

Russia has very special and indisputable interests to protect

on the Northern frontiers of China, and France would be only too glad of any opportunity of increasing her interests on its South-eastern border, while England is so deeply concerned in the general trade of the Empire, that she would be bound to oppose any territorial or administrative change which would tend materially to increase the influence of either Power over its policy.

We are, in fact, confronted in Asia with something not unlike a repetition of the sick man problem of South-eastern Europe with the difference that the enormous expanse of the territories and the unmanageable character of the population concerned, render it vastly more difficult even to formulate a practicable solution.

As we have said, the Powers are so far acting together, in concert with America. A joint Note has been presented at Peking demanding a heavy indemnity and the punishment, not only of the rioters, but of the officials who are known to have connived at the outrages. The most recent telegrams leave it doubtful what the reply of the Peking authorities, if they have made any reply, to this demand, has been, or what their action is likely to be. No doubt, if sufficient pressure is brought to bear upon them, they will pay the indemnity and they will probably also make some show of punishing the offenders. But it is improbable that any action which they may take, or, indeed, which it is in their power to take will have much effect on the attitude of the populace in the interior. Indeed, since the demands of the Powers were preferred, there has been a fresh outrage of a very serious character at Ichang, where the mob are reported to have attacked and destroyed the British Consulate.

Second only in importance to the failure of the harvest in some of the chief grain-producing countries of Europe, and, perhaps, not entirely unconnected with it, is the renewed and rapidly deepening depression of trade which has set in in England. During the month of July, it was sufficiently serious, and it appears to have been even more marked in August. The decline in the former month was chiefly in exports, being greatest in the case of cotton and woollen piece-goods and iron and steel manufactures, but imports were also affected. In August there has again been a falling off in the aggregate trade of over two millions, as compared with the same month of last year, bringing the total decrease for the first eight months of the year up to about eight millions sterling.

Statistics are not yet available which would enable us to say how far the depression is general, or to what extent it is confined to the United Kingdom. There are, however, grave reasons for thinking that the late spurt in British trade was a

mere flash in the pan, and that the reduction of England from an abnormal to a normal position, as a competitor for the trade of the world, is merely a question of time. As far as mere skill, or command of the materials and instruments of labour is concerned, she has long ceased to occupy a dominant position, and though the extent of her territorial possessions still confers a great advantage on her, even this is becoming daily of less importance, while it is largely counterbalanced by the higher standard of living and consequently higher wage rates of her labouring population, as well as by their comparative want of thrift.

The attempt of the Sultan to re-open negotiations with England for the evacuation of Egypt is not, probably, in itself, an event of much importance. It will not shorten by a single hour the length of the British occupation, which depends upon considerations quite independent of the wish of the Sultan in the matter, and it is, no doubt, regarded by the Sultan himself as little more than a formal protest intended to keep his claim alive in the eyes of the civilized world, and to save his dignity in those of his own subjects and of the faithful generally. Nevertheless it is an event which is not without significance, as a reminder of the continued existence of a question which, in certain contingencies, never very remote, may serve as a *casus belli* to any Power with a decent pretext for espousing the cause of Turkey against England. There have of course, been the usual rumours, which are possibly not wholly without foundation, that the Sultan has acted at the instigation of France and Russia in the matter. But it does not therefore follow, and is not at all likely, that either of those Powers has any immediate intention of lending the Sultan more than diplomatic countenance.

The reply attributed to Lord Salisbury, that the changes which have occurred since the last negotiations on the subject necessitate his consulting his colleagues, which he cannot do till October, is a transparent subterfuge, and the report that relations between the two Powers are very strained in consequence of it, is hardly to be wondered at. Whether it is true or not, the Sultan is certainly in a vile humour, and has signalized his annoyance by dismissing his Grand Vizier and six of his Ministers. This, however, is attributed to independent causes.

The revolution in Chili, by which the despotic Government of President Balmaceda has been overthrown after a sanguinary struggle, is, perhaps, not an event of much interest to Indian readers, though, as it is of sufficient importance to influence the London stock exchange, it is not impossible that its consequences may be felt, unconsciously, even in the Burra Bazar.

The insurgents appear to have landed near Valparaiso on the 20th August, and, on the following day, a great battle, or what in Chili counts for a great battle, was fought before that city, the result being that, after a desperate struggle, in which some 3,000 combatants are said to have been killed or wounded, the insurgents succeeded in forcing the important pass of Aconcagua. Another battle was fought on Sunday the 23rd August, in which the insurgents were apparently repulsed. The subsequent course of events is somewhat obscure, the accounts of the fighting that have come to hand being of the most conflicting character. What is certain is that, on the 27th, the insurgents captured Valparaiso after five hours' fighting, in which five thousand were killed.

It appears that, on this occasion, the Government troops assumed the offensive, but were repulsed with heavy loss, including two of their generals and many officers, whereupon the troops went over bodily to the enemy. Santiago was subsequently surrendered to the victors without a struggle, and all opposition thereupon ceased.

According to the latest accounts Balmacedas succeeded in making good his escape, and, when last heard of, was crossing the Andes, and General Baguedano has been appointed to act temporarily as President.

If we except the blight which seems to have fallen upon business, and to which we have already referred, the course of events in England during the period under review has been unmarked by anything of a specially disturbing or sensational character. A certain amount of mild excitement of a pleasurable kind has been provided by the visit of the German Emperor, an event which has given occasion for a good deal of political speculation on the part of French and Russian journalists, but which, beyond furnishing an additional proof of what was already perfectly well known regarding the relations between the Courts of Berlin and St James's, probably possesses little or no significance.

English readers need scarcely be told that the rumours about Great Britain having given her adherence to the Triple Alliance neither have, nor could possibly have, any foundation in fact. England and the Central Powers are, from the necessities of their position, equally interested in the preservation of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and, beyond an exchange of views on this point, we may rest assured that no sort of understanding exists between them.

From a certain point of view, perhaps, greater political significance attaches to the more than cordial reception given to the French fleet on the occasion of its recent visit to British waters. The impression it must have made on the susceptible

French mind will, at all events, not be wholly without effect as a mollifying factor in the judgments regarding British feelings and motives that may be formed hereafter on the Gallic side of the Channel, though it would be unreasonable to expect that it will be very lasting, or that it will count for much in the scale, against considerations of a more practical kind, or more deeply rooted sentiments.

The meeting of the Congress on Hygiene and Demography at Burlington House has proved an interesting feature in the London season, though it may be questioned whether it has added a single fact of importance to the sum of human knowledge, or will alter, by the smallest fraction of a point, the course of human progress. An immense deal, of varying degrees of merit, was read and spoken on a bewildering multitude of topics, the general impression produced being that medical science is in a stage of transition, likely sooner or later to necessitate a complete re-orientation, and that Demography stands sadly in need of definition to make it a fit subject of deliberation for a Congress of any sort.

The probability of gatherings of this kind leading to practical results would be much greater than it is, if at least a considerable proportion of their time were devoted to the discussion of definite questions, set out and notified before hand.

The proceedings of the British Association opened at Cardiff on the 19th August, under the presidency of Dr Huggins, the well-known astronomer and spectroscopist. His address on the occasion was confined to a review of the history of astronomy since the application to it of the entirely new methods of investigation which the discoveries of spectrum analysis have placed at the disposal of the observer, and the general result of which is that much the same remark is applicable to the science which we have just made regarding that of medicine. The one grand fact which, beyond all others, stands out, as the result of recent enquiries, is that the matter of which the stellar systems are composed, and which appears to be diffused universally through space, is similar to, if not identical with, that which composes our own earth.

Dr Huggins' address was distinguished throughout by its extremely cautious tone and by an entire absence of any attempt to theorise or to descend to *ad captandum* methods of exposition.

The Labour Commission has been busy taking evidence during the quarter, and seems in danger of being crushed beneath the weight of the materials it is collecting, and the news is just to hand that the Congress of Trades Unions, which is sitting at Newcastle, has decided by a large majority in favour of an Eight Hours' Bill, and of summoning an International

Conference to secure the adoption of such a measure in every country.

Parliament was prorogued on the 5th ultimo,* after a session which was remarkable for the importance rather than the multiplicity of the measures passed in it. If the promise of its earlier months was not completely fulfilled, a great deal was done before its close to recover the ground lost, through sheer lack of energy on the part of the Government, during the middle period of its existence. It would have been no small triumph, under ordinary circumstances, as things Parliamentary go nowadays, to have passed three such highly contentious measures as the Free Education Bill, the Irish Land Bill and the Tithes Bill. But the circumstances were not ordinary, and it must be admitted that the Ministry owe their success quite as much to good fortune as to any skill or vigour displayed by them.

The frail fair one whose fate it was, without malice aforethought, to break up the Irish party, has proved their most effective ally, and even the influenza has stood them in good stead. At the same time it may be doubted whether victory would have been quite so easy for them, had not Mr. Balfour's vigorous management of Irish affairs, cut the ground from beneath the feet of their enemies. The League has, in fact, fairly thrown up the sponge, and for the moment the game of the agitator in Ireland has ceased to be worth the candle.

The Land Bill, on the whole, seems a workmanlike measure, and probably affords about as unobjectionable a solution of a well-nigh insoluble problem as could be hoped for. The Tithes Bill is, no doubt, a half-measure, or, perhaps, only a quarter-measure, where thoroughness would have meant failure. As for the Free Education Bill, it has brought down upon the Government the curses of their friends without winning for them the gratitude of those whom it was intended especially to serve. As far as voting strength in the country is concerned, its result, there is reason to apprehend, has been pure loss.

Had the money devoted to this wholly thankless purpose been applied to a reduction of the Income-tax, the prospects of the party for the approaching general election would, in all likelihood, have been very much brighter than they are.

The Indian Budget was introduced to an almost empty house, on the last evening of the session, with a rose-coloured speech from Sir John Gorst, and served as the occasion for a more than usually irrelevant and barren discussion. Sir John Gorst's statement was little more than a rechauffé of the leading points in that of Sir David Barbour, with the Financial Member's not altogether prudent remarks on the Exchange question left out.

On the motion to go into Committee Mr. Provand favoured what remained of the House with a denunciation of the Indian

factory system, the general quality of which may be estimated from his statement that a girl of fifteen in India is physically equal to a girl of eleven in England. There is a sense, no doubt, in which that is true, but it is not the sense in which Mr. Provand meant it to be understood, and in which it is absolutely untrue. Mr. Provand, however, was good enough not to move the Resolution of which he had given notice, that "further reforms are necessary in the laws of India dealing with native labour in factories and workshops."

Mr S. Smith appeared to agree generally with Mr. Provand in his view of the Indian factory system, which he declared to be disgraceful to a Christian nation, but counselled great deliberation and care in forcing crude and hasty legislation down the throats of the Local Government. Sir G. Campbell defended the factories, and, though not in so many words, declared Mr. Provand's picture to be the creation of a heated and not disinterested imagination, and the matter dropped, to give place to a display of somewhat damp fireworks on the part of Mr. Maclean, in the shape of a motion, "that, in the opinion of this House, the present relations between India and Afghanistan are of an unsatisfactory character, and that, in the interests of the trade of both countries, it is desirable to extend the Indian railway system as far as Candahar." This drew some half-sympathetic, half-deprecatory remarks from Sir Richard Temple, afforded Sir John Gorst an opportunity of virtuously repudiating the idea that anything would induce the Government of India to encroach upon the independence of its neighbours without provocation, and was negatived without a division.

On the report of the Indian revenue accounts, the following day, Mr. M'Laren enquired after the Councils Bill, and expressed a hope that, when it was next brought forward, something would be done for elective representation on the Councils. Mr. Morton went through the formality of a protest against the lateness with which the Indian Budget had been introduced. Sir J. Gorst, in reply, laid the blame for the miscarriage of the Councils Bill on the honourable member for Crewe and his friends, adding roundly that the Government had no time for the discussion of such great constitutional reforms as that involved in the introduction of a representative element into the Councils, and Mr. Atkinson made the most sensible remark of the sitting, to the effect that if statesmen would but refrain from stumping India for the purpose of persuading the people that they were badly treated, there would be some chance of our doing the country some good.

In India, such interest as attaches to the history of the past three months is concerned chiefly with questions of Law and

Justice, and in this connexion the most striking event of the period is the prosecution of the *Bangobasi*, a Bengalee daily journal, which can boast of the largest circulation in the province, for seditious libel, under section 124 of the Penal Code.

The prosecution, which has not been undertaken hastily, or without strong provocation, raises a two fold doubt Is the language on which the charge is founded, punishable under the existing law? and, if it is punishable, is it worth punishing?

The first of these questions is one for the lawyers, and, as it is still *sub judice*, we shall say nothing about it, except that it seems to us even more doubtful than the division on the subject among the jury which sat in the late abortive trial, might be held to imply. As to the second question, we have no hesitation in answering it in the affirmative. It is urged on the other side, that the language of the articles is so extravagant, that it may be safely left to the reader to supply the antidote from his own common-sense. That, however, is to attribute to the average Bengalee reader a knowledge far in advance of his opportunities and a calmness of judgment foreign to his temper, and, indeed, to the temper of the uneducated masses in most countries. The conductors of the *Bangobasi* probably know their public a great deal better than the critics in question do, and the popularity of their journal justifies their estimate of its proclivities.

We have no doubt whatever, that, whether it amounts to seditious libel or not, the language of the articles is potent for mischief of a kind quite serious enough to call for prevention, provided that it can be prevented without opening a wide door for evils of a still more serious kind.

Should the prosecution fail, it will become a question whether the definition of seditious libel ought not to be amended, so as to remove all doubt about the publication of matter such as that contained in the articles being a criminal offence. It might seem to follow, that, in admitting that such language is worth punishing, we have by implication answered this question in the affirmative. This, however, by no means follows, for it seems to us extremely doubtful whether it would be possible to widen the existing definition without seriously jeopardizing the independence of the press.

The final orders of the Government of India in the cases of the Manipur prisoners were published on the 10th ultimo. The sentences of death passed against the Senapati and the Tongal General were confirmed. Those against the Regent and Angao Sena were commuted to transportation for life and forfeiture of property, while the subordinate offenders were ordered to be transported during the Queen's pleasure.

It will, perhaps, be generally felt, that however much the mode of trial may have violated British notions of procedure, substantial justice has been done. In the case of the Tongal General this view is hardly open to question. His guilt was established beyond reasonable doubt, and there was nothing worthy of a moment's consideration to be urged in his favour. In the case of the Senapati, on the other hand, a critical examination of the evidence discloses an element of grave doubt.

That he was guilty of waging war against the Queen, is, indeed, abundantly proved, but the conclusion that he was accessory to the murder of the British officers rests entirely upon circumstantial evidence, and that of, by no means, the most convincing character. Not only is there no evidence whatever of his having actually sanctioned the murders, but the only positive evidence on the subject is that, up to a certain point, he refused to sanction them. Beyond that point, all that is in evidence is, that he had a further interview with the Tongal General—and even on this head there is a conflict of testimony, that he then retired and that, after he had disappeared from the scene, the Tongal General ordered the prisoners to be executed. As to what passed at his second interview with the Tongal General—assuming such an interview to have taken place,—nothing is known, and it is inferred that he must have either withdrawn his prohibition, or at least tacitly acquiesced in the executions, merely because he did not interfere to prevent them.

If it were certain that he knew that the executions were taking place or were likely to take place, this would be a legitimate inference. But the conclusion that he knew this is, in its turn, merely an inference, based upon an estimate of probabilities which may very well be erroneous.

His own account of the matter is, that his last instructions on the subject were to safeguard the prisoners and that, being exhausted, he then went to sleep, and though it is argued, with some plausibility, that it was improbable that he would, or could, have gone to sleep in the midst of so much tumult and excitement, unless he had been indifferent to the fate of the prisoners, or content to let the Tongal General have his own way with them, it is, on the other hand, readily conceivable that he may have been really worn out with the fatigues of the day, and that he had sufficient faith in his own authority to believe that the prisoners were safe.

The executions took place on 13th August, and are said to have excited little interest among the inhabitants of Manipur.

It has since been announced that Her Majesty has been pleased to forego her right to annex the territories of the

Manipur State, and it is understood that a ruler will be selected from among the late reigning family

The obituary of the Quarter includes the names of Raja Rajendra Lala Mittra, the most distinguished archæologist and man of letters Bengal has produced, and Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the eminent Sanskrit scholar and accomplished Bengalee writer, whose learning was equalled by his philanthropy, and who played a most important part in the laying of the foundations of literary Bengalee.

10th September 1891

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Administration Report on the Jails of Bengal for the year 1890

TWENTY-TWO JAILS in Bengal show, in last year's Return, an increase in the number of prisoners admitted, twenty-two a decrease. The decrease, we are told, "chiefly occurs in districts which were affected by scarcity," and, is attributed to "better" harvests.

We find no reason to doubt the statement that among the districts showing a large increase in the number of admissions to Jail, Jessore and Nuddea were prominent. But the explanation given is open to criticism. Disputes about indigo lands may, as is suggested, account for the increase in Jessore, but they ought not to be held accountable also for a larger number of *burglary* cases in Nuddea.

When one man has to write a Report on Jails, and another man to work up this material into a Resolution, why cannot both of them stick to their subject, discourse of prisons and prison administration, and leave alien theories and surmisings to be dealt with by the Police authorities? Division of labour is a recognized and ordinarily received politico-economical canon.

The total number of convicts despatched from Alipore for transportation to the Andamans fell from 829 in the previous year to 686, in consequence, it is supposed, of the closure by the Government of India of Port Blair as a penal settlement for long term convicts not of Burmese nationality.

Burman convicts are depicted as unruly, and are evidently beyond the pale of a Bengal Jailor's faculties for management, moreover in Bengal Jails they lose weight. So the Inspector General of Jails suggests their retransference to their native heaths, since room cannot be made for them at the Andamans save by exclusion therefrom of less self-assertive criminals. There were in Jail, last year, in Bengal, 3 per cent more Hindus and 3 per cent fewer Mahomedans than in 1889. More pertinent, perhaps, is the information that the number of juvenile prisoners diminished by sixty and that the Reformatory Schools at Alipore and Hazaribagh continue to do abidingly good work. It is noteworthy that "the necessary apparatus for experiments in anthropometry at the Presidency Jail, for the purpose of recognizing old criminals, has

been lately received, and Civil Hospital Assistant Kumuc Behari Samanta, who was assistant to Mr H H. Risley, C S during his experiments, has been deputed to instruct the Jail officials in the use of the instruments. The number of persons imprisoned in default of giving security for good behaviour has steadily increased from 556 in 1884 to 1,303 in 1890. Of the prisoners admitted during the year, 86.69 per cent were unable to read and write, 9.80 per cent were able to read and write a little, and 3.51 per cent were able to read and write well."

The average period of detention of under-trial prisoners was 45.58 days in Sessions' cases and 13.28 days in others. It is more than high time that some remedy should be devised for cases of such grave injustice and hardship, we are glad to note that Sir Charles Elliott is sensible of the necessity for reform.

Another scandal noticed by His Honor is the cost of Jail Establishments, which in this Presidency amounts to Rs 25 10 per prisoner, though in the neighbouring North-West Province it is found that more muscular, robust, and courageous men can be effectually supervised at an average rate of Rs 11 10 less per head.

Paragraph 23 of the Lieutenant Governor's Resolution on the Jail Report runs thus —

Mortality of prisoners—Sir Charles Elliott considers that the question of the mortality of prisoners is the most important of all the questions affecting jail administration, and cannot be satisfied with a high death-rate in any Jail without an exhaustive explanation of its causes. His Honor is pleased to observe that the death rate from all causes was 32.3 per mille, which is the lowest on record, and is 25.2 per mille below the average of the last 28 years.

The remarkable improvement during the past year as compared with the preceding two years without doubt shows that the health of the prisoners was greatly affected by the late scarcity. The proportion of the daily average sick per mille of average strength was very high in the Jails at Shahabad (103.9), Jalpaiguri (77.3), Palamou (72.2), Chittagong (65.5), Dacca (65.1) and Chumparun (63.3). The unhealthiness of Shahabad Jail during the past year was attributed to epidemics of cholera and influenza, but the general health of the district is said to have deteriorated. The Lieutenant Governor desires to see further inquiry made into the state of this Jail and of the district. The Palamou Jail shows a diminution in the proportion of the daily average sick as compared with the preceding year, but is still very unhealthy, and the Inspector-General will be asked for an explanation. Jalpaiguri and Chumparun Jails received a large number of malaria-stricken prisoners from the Terai, and there was an unusual prevalence of fever and influenza in the Chittagong and Dacca Jails respectively.

Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums of Bengal for the year 1890.

AT the close of the year the Bengal asylums contained 1,021 inmates. There is, in all the asylums of the province, accommodation for 1,019 patients, giving 50 superficial feet to each the maximum number in confinement during any one night last year was 1,063. Forty-four more persons, that is to say, sharing the fifty feet an allowance than it could healthily maintain.

Dr Hilson, however, believes that the collective capacity of all the institutions is somewhat larger than has been represented. Why did he not make sure before writing his Report? Doing so would not have cost him much trouble. The asylums enjoyed complete freedom from serious epidemic disease during the year, and the rate of mortality was consequently low.

Paragraph 3 of the Resolution accompanying the Report runs thus —

In his Report for the year 1889, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals discussed the question of the increase in the criminal population of the asylums in Bengal, and showed that the proportion of criminal lunatics admitted to the asylums in Bengal was far higher than that of the other provinces. He was desired to follow up the question, and ascertain in what respect the rules of admission and discharge of criminal lunatics in other parts of India differed from those in force in Bengal. The present Report contains no additional information on the subject. Dr Hilson appears to consider (1) that lunatics are sent to the asylums when guilty of very trivial offences which might have been overlooked, (2) that more latitude might be allowed to the official visitors in recommending release. As to the second point, the Lieutenant Governor will be glad to consider any specific suggestions which Dr Hilson may wish to submit for the modification of the rules regarding release of lunatics, which were issued with the Resolution of this Government, dated 21st August 1888. As to the former point, the Lieutenant Governor desires that a statement should be included in the next Report, showing, with regard to each criminal lunatic admitted during the year 1891, the crime with which he was charged. It is only by such an examination of details that it can be ascertained whether lunatics are sent to asylums whose confinement is not required by the public safety.

Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies 1890

13,826 coolies were requisitioned, 23,078 registered, 18,064 arrived in depôt, and 13,061 embarked. With the exception of Mauritius, every colony asked for a larger number of emigrants than it could get, or rather than the accounts show it to have got. Accounts Departments seem to consider it their special function to distort facts into compliance with petty-fogging rules of their own devising, dependent on the

particular way in which columns are red-ink ruled in their office books

More emigrants were asked for, because of the improved prospects of the sugar industry. It is pleasant to note that the year has been distinguished by a complete absence of any serious complaint as to the treatment of coolies in the Colonies. A striking feature in the Report is the transfer of the recruitment area from Bengal to the North-Western Provinces and Oudh

The following statement gives the figures for two last years —

	1889	1890
" From Bengal and Behar	7,818	6,646
From North Western Provinces and Oudh	8,995	16,432
Total recruited	<u>16,813</u>	<u>23,078</u>

" In the previous year (1889) the district of the 24-Pergunnahs headed the list with 3,394 registrations, next came Shahabad with 2,630, and then Benares with 2,085. In the year under review Benares heads the list easily with 3,043, then come Ghazipur and the Oudh district of Fyzabad with 2,204 and 2,055 respectively, and after them the 24-Pergunnahs and Shahabad with 2,027 and 1,813

" Registrations, however, do not give a true indication of the sources from which the emigrants are drawn, as large numbers have previously left their homes before they register as emigrants to the Colonies. The statement given by the Protector showing the native districts of the recruits brings the district of Azamgarh to the front with 2,823 emigrants, followed by Basti, Ghazipur and Balia, and by Shahabad in the fifth place only "

Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs for the year 1890

OUT of a total population of 433,219 in the Town of Calcutta, 10,158 persons were convicted of offences under the Indian Penal Code,

Racially considered (as far as religious denominationalism in Bengal points to race), the percentages of convictions were as follow —

Mahomedans	29
Hindus	21
Christians	16
Buddhists and Jains	104
Jews	101

In the Suburbs the percentage of Christians convicted was as large as that of Hindus, and very nearly as large as that of Mahomedans. What have the missionaries to plead in excuse for their converts?

Forty-three cases were declared false out of a total of 48,873 in the Town, eighteen out of 12,669 in the Suburbs. Sir John Edgar mildly suggests that "the extreme paucity of, and decrease in, the number of cases declared false, have not been sufficiently explained." Explanation is to be found possibly in the fact that "no case (of false complaint) was instituted by any Court *suo motu*." Failing a Public Prosecutor, Police Magistrates will continue probably to be apathetic with respect to this flagrant mischief and it is not to be expected that an already overworked Police force should add to its burdens by work of superogation, however desirable it may be from the general public's point of regard.

The value of property stolen in Town and Suburbs was estimated at Rs 1,53,957, or some twenty thousand rupees more than in the previous year. Concomitantly, some twenty thousand rupees more were recovered. There was an increase of offences relating to coin and stamps, 3 cases of murder had to be taken up against 4 in 1889, the culpable homicides, owing to Afghan turbulence, rose from one to four.

It is specially noted that no European seamen were charged with grievous hurt. The most satisfactory part of the report is that relating to burglary and house trespass. There were fewer cases, and proportionally more property was recovered. There were 85 cases of suicide, over 70 per cent of these occurring amongst Hindus.

"Thirty-five vagrants were admitted into the Workhouse under section 5 of the Act. Two persons were deported, one to London and the other to Madras, sixteen were shipped away as seamen, eleven were provided with employment of various kinds, and five were released. Ten other persons of European extraction, who were not admitted into the Workhouse, entered into agreement under section 17 of the Act and were deported from India.

"Out of 66 seamen who found refuge in the Alms-house during the year, employment on ships was found for 51.

"Thirteen large fires occurred, in the Town and River, 26 in the Suburbs, and 8 at Howrah, at all of which steam fire-engines rendered effective assistance. Thirteen other small fires were also reported to have occurred, at which manual engines attended. The loss of property was estimated at Rs 4,66,480 against Rs. 1,38,490 in 1889. The most serious fire in the Town occurred at Jorabagan, in which property worth Rs 93,000 was destroyed, and that in the Suburbs occurred at the Bengal Hydraulic Jute Press at Chitpore. The loss in this case was said to be Rs 2,70,000."

The ratio of the Police force was, with reference to population, 1 to 239.39 inhabitants, and, with reference to area, 1 to 0.10

square miles. We are told that "against the orders of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, 34 ordinary appeals were preferred, with the result that one conviction only was set aside, the High Court was moved in revision in five cases, but only once successfully 51 ordinary appeals were made against the orders of the Northern Division Presidency Magistrate, all without success, 12 motions were made to the High Court with the result that two were successful. There were twelve ordinary appeals against the decisions of Honorary Magistrates, all of which were rejected except one, there were three motions to the High Court, but all were without success. These results speak well for the soundness of the decisions given by the Magistrates."

The Chief Presidency Magistrate says that Honorary Magistrates as a body continue to evince the interest they have always shown in the discharge of their work. Which, being interpreted, means that eight of them never attended Court at all, and thirty-six of them less than ten times during the year, and that some of them are fond of leaving their day's file unfinished.

"O heaven! were man
But constant he were perfect waiting for dinner
Fills him with faults"

*Twenty third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for
Bengal for the year 1890*

VAULTING ambition can overleap itself in the derivation of theories and morals from obsolete statistics, as well as in more materially salient concerns. Although Dr Gregg did not submit his report till the end of May, he could not restrain his ardour for report-writing till the results of the census of 12th February were available, but compiled his tabular statements and deductions therefrom a fortnight before that date. And so sundry elaborate calculations and deductions in this State paper, based on the census figures for 1881, are of no use.

The total number of deaths registered in 1890 was 1,612,479 as compared with 1,597,478 in the previous year. Registration in the Mofussil is admittedly very imperfect, and the Sanitary Commissioner, we are told in Sir Charles Elliott's Resolution accompanying the Report, "seems to think that the duties of his Department are limited to impressing upon the local authorities and the people themselves the importance of the subject. The Lieutenant-Governor has not much faith in the value of these general exhortations." Neither have we.

"Among the causes of the high infant mortality, which there is reason to believe must prevail in Bengal, Dr Gregg refers to the insanitary conditions prevalent in large towns, to the tropical climate, the prevalence of malaria, and deficient or

improper clothing and food, and lays special stress on 'the fact that the infants of Bengal are the produce, in an enormous number of instances, of women who are themselves but undeveloped children, whose offspring are not remarkable for stamina or for a constitutional power of resistance to the causes of disease to which they are peculiarly liable'."

The highest death-rates from cholera occurred in Faridpur, Chumparun, Bhagulpore and Dacca, but nowhere did the rate of mortality rise as high as in 1889. In Bhagulpore, a supply of filtered water is believed to have reduced mortality, and it is stated that, under the orders of the Board of Revenue, improvements are being carried out in the town of Bettiah—where most of the cholera deaths registered in Chumparun occurred. It is refreshing to find the Board of Red Tape doing something practical for once in a way. The number of deaths from small pox rose from 8,655 to 12,619—an increase attributed to the inveteracy in popular favour of inoculation. (It enables Municipal Boards and Committees to reduce expenditure on vaccination.) Fever mortality increased, as well as the number of deaths from small-pox. Local officers in Gya and Shahabad attribute the prevalence of malaria in those districts to the malign influences of canal irrigation.

"In the Resolution on the Report of 1889 it is observed that the province of Orissa was remarkable for the comparative absence of fever, and that the district of Puri, in other respects the most unhealthy district of Bengal, showed the smallest fever mortality. Dr Gregg now explains that in the hilly country in the north of the district, and the sandy tract which drains towards the sea and the Chilka Lake, the natural drainage is rapid, and the mortality from fever small."

A'propos of rural sanitation, we quote from the Resolution accompanying Dr Gregg's Report —

The Sanitary Commissioner states that little or no progress has as yet been made by District Boards in the direction of rural sanitation because, as was observed in the Resolution on last year's report, they possess no funds for the purpose, and have no power to impose local taxation for sanitary purposes. It appears, however, from the summary of sanitary works contained in Appendix III of the Report, that during the past year District and Local Boards spent Rs 43,762 on sinking wells, excavating and clearing tanks, and improving drainage channels. The above sum includes an advance of Rs, 4,200 granted in Midnapore under the Land Improvement Loans Act to private individuals for the excavation of tanks and the construction of bunds or high level reservoirs, but it does not include the expenditure incurred on the completion of the Rungpore drainage scheme. In addition to this, no less than Rs 2,65,785 was laid out by private individuals on the excavation of tanks, the provision of improved water and similar sanitary improvements. Among these works of private benevolence, special mention should be made of the large tank with six masonry ghâts excavated by Rani Man Mohini Devi of

Puttia, Rajshahi, at a cost of Rs 30,000, and the generous offer of the same lady to lay out from Rs 10,000 to Rs 12,000 a year, for a period of four or five years, on constructing wells in the district, of the donation of Rs 1,12,500 made by Raja Surja Kant Acharyya of Muktagacha in Mymensingh, towards water works for the head quarters station; and of the contribution of Rs 11,466 promised, and in part paid, by the Maharaja of Durbhanga for clearing the Sivaganga and improving the drainage of Deoghur. With reference to the last-mentioned project, the Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunahs states that the plans, "though made over a year ago, are still lying somewhere unapproved by the authorities, and the gift under its terms may be withdrawn."

Report on the Legal Affairs of the Bengal Government for the year 1890-91.

THE following table shows the results of Civil litigation in Bengal for the last three years under the auspices of the Legal Remembrancer —

	1888-89	1889-90	1890-91
Decided in favour of Government	330	348	311
Decided against Government	155	58	75
Compromised, remanded, or withdrawn	57	48	59
Percentage in favour of Government	68½	85½	80½

Three cases were decided against Government in the Local High Court, two of them for chur lands in the Backergunge District, lying on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. With reference to these adverse decisions Mr T T Allen writes — "The Dearah Survey having found these lands liable to assessment as in excess—a view confirmed by the Commissioner—this decision was set aside on the report of a Civil Court Amin. I have addressed the Board of Revenue as to the absurdity of keeping up an expensive Dearah Survey when the Civil Court Amin is the real final arbiter."

Here is skeleton map of a case noteworthy because of the Privy Council ruling —

The childless widow of a Midnapore zemindar, before making the adoption of the minor, had borrowed a sum of Rs 20,000 at 18 per cent compound interest, with half yearly rests, the lenders being the Government Pleader and some others. A demand of Rs 58,652 was made against the estate, and as the widow denied that she had any knowledge of the terms of the loan, and some of the lenders were persons on whom she had previously leant for advice, the demand was resisted by the Court of Wards. The Subordinate Judge gave a decision for the plaintiffs, and that decision was appealed against in the High Court, the Advocate-General being perfectly confident that such a usurious and questionable transaction could never be upheld there. The High Court Bench, consisting of the Chief Justice and Mr R F Rampani, however, confirmed the decision regarding the interest, viz, 18 per cent compound interest, with half yearly rests, as not unreasonable. Now, another Bench of the High Court in a similar case having refused to allow as against the minor's estate higher interest than 12 per cent, that case was carried to the Privy Council, whose

judgment, since published at page 315, Volume XVIII, Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series, supports the decision in these words "Then comes the question, was 12 per cent a sufficient rate of interest? The widow was borrowing in a case of necessity. It was for the plaintiff to see whether there was really and fairly a ground of necessity. Was there a necessity to borrow at the rate of 18 per cent? That is a question to which he ought to have applied his mind, and if it were unreasonable to suppose that the widow could not borrow the money at a less amount than 18 per cent, he ought not to have charged her that rate. Their Lordships think, therefore, that the High Court were right in not allowing interest at a higher rate than 12 per cent."

The largest outstanding balance on account of Court of Wards decrees is Rs 275,382 due from the Burdwan Raj Estate, Rs 40,000 of which are barred by limitation.

Report on the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, for the year 1890-91.

COMPARED with last year's Returns, trade in 1890-91 showed a rise of 10.37 per cent. Statistics of trade between Bengal and Nepal show steady increase year by year —

Looking to the imports, the greatest improvement is observable under food grains (6,05,330 maunds), treasure (Rs 4,12,901) and linseed, while mustard seed, cattle, tobacco, and ghee show a falling off. In the export trade the largest increase occurred in silk, manufactured, (Rs 71,798), and the largest decrease in European cotton piece-goods (Rs 2,21,751).

The export salt trade showed a recovery over the transactions of 1889-90, and the figures were equal to those of 1888-89. Out of the total supply Chumparun contributed (34,148 maunds), Purneah (27,873 maunds), Mozufferpore (20,408 maunds), Bhagulpore (19,395 maunds), and Durbhanga (13,325 maunds).

There has been a partial withdrawal of the restrictions on trade across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier, and a consequent increase in it.

Reports of the Alipore and Hazaribagh Reformatory Schools for the year 1890

AT the Alipore School the number of refugees rose from 108 at the beginning of the year under review to 135 at its close. The school has accommodation for 224. Twenty-four boys were released, one died of cholera, a large number suffered from chicken-pox. From reports received during the year regarding 80 previously released boys, it appeared that ten had been reconvicted, one did not bear a good character, 69 were believed to be leading honest lives. Of these 69, only four follow the trades they were taught at the school. Caste prejudices and hereditary customs are held answerable for this slur on its practicality.

Is there no hereditary or other prejudice to boot on the part of the school management against going half way to meet work-a-day serviceableness?

The boys at Alipore work for seven hours a day, undergo one hour of compulsory school, and are patted on the back if they furthermore elect to put in voluntary attendance at the night school from 6 to 8 P.M., 110 of them do so accordingly.

It may be unkind to hint a suspicion that virtue is being overdone, but, bearing in mind the inevitability of boys being boys, we are at a loss how else to account for this phenomenal love of school.

The Hazaribagh boys—there were 291 of them last year* against 267 in 1889—are not such saps, and have not such a perfect character record as the Alipore lot. Amongst them occurred 150 cases of fighting and offences against discipline, two boys temporarily escaped during the year.

Reports were received during the year regarding 94 released boys. 57 reports were favourable, in 13 cases the whereabouts of the boys were not traceable, 5 boys were reconvicted and sent to jail, and 6 were looked upon with suspicion by the police, 7 boys continued to work at the trades they learned in school, and 6 died.

"There is a very limited local market for the articles manufactured in the Hazaribagh Reformatory, and this stands in the way of the manufactures being carried on upon a more extensive scale. The shoe-making industry has proved a failure. There was a considerable improvement in the weaving industry which brought in a profit of Rs 1,496. A portion of the jail work in this branch of the industry has been made over to the school."

Report by the Board of Revenue on the Revenue Administration of the North-Western Provinces for the Revenue year 1889-90, ending 30th September 1890

THE balance of land revenue borne on the roll last year was large, amounting to Rs 4,50,683. Rs 1,87,416 were collected during the year, Rs 99,546 were remitted, Rs 10,670 are pronounced "nominal."

"The outstanding balance is, therefore, Rs 1,53,051. Of this however Rs 1,14,413 were due from deteriorated villages in Agra, Farukhabad, Mainpuri and Etah, and are now under formal suspension. The tract in which these arrears are due was carefully inspected during last winter by the Lieutenant-Governor when on tour. The principles upon which the revision of assessment was being conducted, appeared to him by no means sufficiently liberal in view of the disastrous re-

sults of the floods and saturation of recent years, and the very considerable exodus which had consequently occurred, and instructions were given to the revising officers, under which outstanding dues will be generally struck off and settlements made, which will, it is hoped, give fresh heart to both landlords and tenants and bring about before long return of some of the many absentees. Of the remaining outstanding sum, Rs 38,638 are due from estates under attachment, generally in the deteriorated tracts of the Agra Division, and include arrears in villages of the Muttra district, which also have received, since the Lieutenant-Governor's last winter tour, the specific orders of Government. A barbed fence has been put up experimentally at a cost of Rs 48,920, along $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Agra and Muttra districts, to keep out the wild cattle which infest the villages adjoining the Bhartpur border, and, if found effectively to withstand injuries and to answer the purposes for which it was erected, it will be continued along so much of the frontier as has the misfortune to adjoin the Bhartpur State, and to be exposed to the ravages of its uncontrolled wild herds of cattle. Of Rs 29,980, the real outstanding balances of Jalaun, only Rs 8,369 were collected, and Rs 12,045 were remitted, still leaving a real balance on account of the arrears of previous years of Rs 9,566."

Excluding nominal items from the demand, collections averaged 99.12 per cent of it. The much vaunted Kali Nadi Water-works have resulted in a flourishing crop of Káns grass and jungle all over the low-lands served by them. Last year a lot more land was taken up for canals at a compensation cost of Rs 58 an acre. Only 900 acres were taken up for Railway purposes, mainly in the Sháhjahánpur and Pilibhit districts. Some compensation cases have been pending for four years.

There was a further decline in the income from the Mirzapur Stone Quarries.

"The Collector of Allahabad attributes the increase in the number of suits for arrears of rent to the introduction of the system of remitting rent by money-orders. The Commissioner and the Board do not agree, and they show that at least the commencement of this flood-tide of litigation was anterior to the introduction of the money-order system. It is improbable, however, that the Collector should be altogether wrong on a matter of fact, of which he had ample means of accurate local knowledge, and on which his report indicates that he took considerable trouble to inform himself."

The Board of Revenue has been unable to trace any special cause to which the increase of litigation, especially in suits for arrears of rent, may be ascribed.

Applications to eject tenants-at-will increased by nearly 4 per cent. in number, but decreased nearly as much in area.

It is held satisfactory that, notwithstanding increase of work, the average duration of contested and uncontested cases alike has diminished.

Benares and Meerut were again the two divisions in which the largest number of Appeals to Collectors were filed.

The Lieutenant-Governor "is disappointed to see the very great decline in the applications for loans for Agricultural improvement. In number and value they are little more than half of those of 1887-88. Nor does he understand the remark of the Commissioner of Benares that such advances will not be taken in his Division because of the greater formality of the rules. The rules have not been increased in formality and are of sufficient simplicity to be no deterrent to applicants in districts that adjoin the Benares Division. The Collector of Muzaffarnagar is probably nearer the truth when he says that it is the fashion in some districts to take advances, and in others it is not."

Sir Auckland Colvin seems to be of opinion that a far-fetched excuse is better than none.

We are told that the "new branches of the Midland Railway in the districts of Bundelkhand and Jhānsi appear to have had little influence as yet in promoting trade and wakening the agricultural energies of the tracts they traverse, but, like the Betwa Canal, they were designed in the first instance as protective works, and their indirect influence will gradually be recognized."

Report on the Excise Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 30th September 1890

THE gross, nett and "real" receipts for the year of report were respectively Rs 54,15,600, Rs 52,90,369 and Rs 54,21,040, the revenue having been the lowest since 1884-85, and fallen short of the estimate by Rs. 2,34,400, while net charges exceeded estimate by Rs 9,031.

The revenue derived from country spirits has been gradually declining for the last six years, revenue from spirits manufactured after English methods (of the Rosa Distillery pattern) increasing, revenue from drugs ditto. The moral seems to be that human nature is still desperately wicked, and when thwarted in its propensity for one sort of intoxicant, excogitates proclivity to another. In other words, the truism holds good that you can no more make people virtuous by excise imposts than you can by Act of Parliament.

The Report informs us that a contractor in the Moradabad

district—with a monopoly for his objective apparently—"engaged in contracts that could not possibly be remunerative"

Possibly he understands his own business better than the Joint Secretary to the Board of Revenue N-W P and Oudh does. The Commissioner of Excise and the Board of Revenue of those Provinces, by the way, are not of one mind with us in their interpretation of the workings of the laws of supply and demand in connection with their excise affairs, but are of opinion that there is little, if any, connection between diminished consumption of strong drink and increase in consumption of drugs and opium.

In the district reports, it seems, a choice is offered of reasons to account for the decrease in still-head duty. To wit —

- (1) the high price of the materials of manufacture, *viz*, *mahua* and molasses, (2) the high price of food grains, (3) a deficient kharif crop, owing to the excessive or irregular rainfall of 1889, and a short rabi crop, due to imperfect preparation of the ground at the sowing season, and the absence of winter rains these two causes operating to bring about, or intensify, agricultural depression, (4) sickness due to influenza, small pox, and other complaints last spring, (5) a diminished number of Hindu marriages, (6) the issue of more highly distilled liquor (in one or two districts only), which, while paying the same still head duty as weaker liquor, went further in consumption, (7) the influence of Temperance Leagues (in certain districts), (8) a plentiful mango crop (in one district).

This list is at any rate exhaustive. It would require a vivid imagination to soar beyond the "plentiful mango crop in one district"—and consequent money to spend—as an incentive to temperance. As to the influence of Temperance Leagues, the Junior Member of the Board of Revenue is of opinion that although "perhaps" in certain places, they may have induced substitution of non-alcoholic drinks for spirituous liquors at marriage and other festivities, in the Kayeth and "possibly" in one or two other castes, yet their efforts have scarcely at all affected the private habits of the majority of drinkers. Retail liquor-shops decreased by 80 the changes in their number within individual districts were not numerous. There was an average of one shop to every 6,436 of population. (In Madras the Mills proportion is one to 1,496.)

There was one more distillery than in 1888-89.

The number of licenses for vend of *tári* and *sendu* increased slightly.

Increase of revenue from drugs and opium amounted to 3.22 per cent. It is explained that this increase was not due to generally increased consumption, but to revised arrangements with respect to local contracts, to restriction of the area of cultivation, and to greater preventive vigilance.

Here is a quotation from Mr Petre's Report —

Probably the preparation and vend of *madak* and *chandu* by Govern-

ment contractors cannot advisedly be altogether discontinued. But the Junior Member is of opinion that the question may be considered whether the shops for their sale should not be managed on a different method from the present, the functions of the contractor being confined to manufacture and vend only. At present the shops are not merely depôts for the sale of the prepared drug, but are also smoking rooms, where consumption on the premises is permitted. The customer is attended to by servants of the shopkeeper who prepare *chandu* or *madak* is required, providing and filling the pipes and saving the consumer all trouble. The persons who frequent the shops are mostly of indifferent character, and neither they nor the contractors are persons likely to discourage any who may unwarily be led into trying the effects of the drugs. The public shops are, in short, places where not only are the demands of the vice met, but indulgence in it is certain to be encouraged and propagated. The proposal to restrict the contractors' license strictly to manufacture and vend is doubtless open to the objection that the use of *madak* and *chandu* might be introduced to a greater extent into private houses, and that authorized smoking resorts, supplied by illicit manufacture and vend, would be set up. The matter is no doubt one that requires careful consideration from the police point of view. But it can scarcely be gainsaid that the maintenance of the present *madak* and *chandu* smoking shops, under the cover and authority of licenses granted by the Government, is open to grave objections.

The Board of Revenue agrees with the Excise Commissioner in thinking that Treasury Officers ought not to be placed in charge of excise. According to the existing arrangement the Excise Officer, who is tied by Treasury work to Head-quarters, is neither fish, flesh, or good red herring, and at the best can be, as Mr Wall puts it, only half an Excise Officer. It is unfair on the Department.

On the eve of Mr Wall's retirement from the service "the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner desires to place on record his acknowledgments of Mr Wall's labours in the Department of which he has been for nearly ten years the head."

Annual Report on the Condition and Management of the Jails in the N-W Provinces and Oudh (with Tabular Statements) for the year ending 31st December 1890

THE number of convicts continues to increase, and the figure is now 44,694, against 32,969 five years ago. And the increase is not accounted for by admissions for petty crime. Quite the contrary. The Inspector-General of Prisons thinks that the high price of food-grains accounts for the rise in numbers. Prisoners from Burma also help to swell the total.

Of 44,694 convicts admitted during the year, 5,123 were recognized as habitual criminals. The Lieutenant-Governor concurs with Sir J W Tyler in thinking that habitual offenders, while in Jail, should be treated with extra strictness, and appears to think that the objections of the Jail Committee to

the use of fetters have proved prejudicial to Jail discipline, e g, there were 27 escapes; 3,007 convicts were released under the good conduct rules. The number of juvenile prisoners increased slightly. Jail accommodation was, "on the whole," sufficient for the demands made on it. Convict Warders—there were 1,102 of them—are reported to have been better conducted than unconvicted ones. The cost per head for convict maintenance was Rs 41-5-8. Since 1887 (the year in which the present provincial contract commenced) Jail expenditure has increased by about 20 per cent. *Per contra*, the result of Jail manufactures is that the total cost of Jails to Government is reduced from Rs 10,24,585 to Rs 9,14,486. Sick and death rates were higher in 1890 than they have been in any year since 1879. Gorakhpur continues to be the most unhealthy Jail in the Provinces.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1890

WE quote from the Resolution accompanying this Report —

The number of suits instituted during the year, namely 240,679, was 2,720 less than in 1889, and 17,296 less than the number instituted in the year 1888, and in fact it is stated in the Judges' Report that the litigation of the year has been reduced below that of any year since 1877. It must be remembered, however, that previous to the close of the year 1884 there were no regular Revenue Courts in this Province, whereas a considerable number of what were formerly treated as civil suits is now disposed of by the Revenue Courts, so that the figures given in the Civil Justice Reports from 1887 to 1884 do not show the real facts when compared with those from 1885 to 1890. The decrease is chiefly noticeable in the districts of the old Mooltan Division, in Sialkot, Amritsar, Kangra and Umballa. In the Sialkot District there were 2,447 cases less than in the previous year—a decrease of 15.77 per cent. This is attributed to the autumnal fever, which also caused a decrease in litigation in the adjoining district of Gujrat. There was a marked increase of institutions in the districts of Shahpur (20 per cent), Jhelum (14 per cent), Hoshiarpur and Gujranwala. Litigation is heaviest in the Central or Sikh districts of the Province. The total value of the litigation was Rs 2,54,59,368, or Rs 47,54,267 more than in the year 1889, and Rs 43,57,539 more than in the year 1888. In the Lahore and Gujranwala Districts two suits of the values of 13 lakhs and 35 lakhs of rupees, respectively, were filed. In respect of one class of suits only, those relating to land assessed to land revenue, has there been a decrease in value of the property in dispute. This is attributed to the operation of the rules under the Suits Valuation Act, which fix the value of suits for land or interest in land by reference to a multiple of the revenue demand instead of the estimated market value.

Of the total number of suits instituted during the year, 86 per cent. were for money or moveables, 10 per cent for immoveable property, and 4 per cent for other forms of relief. These percentages are practically uniform from year to year. The number of suits for money based on bonds, contracts, or in consideration of goods supplied, was

practically the same as last year. On these 105,394 suits were brought by bankers and shopkeepers against agriculturists, as compared with 102,222 in the year 1889 and 108,724 in 1888. The District Judge of Ludhiana, whose report, to judge from the printed extracts, seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be a good one, has carefully considered this subject and has given several reasons for his conclusion that such suits may be expected to gradually increase in number. It is satisfactory to note that there is a marked decrease in the number of suits based on "contract not in writing"—a decrease amounting to 10 per cent as compared with the figures of 1889, and 18 per cent as compared with the average of the previous eight years. There is a corresponding increase in the number of suits founded on bonds, but the steady decrease since 1884 in the number of suits on *registered* bonds shows that the safeguard of registration is being less and less resorted to. The figures of the Annual Registration Reports confirm this conclusion. The number of suits founded on an "account stated" shows no tendency to decrease.

Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1890

REPORT-WRITING must be a difficult business when, out of one's inner consciousness, one has to excogitate colourable reason for all and sundry departures from normal precedent. Thus we find it regretted that increase of crime in the Southern districts of the Jullunder Division cannot be wholly explained by the character of the harvests there. The Judge of Gujrat is more fertile of resource, and accounts for decrease of crime in that district by the suggestion that "autumnal fever" induced diminish activity among the criminal classes. The Secretariat supplements this theory with a hint 'that sickness possibly rendered the people too apathetic to report crime.' In hope that we may be able to put a finishing touch to this house of cards, we venture, in turn, to suggest that, during the non-autumnal months, some other fever must have compelled the police to apathy in the cognizance of crime. That notion, it seems to us, rounds off and gives symmetry to the edifice.

Sir James Lyall congratulates his Administration on a considerable decrease of crime in 1889, and further and marked diminution in the number of offences reported in 1890, when the number of offences coming within the Penal Code purview that are in Punjab parlance "admitted to have occurred," was 76,424—less by 3,607, that is to say, than in the previous year, and more than 5,000 less than the average for the previous five years. We give the figures for whatever they may be worth, our own idea being that that this can be but little. Although the number of offences affecting human life shows an increase of 9 per cent, the Lieutenant-Governor—inasmuch as burglaries were less frequent—complacently considers that the amount of crime in the province has been

reduced to normal proportions. We are reminded of the Bengalee proverb that says "Take first my wife! then my life!! last of all my money!!!"

The æsthetic uses of statistics are appreciated in the Punjab, where all cases, true or false, that go up for trial, are docketed "admitted to have occurred," even though a trial in a Criminal Court may have shown either that no offence was committed, or that the dispute to be adjudicated on was entirely matter for Civil Court consideration. Facts, notwithstanding all such cases, are made to appear in statistical returns as crimes "admitted to have occurred." Statistics are a beautiful and wonderful invention all that they stand in need of now in the Punjab is 'invention of a conscience' for their use. The Punjab is now, as ever, equal to any occasion, and we are glad to note tentative efforts in the required direction. Referring to the varying proportions of summary dismissals of cases in contiguous similarly constituted districts, it may perchance be found, we are told in the Resolution accompanying this Report, that the method pursued in their statistical compilation is erroneous. In a word, even infallibility may be manipulated for schismatic ends. The Junior Secretary to Government writes —

- The alteration in the law effected by Act IV of 1891, which empowers a Magistrate to grant compensation for frivolous or vexatious accusations in warrant cases as well as in summons cases, has no doubt been brought to the notice of Magistrates by the Chief Court. Owing to the limitations by which the procedure of Section 250 of the Criminal Procedure Code has hitherto been restricted, the deterrent effects of that section in reducing the number of false charges were not widely operative. During the year under report only 907 cases of frivolous or vexatious charges were dealt with under Section 250. The returns of the current year should show an improvement in this respect.

Of the number of true offences under the Penal Code 72 per cent. were brought to trial in both 1890 and 1889 as compared with 70 per cent in 1888. This percentage may be taken in a general way as indicative of the detective efficiency of the Police,—but subject to limitations, for whereas in Ludhiāna, as high a proportion as 88 per cent of the true cases were brought to trial, and in only 25 per cent of these convictions were obtained, it would seem that many cases were brought into Court in which evidence sufficient to justify a conviction had not been collected. In Montgomery the percentage of cases brought to trial is very low,—only 52 per cent, as compared with 79 per cent in the neighbouring districts of Jhang and Mooltan. This low percentage of cases brought to trial in Montgomery has been an unsatisfactory feature in the criminal administration of the district for some years. The class of crime in which detection is least successful is burglary, only 2882 cases of serious criminal trespass having been brought to trial out of 13,297 cases admitted to have occurred.

Convictions for offences under the Penal Code were obtained in only 36 per cent. of the cases brought to trial. The recent

appointment of Public Prosecutors in several sessions districts will, it is hoped, produce some effect in raising the percentage of convictions in the more important cases.

The number of murder cases has increased from 397 in 1889 to 490 in the year under report, but is less than it was in 1888. 184 of this year's murders occurred in the trans-Indus districts, 54 of them in Peshawar. Still, in this district, prior to introduction of the Frontier Crimes Regulation, the average was for some years 78. So there has been improvement. Among cis-Indus districts, Rawalpindi is described as standing forth prominent for murders, 45 of them having been committed during 1890 and 46 and 44, respectively, in the two previous years.

In Lahore 22 murders were perpetrated. In eight of these accused were convicted by the Sessions Judge, but in only one case was the conviction upheld by the Chief Court.

The number of references to Councils of Elders under section 13 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation fell from 1,112 in 1889 to 528 in the year under report.—

The Lieutenant-Governor has noticed the remarks of the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu and of the Sessions Judge of Derajat regarding the extension to the Bannu, Derajat, Ishmail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan Districts of the provisions of Section 14 (2) of the Regulation. It was thought advisable to omit these provisions in extending the Regulation to the Derajat, and therefore at present no sentence other than fine can in these districts be passed upon the finding of a Council of Elders, and, in default of payment of a fine, a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding in the maximum $2\frac{1}{2}$ years may be imposed. This of course, though better than no punishment, is too inadequate to be properly deterrent. The Lieutenant Governor accordingly is prepared to reconsider the point, and has requested the Commissioner of the Division to consider this question and report upon the recommendations of the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu and the Sessions Judge. But the remarks of the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara in regard to trial by Jirga of mischief cases indicate the difficulty. If it is decided not to extend Section 14 (2) to the Derajat Frontier Districts, it will be necessary for Deputy Commissioners to exercise extreme caution in determining what cases to refer to Councils of Elders and to abstain except for very special reasons from referring serious murder cases in which *prima facie* the evidence of the guilt of the accused is tolerably complete. His Honor very much doubts whether a due discretion in this matter has been exercised during the year under report by the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, in which district it appears that all the 20 cases of murder reported during the year were referred to Jirgas. The fact that in 17 of these cases conviction was secured, justifies the belief that, in some of the cases at least it would have been possible to secure a conviction and to inflict an adequate sentence in the ordinary tribunals.

Report on the Police Administration in the Punjab for the year 1890

THE number of cognizable offences reported to the Police and Magistrates was 70,761, and it is contended that,

on the whole, provincial statistics show a real and satisfactory decrease in the amount of ordinary crime. In the number of murders there has been an increase, which reminds us that the murder figures in this Blue Book are not in agreement with those given in the Report of the Judges of the Chief Court on last year's Criminal administration.

"There *must* be some explanation," the Lieutenant-Governor says plaintively, like Owen Glendower calling spirits from the vasty deep that won't come when they are called. What does it matter, what can it matter? Everybody knows, or ought to know by this time, that figures ground out of statistical mills at Lahore are not to be relied on, and so they are less mischievous than the products of other Indian mills, equally untrustworthy, but with a better reputation for accuracy. There were fewer robberies and burglaries than in any year since 1885; in the cis-Indus districts thefts were fewer than in any year since 1883, in the trans Indus districts fewer than in any of the previous three years.

The percentage of cases in which convictions were procured was higher than in any year since the present method of compiling the returns was introduced, and, on the other hand, the percentage of persons convicted was lower than in any year during the same period, the difference in each instance being 3 per cent on the averages of the previous six years. Since 1887, while the percentage of cases in which convictions have been obtained has steadily risen, that of persons convicted has as steadily declined. The Lieutenant-Governor is aware that so long as the statistics include, as at present, cases dealt with directly by the Magistrates, it is impossible to define accurately the extent to which the Police are responsible for these results, and of course in any case the ultimate decision rests with the Courts and not with them; but apparently there is an increasing tendency to send up for trial persons whose guilt cannot be proved, and more discrimination seems to be required in selecting the parties who should be placed upon their trial.

Although the number of burglaries and thefts was less than in 1889, the value of the stolen property "is said to have been" larger, while the amount recovered fell from 39 to 36 per cent. The percentage of recoveries was highest in the Hissar district, lowest in that of Peshawar.

We quote from paras 4 and 5 of the Resolution —

While more than 10,000 persons were convicted of offences against property during the year under review, 1,592 were returned as old offenders, that is, who had been previously convicted and were again convicted during the year. In the year 1886 the number of persons convicted of similar offences was very much the same, while the number of persons re-convicted during that period was 1,137, these figures, therefore, so far as they go, appear to indicate that the Police are becoming

more careful in ascertaining the antecedents of offenders at the same time there is little doubt that many professional criminals escape with inadequate punishment because the fact of their having been previously convicted is unknown at the time of the trial. At present the law gives the Police no authority to control the movements of professional criminals after their release from jail, and in this respect is less effective than that of England, where, under certain circumstances, Police surveillance for a period not exceeding seven years can be awarded as part of the sentence passed on an offender. The expediency of introducing similar provisions into Indian law was brought to the notice of the Government of India nearly two years ago, but no alteration in the law has yet been made. Until this is done, the Lieutenant-Governor fears that the powers of the Police to repress professional crime must tend to diminish, as criminals, like other classes of the community, now enjoy greater facilities in moving about the country, and after their release from jail are able to recommence a career of crime in places where their antecedents are unknown.

The remarks made in the Report about criminal tribes are on the whole encouraging. The Minas in the Gurgaon District are said to show a tendency to settle down and earn an honest livelihood. In the Jullundur District the Hunks are stated to have committed very little serious crime, while in Ludhiana the District Superintendent of Police reports that the Sansis are no doubt, taking to honest courses. With regard to the members of this tribe in the Lahore District, the Commissioner thinks that the time has come for the withdrawal of the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act. If this is the matured opinion of the local officers, the Lieutenant Governor will consider any recommendation which may be made, but it should be observed that the District Superintendent of Gurdaspur advocates the application of the Act to the Sinsis of the Amritsar District, and if the reasons for this opinion are well founded, it may be premature to relax the provisions of the law in favour of the fellow tribesmen who are settled in the adjoining district of Lahore.

Report on the Operations of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September 1890

MR HOLDERNESS, while willing to allow that the plan of embodying Village Record Reports in the Annual Revenue Administration Report has its advantages, is fain to lament that this new arrangement invidiously places him "in the position of a person who has to put on the stage a piece from which the principal character has been struck out."

The meritorious points in his administration emphasized by the Director of Land Records, North Western Provinces and Oudh, are—that with surplus funds obtained by the imposition of the patwari rate, the salaries of the patwari establishment in the Benares Division have been substantially improved, and additional kanungos provided. In other Divisions, revisions of patwaris' circles and salaries have been pushed on. In Azamgarh, measures have been taken to improve the accuracy of the rental entries in village records.

Throughout the provinces an attempt has been made to reduce their bulk and improve their statistical utility. Having an eye to the future, this strikes us as the most valuable, albeit the least aggressive, of Mr Holderness's reforms. He is, by the way, of opinion that the money and care now expended on the kanungo and patwari staff have not been thrown away. Let us hope they have not.

No success has as yet attended Departmental experiments in the reclamation of *usar* land. The theory of one experiment was that, by means of simple enclosure for five or six years, without any further aids to regeneration, the soil would be so improved that a respectable annual revenue from the sale of grass would result. Alas! although scientific authorities ever and anon assure us that a chaste simplicity is the motive soul of inventive genius, it does not always command the success it deserves. It has not done so under the auspices of the Department of Land Records in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, though the head of the Department considers it desirable in the interests of science that a decade of bootless experimentalizing with fences should be perpetuated. Manuring and deep ploughing seem to our undeptmental sense of fitness likelier investments if only because it is admitted that "the progress of *reh* is the most serious agricultural danger of the canal districts," and deep cultivation by loosening subsoil enables the salts in it to escape to underground waters.

In the light of an encouragement to the extension of arboriculture throughout the Empire, we note that receipts under that head from the Meerut, Pilibhit, Bulandshahr, Cawnpore, Jaunpore, Benares, Bijnor, Hardoi, Moradabad and Partabgarh districts more than cover expenditure incurred. The total length of roads under avenues at the close of 1888-89 was 4583 miles—to which 316 miles were added during the year under report. Landowners and tenant farmers in several districts are specially referred to as having taken an interest in planting trees and maintaining avenues on public roads. There is nothing strange in the fact: it is but reversion to a worthy Aryan tradition. Tree planting for the shelter and delectation of wayfarers was an established religious practise ages before Hon'ble Boards of Revenue and red tape were invented, to stifle the godly enterprise with vexatious and contradictory Rulings and Regulations as to *Sacials* and their liability to double assessment under Income-tax and Road and Public Works Cess Acts.

It appears that Dr Voelker, as a result of his much trumpeted scientific exploitation of agricultural India, has suggested to the North-Western Provinces authorities concerned that the forms of tabular statements appended to Annual Reports on

the Cawnpore Model Farm should be revised. *Parturiunt montes, &c.* At this Institution, last year's working has shown woollen refuse to be the best of all manures for maize, and peculiarly suitable for use in Mofussil villages where nothing of the sort is procurable by the rayats. Fresh cotton seed was procured by the farm from America, and tried. It has not, as yet, developed into text for a theory. "With regard to sugar-cane experiments, the practice on the farm is to sow only the top pieces of the cane, whereas in most of the Eastern districts the wasteful practice of using the whole of the cane prevails." Indigo, preceding wheat as an ordinary crop, is held to benefit the land. Herein the issue of Cawnpore Farm experiments is diametrically opposed to Indian agricultural tradition. Settlement officers, or Magistrates, &c. should make a note of the Cawnpore Farm Ruling on the subject. The Saharanpur Gardens, primarily established for the sake of botanical research and scientific observation, are described as, at present, plant and seed nurseries on a large scale for the sale of flower and vegetable seeds, ornamental shrubs, &c. The pursuit of science is in short an unprofitable, market gardening a lucrative, business. With regard to the Matesar Garden at Kumaon Mr. Holderness writes —

A good area was under potatoes, and though the crop was poor, a fair income was realized by sales of potato seed. The manager receives more applications for seed than he can comply with, and the high price which good hill seed now commands has induced private persons settled in Kumaon to take up this industry. The demand is chiefly confined to Europeans, as native potato growers in the plains prefer Farakhabad potato seed. At first I thought this was on account of its comparative cheapness, but the real reason is that the country potato gives a larger crop than English seed brought down from the hills. Growers in the Farakhabad district have acknowledged to me a yield equivalent to nearly 6 tons the acre. No hill seed ever gives such results in the plains.

The up keep of the Taj Garden cost Rs. 9,999-2-10, more than a third of this sum being absorbed by the Superintendent's salary.

The Assistant Director of Agriculture, North-Western Province and Oudh,—“an officer who has had a very long acquaintance with the subject,” and takes great interest in it—while recognizing the social value of agricultural shows, thinks poorly of their effect on agriculture. Insufficient time, he protests, is given in their programmes to agricultural exhibits and trials “amusements, and not instruction or edification, occupy the first place in the thoughts of the management.” Under the heading “Distribution and Sale of Implements,” we are told —

The sales show a decrease on those for the previous year. This is chiefly due to the strict enforcement of the rule regarding payment in cash which it has been found necessary to prescribe. The pumps are unquestionably useful for canal lift irrigation or for tank irrigation.

They are often borrowed by cultivators living near the farm, but the price stands in the way of their becoming generally popular. Instances have occurred of ordinary cultivators having come long distances to the farm to hire a pump during the irrigation season.

421 copies of the *Urdu Agriculturist Journal* are now issued every month, against 274 in the preceding year.

Seven elaborately coloured and more or less useless maps are appended to this Report, and must have helped materially to swell the cost of printing it.

Annual Report of the Foreign Trade of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1891

TOTAL TRAFFIC increased in volume by some four lakhs of maunds, and in value by nearly 1,00,00,000 rupees. Imports from Nepal show an increase of 4,71,780 maunds in weight, and Rs 908,059 in value, principally due to improvement in the timber trade. Exports to Nepal show a decrease of 23,901 maunds and Rs 2,29,685, occurring chiefly in cotton goods, salt and sugar. Tibet Imports and Exports both show decrease, due to a smaller importation of borax and salt. The wool import trade "shows considerable expansion."

Report on the Management of Estates in the Court of Wards or under the Taluqdars' Relief Act in Oudh, for the Revenue year 1889-90, ending the 30th September 1890

THE Chief Secretary's Resolution on this Report says —
 . The report deals with 44 estates, of which 42 were in charge of the Court at the end of the year 1888-89, and two were taken under management during the year 1889-90. Seven estates were released, leaving 37 estates at the end of the year. The short history of the released estates during the time they were managed by the Court of Wards, as given in the Report, is on the whole a satisfactory record of management. A large area of waste land has been broken up and cultivated, and tenants have been attracted and settled on the estates. A considerable number of wells have been sunk and other improvements effected. The rent roll has increased, and in every instance the estate has been handed over to the proprietors clear of debt. In the case of the Mirwan, Unchgon Bhadaur and Mansurgarh estates, the balance made over to the wards with the estates amounted to Rs 29,728, Rs 36,541 and Rs 24,047 respectively. These are, considering the rental of these estates, large sums to place at the immediate disposal of the young wards, and it is matter for much regret that in spite of constant advice and warning the Deputy Commissioners failed to find means of investing these savings in land or in a more liberal improvement of the estates.

The sum spent on improvements amounted to only 45,574 rupees, of which Rs 13,756 are recoverable, having been advanced to tenants as takavi.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Soul of Man An Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology By DR PAUL CARUS
With 152 Illustrations and Diagrams Chicago, Ill. The
Open Court Publishing Co 1891

THE best way of enabling our readers to form an idea of Dr Carus' views regarding existence and the relation between the soul of man and the other facts of the universe will, perhaps, be by quoting some of the passages of his work in which they are most succinctly stated

Referring to Professor Clifford's conclusion, that the world consists entirely of 'mind-stuff,' matter being a mental picture in which mind-stuff is the thing represented, Dr Carus says, that it appears to him very abrupt and he would say, in preference "The thing in itself is the inner, *i. e.* subjective reality, which appears (so as to become perceptible) as motions, or outer, *i. e.* objective reality

By way of explanation he adds "The world is as it is, one indivisible whole All its objective reality is throughout combined with subjective reality. The objective reality we call matter, and its activity motions, the subjective reality we call elements of feeling, and the compounds resulting therefrom are actual feelings and consciousness.

Matter is no mere mental picture, it represents a certain feature of reality, *viz.*, all that can affect sensibility

In reality objects have no separate existence, they exist in a constant flux and the full exhaustive comprehension of one object would include a comprehension of the whole universe

The human soul is nothing more nor less than a certain action of the universe upon one part of the universe and the re-action following thereupon Reality is everything that is or can become an object of experience, both abstracts" (subject and object) "accordingly represent something that is real Reality is not in the one, if considered alone and by itself, but in the entire whole"

By "separate" in the first of the above sentences, Dr Carus means separate, whether from one another, or from the subject.

The relationship involved in this conception of what is, he elsewhere observes, is capable of being formulated in three alternative ways —

"We may represent motion, or we may represent mind as the basis of the world, or we may conceive them as being on equal terms.

(1) On the one hand, motion may be conceived as the objective realization (a kind of revelation) in which the activity of the elements of feeling appears

(2) On the other hand, motion may be conceived as the substratum which carries the more ethereal elements of feeling

(3) If neither matter nor motion is to be considered, the one as the basis of the other, reality, as it exists in itself, may be conceived as a great interacting something, in which the effects of all the surrounding parts upon one special part, an atom or a monad, in so far as this part is concerned, appear as what we have defined as an element of feeling, while the effects of this special part, of every atom or monad, upon the rest, in so far as the totality is concerned, appear as motion"

Dr Carus, while regarding all three conceptions as fundamentally the same, prefers the third "as being least one sided and most unequivocal in representing the oneness of all reality"

A more readily intelligible, and a more unequivocally monistic conception, it seems to us, would be that reality is a great interacting plenum of feeling, every part of which is in sympathy with all the rest, and in which the activity of all the rest, as affecting by sympathy any one individual part, is apprehended by that part as motion. This is, perhaps, another form of (1), with sympathy substituted for revelation, an expression which is too suggestive of a *Deus ex machina*, and which leaves the *modus* of the revelation unexplained

Dr Carus defines mind as the organized totality of deduced facts, or inferences, as it is developed in feeling substance "From feelings alone," he says, "mind can grow. But there is a difference between feelings and mind. Feelings develop into mind, they grow to be mind by being interpreted, by becoming representative"

As to the origin of deduced facts, he says they "have been produced by the effort of accounting for given facts, *viz*, the elementary data of consciousness and their relations" This view of the nature of mind links itself with the conception of the universe embodied in the above statement that the nature of given facts is subjectivity, while the character of inferred facts is objectivity

The latter, having grown out of the former, will, nevertheless, so far as they are states of consciousness, always remain subjective, yet they contain representations of that which is delineated by certain given facts. Thus they contain an element which stamps upon them the nature of objectivity. They represent objects, the existence of which the feeling subject cannot help assuming, because this is the simplest way of indicating certain changes that are not caused within the realm of its own subjectivity

Objectivity, accordingly, does not mean absolute objectivity. Objectivity means subjective states, *i. e.*, given facts, or feelings,

representative of outside facts, *i. e.*, of facts that are not subjective, but objective."

Dr Cairns does not admit the separate existence of the subject, as a something underlying consciousness. He holds, with Hume, that Descartes' famous syllogism, "Cogito, ergo sum," involves a fallacy. The existence of states of consciousness proves the existence only of the feelings and thoughts which constitute consciousness, and not that of an underlying something. "The centre of our soul life, the present state of consciousness, or the subject of the act of thinking," he says, "is not at all a mysterious agent distinct from the different ideas that are thought, but it is the very idea itself that is thought. The ego is not a constant and immutable centre, but it shifts about, and brings into active play, now this, and now that, concept or wish, so that now this, and now another, feeling, or thought, or desire, is awakened and stirred into prominence."

"We distinguish between the ego, or the present state of consciousness, in its continuity with former, as well as future, states of consciousness, and the concept of our own personality. The idea of our own personality is a complex conception of our bodily form, of our past experiences, and of all our future intentions. It is comprised under the little pronoun 'I'. The idea of one's own personality is, among all the ideas of a man, perhaps, the most important one, because of its constant recurrence. Yet we must bear in mind that as an idea it is not different from any other idea, representing other personalities or objects in the surrounding universe. If this concept of one's own personality is stored in a man in combination with the idea of a certain work which is carried out by his hands, the thought rises in his brain, 'I am doing this,' or 'I am thinking this,' 'I am planning this.' In such a case, accordingly, the ego of a man happens to coincide at the moment with the idea of his personality. At the next moment, however, he may have forgotten all about himself, *i. e.*, about his personality, and his ego, *i. e.*, the present state of his consciousness, may be wholly absorbed in his work. For instance, he is felling a tree and thinks 'Will it fall to the right or to the left?' His ego, in that case, resides in the contemplation of the tree before him, which is combined with the consideration as to where it is likely to break down. There is not an ego which thinks of the tree in its special predicament, but the idea of the tree *is* the ego at that moment."

To state the complex relations of the inferred physical world in terms of this, or any other monistic theory, would, of course, be impossible with the language at present at our command, based, as it is, on an entirely different conception of things, or

ever likely to be at our command, and a large portion of Dr Carus' book is occupied with the results of physiological and psychological investigations set forth in the ordinary language of science. In this there is much which even readers unaccustomed to metaphysical speculation will find highly instructive and deeply interesting. To the general reader the chapters regarding the nature of soul life central and peripheral soul life and double personality will, perhaps, be among the most attractive.

History of the Panjab From the remotest antiquity to the present time By SAYAD MUHAMMAD LATIF, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Gurdaspur, &c, &c Calcutta Central Press Company, Limited 1891

SINCE Froude set a new fashion in history, histories have become less and less a string of crystallized verdicts on past events, and more and more a volume of evidence, on which people, who do not like to have their thinking done for them, may form their own judgment upon every thought and every thing, from the complexion of a dead queen's motives to the colour of a dead king's hair. But even in this disposition of literary obligations and the surprises they may spring on an unsuspecting world, there may turn up witnesses—and witnesses writers who may indiscriminately huddle together all the testimony of whatsoever kind it is possible to fall upon in the dust heaps of libraries, or among the frivolous fumes of folklore, and writers who labour long and lovingly among their stores, and, even when they give profusely, show some care and some kindness in their gifts.

In presenting the public with a *History of the Panjab*, which, in spite of occasional defects, which will presently be briefly indicated, is likely to take and keep a good place among the few existing Sikh histories that are both readable and useful, Sayad Muhammad Latif has put himself at once among the latter class of historians. It is, perhaps, an excessive concession to the pedantic scientific taste of the day, that he should linger for ten pages of close print over the hydrography of the Panjab, and for six more over its physical geography and economic peculiarities, before introducing the reader to the aborigines in the third chapter, but a privilege of even pedantry can be claimed for literary pursuits in these artificial days, and at any rate, with this bridge got over, as soon as the human interest of his record begins, it gets hold of the reader, and never quite leaves him till the end. How much this says for the writer can only be imagined by those who have realized the confusing character of the material with which any

chronicler of the story of the Panjab, who is intelligent and wishes to be entertaining, must have to deal.

Before Nanak sowed the seeds of the Khalsa hierarchy, into which Guru Govind subsequently introduced a political inspiration, the Panjab was the divided heritage of warlike races, chiefly Mahomedans of Afghan or Pathan origin, and Hindus of Khatru birth, with seams of Jâts, Bhatias, and more non-descript aborigines running between or through them. To infuse all these with a philosophical monotheism that could make them forget their diverse humanity, was the paradoxical dream of Nanak. To fall upon this dream, just when it was working its way amongst its intended—let us for want of a better word say—victims, and, quicken them into an appreciation (more sordid, perhaps, but also more utilitarian) of both worlds, was the work of Guru Govind. There is no existing history of the Panjab in English which—supposing this estimate of the two great Sikh reformers to be accurate—shows the gradual and successful working out of their respective missions better than the substantial volume before us.

It was no easy task for Nanak even to win Khatru converts to his dreamy cult. Still more difficult was it for Govind to instil a vitality into this dream, which, if not hostile to it, was antagonistic to some of its principal elements. Harder than either of these two tasks was the business of gaining adherents to this new religio-political conspiracy from either Mahomedans, or aborigines, who must have hated it with deadly dislike or suspicion. Yet all three miracles were performed, and are recorded with an artistic fulness that suggests rather than outlines its own progressive steps.

The writer is very careful to show—what is, of course known to all who have ever lived in or known much of the Panjab, but may not be known to mere students of its history—that there was always among its population a floating mass of Mazhabi origin, which was always impressible by the dominant faction, whatever that might be, Hindu, Mahomedan or Sikh. These Mazhabs took a Mahomedan infection from Afghan invasions of India, but took the Khatru contagion decidedly from successive Gurus, and, strange to say, sometimes, as it were, out-Sikhed the Sikh, in the time of Ranjit Singh's ascendancy, when the Khalsa had lost nearly all its purity and much of its religious force, and degenerated, over the wider extent of its range at least, into a political scheme with an entirely secular structure—a business of two worlds in theory, with one of them left out in practice. But no Mazhabi accessions could explain any Sikh successes, unless there had been power in the Khalsa, of whatever type, to draw and retain converts. Certainly Mahomedanism all over India has counted

numberless converts from outcasts as low in the social scale as the Mazhab, and has Christianity done otherwise? It is not the least charm of the Sayad's book that his wonderfully unbiased and ample evidence leaves his reader free to formulate his own theories on this and kindred subjects, while placing his critic under compulsion to acknowledge the debt owing for untainted, full, and, for the most part, authenticated testimony.

No one not possessing ample leisure need linger over the romance of the Panjab, in its virtually pre-historic days, in which its Bactrian ancestry is lost in the Macedonian invasion but the occasional tests we have applied show that the Sayad commits no outrage on the orthodox school-book doctrines on the subject. Even if the striking dialogue between Porus and Alexander sprang rather from the brains of the ex-tempore novelist of those days than from any less ethereal source, the question, and its answer, are immaterial in more than one sense of the word.

The really historical interest of this work begins with Part II, when the crescent of Islam rose on the Indian horizon. It is one of the singular and striking merits of the Sayad's history that he holds the scales with unswerving justice between Hindu and Mahomedan, and indeed all indigenous claimants for favour. It requires some devotion to historical accuracy, for instance, for a Mahomedan historian of education, to give us this version of an old truth: "Mahomad propagated his religion with the sword. . . He who perished in a holy war went straight to heaven. In paradise nymphs of fascinating beauty instantly waited to greet his first approach. There the gallant martyrs lived for ever a life of happiness and bliss, free from all sorrow, and liable to no inconvenience from excess. They could possess thousands of beautiful slaves, and get houses furnished with splendid gardens and with all the luxuries of life to live in. Such liberal promises of future happiness, added to an immediate prospect of riches and wealth, were enough to kindle the frenzy of the desert population of Arabia. Their warlike spirit was roused and their sensual passions inflamed." Then follows the record of ever extending conquests. The facts are stated without any betrayal of personal consciousness, and if incongruity is the essence of humour, impartiality is always an inestimable virtue in the historian.

The hundred and sixty pages forming Part II, that recount "the Mahomedan period" of Panjab history, will repay careful study from all students of Indian political exploitation, both for the static interest of the incidents passed in review, and for their dynamic influence in many later Indian growths of mixed character and origin, whether social, political, religious, or even literary, and whether of Indian or foreign inspiration. The later Afghan complications of the British Government of India,

moreover, make some intelligent familiarity with these details a necessary qualification for a newspaper reader at the present day

The sadness of the later days of Mahomedan supremacy long survives its glory, for the latter departed when Shah Suja fled from Kabal, and Delhi began to be overshadowed by the British.

The "History of the Sikh Gurus," occupying Part III, and forming a natural prelude to the actual consolidation of the Sikh nation, which occupies chapters IV and V, is not the least attractive portion of the volume, placing before the English reader, with a clearness unrivalled by any work in the English language, the evolution of religious thought, and its later contamination by a political virus, among one of the most interesting of Indian races. Ranjit Singh's life-story is much too full of incidents of national rather than personal importance, and is too well and too fully told by the Sayad, to admit of, or, indeed, require, more than the brief reference that alone is possible near the close of a necessarily imperfect notice, whose object has been to inform the reader generally of what he is to expect rather than actually to present him with even the briefest summary of it.

The history itself is brought down to the present year. Comparatively trifling details begin to bulk largely in consequence of that natural, if unfortunate, process of mental microscopy by which the present exaggerates its importance over the past. If the writer's employment under the Indian Government in responsible judicial office takes the keen edge off many of his generous allusions to the foreign rulers of Hindustan, the Sayad's tribute is always good natured, and rarely servile, though it is where it is least effusive, that it is most impressive. It is nowhere absolutely inconsistent with self respect, and even an occasional indulgence in literary display involving an odd standard of morality is so rare as to challenge mention only from an excruciatingly exact censor. For a work written by a gentleman whose mother-tongue is not the English language, it is singularly free from gross errors, its few offences against the highest standard of literary excellence ranking with pardonable provincialisms in an English author. The Sayad may, therefore be congratulated on the production of a history of great merits and small defects.

Pre-Organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God An Exposition and a Criticism By CHARLES CHAPMAN, M A, LL D, Principal of Western College, Plymouth Edinburgh T & T Clark, 38, George Street 1891.

THIS is a tilt at "the Spencerian System," and the teachings of preachers of pre-organic evolution in their bearing

on the conception of God rendered in the Bible. In pursuance of his aim, Mr Chapman has "endeavoured to, subject the Spencerian teaching, when logically developed, to a series of criticisms, which, I believe, bring out its real character, and, also, I have sought to find out whether there is in the data from whence any valid doctrine of Pre organic Evolution must proceed, any solid ground for Agnosticism as a substitute for such a belief in God, as a living Personal Being, as is warranted by the language of Scripture, and, I may add, as Christian Theists maintain, warranted by the exercise of our reason on all the facts placed before us in the material, mental, and moral worlds. In the structure of the argument I deal only with such data as may be furnished by the condition of things out of which any Evolution proceeds, if there is to be a possibility of Evolution at all."

Our author has, in the early pages of his book, introduced some historical matter, with a view to indicating the continuity of thought on the subject of Evolution, and to show that the problem of to-day is but a modern version of a very ancient one, illustrated and illumined by such superior light as may be obtained from progress made in Science and Philosophy.

Philosophy and Theology Being the first Edinburgh University Gifford Lectures by JAMES HUTCHISON STIRLING, LL.D. (Edin), Foreign Member of the Philosophical Society of Berlin, Gifford Lecturer to the University of Edinburgh, 1888-90 Edinburgh T & T Clark, 38, George Street 1890.

WORN in years, and sore stricken by paralysis, but with head ever bravely erect and fronting the world, the late Lord Gifford, anticipating fast coming dissolution with the same imperturbable mind which he had accustomed himself to oppose equally to the cares and the pleasures of living, took thought with God and Duty and himself as to the fitting disposal of his worldly wealth, and, having made due provision for his family, pondered long as to how best he might, with the residue, do as beseemed a considerate philanthropist, in promotion of the cause of truth. Having given the matter mature reflection, he caused to be embodied in his will the following clause —

I, having been for many years deeply and firmly convinced that the true knowledge of God, that is, of the Being, Nature, and Attributes of the Infinite, of the All, of the First and the Only Cause, that is the One and Only Substance and Being, and the true and felt knowledge (not mere nominal knowledge) of the relations of man and of the universe to Him, and of the true foundations of all ethics and morals,—being, I say, convinced that this knowledge, when really felt and acted on, is the means of man's highest well being, and the security of his upward progress, I have resolved, from the 'residue'

of my estate as aforesaid, to institute and found, in connection, if possible, with the Scottish Universities, lectureships or classes for the promotion of the study of said subjects, and for the teaching and diffusion of sound views regarding them."

Hence the Gifford Lectures, 1889-90, by James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D., now published in book form at the request of the Senatus Academicus of the Edinburgh University, Lectures, the cardinal merit of which is directness of purpose, the distinguishing marks of which are plain thinking and high teaching. They give evidence of wide reading without pedantry, and their lessons are set forth with a commendable perspicacity not always maintained in expositions of theological and philosophic systems. Some critics may object that here and there in the lectures the style adopted is somewhat too simple, too colloquial, for the high themes under discussion. To us that seems, if a fault at all, a fault on the right side.

Dr Stirling is, as Gifford Lecturer should be, unsectarian, avowed foe of religious intolerance of any kind. Some people, he tells us, consider him a Broad churchman, he himself is of opinion that he is Low, finding in that division of a church Catholic a happy combination of the best points pertaining to both high and broad, it being neither too exclusively devoted to the category of feeling on the one hand, nor, on the other, given to accentuating too much the principle of the understanding. I know not, he declares, but that all these churches have a common sin, the sin of absolute intolerance and denial, the one of the other. The difference between them and him is, as he puts it, that what they possess in what is called the *Vorstellung*, he relies upon in the *Begriff*. "What they have *positively* in the feeling, or *positively* in the understanding, or *positively* in a union of both, I have reflectively, or ideally, or speculatively, in reason." In common with the theological school to which he is most nearly affiliated, Dr Stirling ignores Oriental philosophies and systems of theology. The scholastic dogma *ex Oriente lux* is, for him, neither true nor false, neither living faith nor dead platitude. The Orient and its manifold influences on all the world's religions, and sufisms, and theosophies, he calmly passes by on the other side, as if willing to be considered unaware of their existence and potentialities. For him, all light, whether true or misleading enough to be worth clapping argumentative extinguisher on, is, directly or indirectly, from Germany. Although, as in duty bound, he discourses of old-world Greek schools of philosophy, and the inevitable Aristotle, and Bacon, his English aftermath, yet, it is clear that he believes all adequately dry illumination to be of Teutonic derivation. Eastern world schools of thought and systems of philosophy are dismissed in half-a-dozen lines, and the Talmud is held to have been a greater educational

power for all sorts and conditions of men east of Athens, than all the stored wisdom of Arabia and Persia. The bearings of Aryan-Hindu philosophies, theologies and mythologies on the religious instincts and the natural religions of mankind are dismissed in a couple of pages, and Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays* are our author's text book for the occasion. It is but fair to note that, in this portion of his work, Dr Stirling laments the lack of an assistance from which he had hoped much—assistance in the shape, to wit, of a work in course of preparation by Mr Ras Biháry Mukharji. Meanwhile, we cannot help thinking it a pity that, *faute de mieux*, he did not fall back on Max Müller, or Dr Muir, for information and guidance.

Discoursing on German light and leading in modern times, Dr Stirling attributes to Spinoza and his *Trattatus Theologico-Politicus* (A. D. 1660) "the beginning itself of the Aufklärung, that book being the quarry from which Voltaire drew, and very much a source of direction and supply to contemporary German critics, as to England Hume* and Gibbon were undoubted members of the Aufklärung, but only at the head of a cryptic mass." Lessing's power in the world of German thought, although he was "only a critic," is recognized, Lessing, Lutheran pastor's eldest born, who headed the reactionary movement against the domination of destructive criticism, who vindicated, for reason and by reason, the dogmas of the Christian creed, and whose example proved determinative also for such men as Goethe, Schiller and Jean Paul. Wherefore, following (as he saw and conceived of it) the apostleship of Goethe, Carlyle's aim in *Sartor Resartus* was the re-establishment, in every earnest and educated and doubting soul, of the vital reality of veritable religion.

That was the *first* mood of Carlyle, and it was his *highest*. He never returned to it. His *Hero Worship* contains, perhaps, what *feels* nearest to it, and it is significant that Carlyle himself made a common volume of the two works. But history and biography occupy him thenceforth, and in these, unfortunately, so much of the early Gibbonian influence, to call it so, crops out, that Carlyle, on the whole, despite his natural, traditional, and philosophical piety, passes through life for a doubter merely, and is claimed and *beset* by the very men whose yea of shallow but exultant Aufklärung is precisely the object of his sincerest reprobation and uttermost disgust.

"There can be no straighter or nearer transition than from David Hume to Immanuel Kant." Thus the 15th Gifford lecture commences. Kant is held to have been perfectly familiar—through the medium of translations—with Hume's

* Dr Stirling is characteristically affectionate towards *Scotch* sceptics and freethinkers. There can be no doubt, he says, that "it was only superstition Hume hated, and not religion;" and his extenuations of Carlyle's heterodoxies are frequent throughout the lectures. He refers approvingly to Kant's Scotch descent.

main doctrines in regard to the existence of a God. The "centie" of Kant is defined as the *à priori*. That is to say —

The centie of Kant is, to say so the *à priori*—those elements of knowledge, those elements of the ordinary perception of things, that are native and proper to the mind itself even before, or independently and in anticipation of any actual experience of these things. That is what is meant by pure reason. Our minds shall be at birth, not, as with Locke, so many *tabulae rasæ*, so many mere blank sheets for things to write themselves into, so many empty bags or sacks for things to occupy, but, on the contrary, they shall be, already, before hand, rich quairies, filled, as it were, with the needful handles and cues of all things. What led Kant to this was Hume. Hume, as we know, took the cause, as one thing and the effect as another, and holding them out so, apart, challenged any man to show any principle of union between them. Without experience of the fact, it is impossible to tell that gunpowder will explode, or a loadstone attract. Consequently it is only by the custom of experience that we know the effect of the one on iron, or the consequence on the other of a spark. Kant was deeply impressed by such examples and the general challenge of Hume. He admits himself that he brooded over the problem concerned for "at least twelve years," and of that brooding I think it is possible to detect traces as early as the year 1766, or fifteen years before the publication of his *Kritik of Pure Reason*. What, in the end, prevented Kant from agreeing with Hume in his rationale custom, was perception of the nature of the necessity which was involved in the problem. That necessity Kant saw was not a subjective, but an objective, necessity.

Four pages further on Kant's problem is, in the following manner, hatched for him into readiness to receive sustenance —

Well, says Kant, I have got to find the source of a *necessary* truth that is not analytic, but synthetic, and that at the same time is not due to experience. What not due to experience means has been already explained. There is no particular causation, no particular example of causality, that is not due to experience. The indentation of a cushion by a bullet is an example of causality, but it is known only by experience. So it is with all other examples, as the drifting of a ship in a stream, or the warming of a stone by the sun. All such things are just *seen*, they are facts of experience—they are affairs of perception. Nay, the universal of causality, the universal proposition of causality, does itself involve eye sight, does itself involve experience, does itself involve perception. Every change has its cause. It is impossible that we should have any knowledge of what a change is, unless we had experience of it. There are certainly intellectual changes, changes in the process of the understanding, changes in the process of reasons, changes in belief, etc., but any change, even any such change, is always known to us as an alteration, substantially, of consciousness, and an alteration of consciousness is just another word for experience. We *can* have an experience only when we have an alteration of consciousness. An experience is that—an alteration of consciousness. Even the universal of causation, then, every change has its cause, is a position that involves experience is a proposition *à posteriori*—at least so far. But so far only. Otherwise, it is, in its vital force and virtue, a proposition *à priori*. That is the contention of Kant. A change *must* have a cause. This is a truth which, though synthetic, is also apodictic—necessary and universal namely. But, says Kant, *necessity*

and *universality* are "sure criteria of *a priori* cognition." The proposition of causality, therefore, must be, as said, at least in its *virtue* of an *a priori* place. The synthesis it implies, the synthesis of the two notions, of *change* on the one hand and of *cause* on the other, is not a result of experience, is not a result *a posteriori*, for in that case, the truth of it would not be apodictic, would not be universal and necessary, but a truth only as for the moment *found*,—a truth only probable, then, and a mere matter of fact.

The question for Kant, now, then, plainly is—How is this? How can the causal proposition be possibly *a priori*? How can its validity be a product of mind, and wholly independent of any experience *a posteriori*? It was this single question that led Kant in the end to his whole cumbrous, extraordinary, and incredible system. Simply to explain causality by innate principles of reason, native and original to the mind itself, Kant invented that whole prodigious machinery—merely for such explanation, Kant forced into the geometrical point of his own consciousness the infinitude of space and the infinitude of time, but grasped, throughout their whole infinitude, together both by the tree of the categories, the enchanted and enchanting Yggdrasil, whose branches reduced the infinitude in which they spread into the very finite net of the schematism that held to our ears, and eyes, and fingers nostrils, and palate their own sensations always. That was the monstrous birth to which Kant came at last after his fifteen years' sitting on the simple egg of Hume. And, all the time, we may fancy our Indian fellow Aryans laughing at them both, and pointing, as seen, to nothing but identity!

In the four last lectures of this course Darwin's speculations and affirmations on the *Origin* of species, and the arguments he derives from natural history in support thereof, are elaborately overthrown, to Dr Stirling's satisfaction, at too great a length and too discursively to admit of reproduction here, even of word skeletons of the methods employed in the labour of dilapidation.

The Indian Church Quarterly Review July 1891 Edited by the REV. H. J. SPENCE GRAY, M.A. London Messrs. J. Masters, 78, New Bond Street. Calcutta Oxford Mission Press 36, Ballygunge Circular Road.

THE recent death of that indefatigable Missionary, Bishop French, lends special, if mournful, interest to his paper in the July issue of *The Indian Church Quarterly Review* entitled "*The Moslem in Arabia and North Africa*."

The Rev. E. F. Brown, writing on *Forms of Worship for Natives of India*, argues that English forms are not those which most recommend Christianity to an Oriental, or, at any rate, to the Indian mind,

They are, in a word, too simple. Orientals, as a natural result of heredity and environment, crave for, demand, something less plain, more ornate, more passionate in the way of ritual, than those fashions thereof to which the more matter of fact Northman inclines. That is, largely, why the Brahmo Somaj

came into existence, and found favour, in order that it might "give to what it supposed was Christianity a more national colouring." The New Dispensation, said Keshub Chunder Sen, hates dryness . . . clothes truth in the soft, silken drapery of imagination . . . is eminently poetical, poetical after the manner of mystical, impassioned Persian *ghazals*. That is, Mr Brown would have a special Liturgy—or Liturgies—devised for the use of Indian converts to Christianity. Meanwhile, he considers more than practicable one revision of form which certainly appears recommendable. In his own words —

One change there is, which I would strongly plead for. It is one which involves no departure from the Prayer Book, but would, in fact, be a more perfect carrying out of the Prayer Book as it stands. There may be reasons why the exceptional permission to pour water upon a person in Baptism should be commonly taken advantage of in England; there can be none in India. It is not of course that one is not as valid as the other. The *Teaching of the Apostles* has disposed of the supposition, so far as it ever existed, that pouring the water was not permissible in the early church. But there can be no doubt that Immersion was the rule, and both St Paul and the Fathers founded a great deal of beautiful teaching on the symbolism of the act, all of which is lost by our present practice. Every new church ought to have a Baptistry in it, or attached to it, or, failing that, we ought to make more use of rivers and tanks for the purposes of Baptism.

" 'The Padroada ' I once heard a fellow traveller exclaim in answer to a query. 'The Padroada is one of the many titles of the Archbishop of Goa.' Even the *Indian Churchman*, conducted, as it is, by learned ecclesiastics, referred to the first of this series of articles as the record of a visit to Goa and the Padroada." So the Rev C Swynnerton writes, and mercifully informs ignorant readers, that the hard word means simply patronage. A definition, that clears difficulties away summarily and effectually, accounts for the existence of differences of opinion. Mr Swynnerton traces the course of Ecclesiastical Law and Papal assumptions on the subject after the manner of a practised lawyer. He tells us *inter alia*, that from Pope Alexander the Sixth, Portugal received a grant of the Continent of Africa, together with all the fabled treasures of India and the Orient, and he characterizes the deed of gift as "monstrous." We do not say that it was not so. Only, we take leave to think that the Pope had as good a right to sanction quasi-religious privateering if he chose to, as irresponsible English, German, Belgian, Italian patriotic associations claim to have in these days to send filibustering expeditions into, what they are pleased to call, the Dark Continent, and to annex territories there to what they are pleased to call—civilization; or to the beneficent cause of an extension of geographical knowledge and guess work. The only essential difference between the two propagandas is that exploiting parties, com-

manded by men like Mr H. M. Stanley, have the advantages pertaining to possession of more deadly arms of precision wherewith to expedite their work of conversion.

Although Mr Swynnerton's historical sketch is unimpeachable and edifying, yet, to our less diligently juridical mind, his record of his æsthetic perceptions and inclinations is more agreeable. They get play in an account of his visit to St Francis Xavier's tomb at Goa. Adjudged by him a magnificent work of art, which, in richness, variety and beauty of ornamentation, is unapproached even by the splendour of the tombs of sovereign Pontiffs that embellish St Peter's at Rome. "Europe does not equal it, and, with the exception of the solitary instance of the Taj Mahâl, Asia cannot surpass it." It is built in three stages, and

its materials consist of the most precious jaspers of various colours, for which the very world was ransacked. Embossed bronzes by the most celebrated artists of the period, depicting events in the life of the Saint, adorn the panelled sides. It abounds in delightful figures of carolling children, sculptured in finest Carrara alabaster. It displays flourishes, festoons, arabesques, and other reliefs so characteristic of the style and of the age, all executed with consummate care and skill. Within his encasement of silver and crystal, lined with yellow damask, embroidered with flowers and precious stones, lies the withered body of the Saint wearing his Eucharistic vestments. They are stiff with richest embroidery and pearls of price, the chasuble being emblazoned with the armorial bearings of a grateful queen, round which appears the legend—"Suo S. Xaverio Maria Sophia Regina Portugalis." That Princess, the wife of Dom Pedro II, had reason to feel thankful seeing, that, for her sake, the head of St Francis has remained uncovered from the year 1693 to the present day. *Oriente Conquistado* informs us, with charming frankness, that the Jesuits presented her Catholic Majesty with the Saint's biretta, which she devoutly wore with much satisfaction and relief whenever, by the Divine will, she was brought to bed.

High over the carved entrance door of St Francis Xavier's Chapel hangs a picture of St Mary Magdalen, by Murillo —

No one could look at this picture without lingering to look at it more. It represents St Mary Magdalen enflamed with the Divine love. Traces of Murillo's scumbled shadows, which attest its original transparency of colour, are still perceptible. The simple flowing well-composed lines of diaphany, and the beautifully modelled form and face of the fair sinner, are all blended with that master's usual care. The hands and feet so delicately drawn, the lines of composition rendered with such consummate grace, the drawing so splendidly understood, the action so vigorous, the movement so free, the treatment so large, this picture only requires a sponge and some judicious varnish to bring out its latent beauties, its well balanced masses, its breadth of light and depth of tone, in all their original pristine splendour. The artist has represented the Saint, not as a dark brunette as in the case of his Madonnas, but as a handsome blonde. She is seen reclining half on her side among blooming flowers, while an apple bough, heavy with rosy fruit, droops close behind her head. Her right hand and shoulder are thrown back in an attitude of dreamy languor, and her right arm is partly extended, as with suffused eyes

she gazes upwards and backwards' at a vision of Him Whom she loved much, seated in glory among radiant clouds. Like most *Magdalens*, her figure is ripe and full, reminding the spectator, somewhat disagreeably at first, of the glowing beauties of Rubens at the Louvre, or the sportive goddesses of Verrio's frescoes at Burleigh House near Stamford town, and then he remembers only the touch and the power of the painter. Her attitude expresses the very abandonment of ecstasy, a soft half-slumberous ecstasy, as though the effects of some sweet potent draught of poppy or mandragora were beginning to steal through her sluggish veins. Her melting eyes, her quivering lips, her whole pose instinct with yearning desire, not less than with warm voluptuous grace form a masterly if somewhat too earthly, illustration of the words of the Bride which, in letters of faded gold, are inscribed beneath the canvas —

Fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis,
Quia amore langueo

Mr Hyde's paper, *The "First Garrison Chaplain of Fort William,"* is a welcome addition to our annals of old Calcutta, and valuable for the lights and shades it throws on life and manners in the latter years of the last century, in connection with the Anglo India of the period

Kant's Principles of Politics Including his Essay on Perpetual Peace. A contribution to Political Science edited and translated by W HASTIE, B D, Translator of Kant's 'Philosophy of Law,' Lloyd's 'Philosophy of Right,' etc. Edinburgh J & T Clark, 38, George Street 1891

AT the beginning of Mr Hastie's apologia for this translation he writes —

There were great thinkers before Kant who variously exhibited the independent insight and power of the modern self-consciousness—Descartes, Spinoza and Leibniz, Bacon and Locke, Berkeley and Hume—but none of them reached the universality of his conceptions, the subtlety of his analysis, of the higher forms of thought, or the fertility of his principles of knowledge. There have been great thinkers since Kant who have striven to give expression to the continued movement and aspiration of the purified reason—Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, Krause, Herbart and Lotze, Rosmini and Gioberti, Comte, Mill, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer—but they have at the most only unfolded his seminal ideas, simplified his multiplicity, or applied, in a one-sided way at the best, the empirical side of his method.

Mr. Hastie gives us the Master's own words—in English,—and without either unfolding or simplifying, premising that to Kant, as to Plato, Politics was the crown of the whole philosophical system . . . the highest practical wisdom.

Some people assert that what Kant has been understood to teach is exactly what he intended to eradicate. Let such of our readers as are doubtful about the meaning and intention of the Master's genius from a high political point of regard, lose no time in consulting Mr Hastie's sympathetic rendering of the theme into English.

Bacon The Advancement of Learning Edited by F G SELBY, M A, Oxon, Late Scholar of Wadham College, Principal and Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Deccan College, Poona, Fellow of the University of Bombay Vol I Second Edition Madras, V Kalyanaram Iyer 1891

MR SELBY'S Notes are to the point, his explanations lucid and informing His edition of the *Advancement of Learning* should be an assistance to Indian students for whose use, the Preface informs us, it is specially intended

Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales (The Indian University Series) With Introductory Notices A Modern Prose Version of the Poem, Notes, Questions and Glossary by J CREIGHTON, Tutor to Minors under the Court of Wards, and Examiner in English to the University, late Principal, S P G College, Trichinopoly, and Inspector of Schools, London Madras V Kalyanaram Iyer 1891

THE text of this edition is taken from the Clarendon Press Series, and it is claimed that every care has been taken to make it useful to the Indian student If he *must* read what he cannot understand, we dare say he will be glad of Mr Creighton's Notes and Glossaries

Journal of the East India Association Published under the authority of the Council No 2, Volume XXIII, May 1891 Westminster Chambers, 3, Victoria Street S W, London W H Allen & Co, 13, Waterloo Place, S W

MR TUPPER, Chief Secretary to the Panjab Government, has been lecturing at the East India Association Rooms on 'Panjab Progress,' his object being to give a general outline of administrative progress under British rule, a dry task lucidly accomplished Mr Tupper approves of decentralization, says it reminds him of Tennyson —

"By degrees to fulness wrought
The strength of so re diffusive thought
With time and space to work and spread"

That policy was essentially a diffusive thought, and its consequences have spread all over India and are daily influencing its political, moral and material progress

I believe that our future success in the Government of the country depends very largely upon the number of cases in which we achieve in other matters such combinations of uniform principles with discretionary powers as the Government of India has already achieved in the matter of provincial finance Of course I do not say that that system is already perfect Far from it, one of the great merits of it is, that it is capable of great development, and that development is still going on But I do believe that we are wise to imitate it,

and, on a smaller scale, we have imitated it in the financial arrangements made between the Provincial Government and our thirty District Boards and 148 Municipalities. As Imperial services have been transferred to us, so we have transferred to these local bodies a great variety and number of local works and services.

Mr. Arthur Brandreth, Mr. Charles Boulnois, and Mr. Tupper himself consider the growing increase of litigation and love for litigation in the Panjab, fostered by the adoption of Regulation canons of administration, signs of political health, energy, and prosperity, to be rejoiced in rather than deprecated. We are glad to find Sir George Campbell throwing cold water on that nonsense. *A'propos* of the Panjabi disposition to drag enemies before the Courts in season and out of season, in pocket and out of pocket, "I am just afraid that we have given too much fuel to that fire," he said.

Referring to another besetting sin, he remarked, "We know very well it is the great evil of peasant proprietary in the modern sense that you give people, who have not been accustomed to credit, too much credit perhaps, and they are very apt to get into debt." Panjabi women meet with Sir George's approbation inasmuch as they are extremely sturdy and do not shirk work. He thinks they are entitled to a share in the benefits of popular education. What do *they* think on the subject? Education is not like Free Trade you cannot force it on an unwilling people. And which are best—sturdy, contented, sensible, homely housewives, or namby-pamby Misses smelling of the pastry cooks, and agog for milliners' bills and French novels, and gadabouting?

Tales from Blackwood Third Series, No XI Edinburgh and London William Blackwood & Sons

"CHRISTMAS EVE in a Haunted Hulk" is a creepy story in which a veritable ghost—none of your new-fangled nightmare-dream bogies or optical delusion fudges—frightens half his life out of a man in old fashioned orthodox style. "Dicky Dawkins" is a racy tale in every sense of the word. "Any Nothing" is a Hegelian romance with the ego and the non-ego for hero and heroine, and Calypso for fairy godmother, whose advice to the metaphysic mad hero is, "Be sure you understand Hegel when you read him, else do not read him at all." The next selection, "A Chapter from an Unknown Life," is pathetic. "Mai'se Dab after the War" pictures pastoral life in reconstructed Virginia. "Unfathomed Mysteries" is an account by Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming of her experiences at a Boston *seance*, and an undogmatic enquiry into the truth or untruth of spiritualistic manifestations—the writer evidently inclining to belief in their truth, though she does not say so.

Travel, Adventure, and Sport Blackwood's Magazine, Third Series, No. XI, Edinburgh and London William Blackwood & Sons

CHARMINGLY here has Mrs Oliphant interwoven in the commonplace web of a holiday visit to Capri woof of romance, reflection, humour, good humoured undidactic wisdom, and a delightful paper to read, or to re-read, is her "Life in an Island"

As a sample of its flavour, take the two following extracts from contiguous pages —

But howsoever the road went, it led always to some mount of vision, from which the strangers could look again upon those unparalleled coasts, the landscape which no poet's imagination could surpass, and of which even the guides were to a certain extent sensible, but in a reasonable way "Vedi Napoli, e mori," in humble quotation of the proverb, said in English lily in a moment of enthusiasm Feliciello stopped short by the stirrup, and Pascorello turned from his horse's tail "But why, signora?" said the wondering Capriotes, perhaps because, seeing Naples every day, they felt no necessity for dying. With peasants, even when they are Italians, the sentimental stands but little chance. But they were not indifferent like the prosaic Swiss, to whom their mountains are a matter of trade.

It would be vain to attempt to shake the popular conviction that Italian is the most musical and soft of languages, though practically our own opinion and experience go against this unalloyed fallacy, but the profoundest believer in its beauty would be startled to have a villainous "Bish!" thrown at him like a stone, instead of the gentle "Basta," which looks so well in print, and would find it hard to identify "Ashpett" with the liquid "Aspetta," which conveys its meaning in its very sound. Such eccentricities of popular diction are, however, common to all languages, but there is something especially characteristic in the Capriote affirmative, "Niursi," which combines respect and decision in one of the contractions dear to all Italians. 'Si, Signore,' sounds soft and yielding, but a woman who says "Niursi," is likely to know her mind and keep by her determination.

A Sanskrit English Dictionary, based upon the *St Petersburg Lexicons*, by CARL CAPPELLER, Professor at the University of Jena. London: Luzac & Co. Great Russell Street, W. C. Strassburg: K. T. Trubner. 1891.

WE have to thank Messrs Luzac & Co., of Great Russell Street, London, for a well got-up Sanskrit-English Dictionary, based on the *St Petersburg Lexicons*.

Professor Carl Cappeller of the Jena University is responsible for the literary part of the undertaking, which is an amplified rendering in plain Anglo-Saxon of the Professor's German edition, specially designed for students —

As to the texts for which this work was designed to serve as a special glossary, I had originally only in view those of the second edition of Böhtlingk's *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*, the hymns translated by Geldner and Kiegi, those edited by Windisch, the *Brahma* pieces translated by WEBER in Vol. I of the *Indische Streifen*.

Nala, and the plays of Kālidāsa. To render my book more useful to the English student of Sanskrit, I have now added to the texts just mentioned the Marut hymns translated by F. MAX MULLER, the Kathopanishad, Manu Bhagavadgītā, Hitopadeśa, Meghidūta, Mrcchakatikā, and Mālatīmādhava. I have abstained from taking in more words from Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts, as these will always be least and last of all studied by beginners, thinking it better to enlarge, as much as possible the Postvedic or classical vocabulary. From the latter literature, therefore, a great many words that have not been received into the Petersburg Dictionaries (*eg*, those translated from Piākṛt and many compounds) are to be found in my book, which, I believe, will furnish the reader sufficient help to understand also easier texts not particularly held in view by the author, *eg*, the most beautiful episodes of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, the epics of Kālidāsa, the other two plays of Bhavabhūti, and in general such works as are most appreciated and studied by every friend of Sanskrit literature. For while enlarging the number of compounds, I made it no less a rule to incorporate into this Dictionary *all primary words of well settled meaning*, and so in all essentials to preserve its double character, to be not only a handbook for the beginner in Sanskrit, who wants to have as many words as possible explained to him, but also to serve the purposes of the linguistic student, whose interest is limited to the *old* stock of words and their relations to other languages.

The Dictionary is dedicated to Professor Whitney, "the chief interpreter of the Eastern to the Western Aryan," whereby, once more it is made manifest that a Prophet hath no honour in his own country.

Max Muller is, however, so full crowned with honours that he can afford to make room on his pedestal for a confrère.

Natural Religion in India. The Rede Lecture delivered in the Senate house on June 17th 1891. By SIR ALFRED LYALL, KCB, KCIE. Cambridge University Press. London. C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane. 1891.

A COPY of Sir Alfred Lyall's Rede Lecture reaches us on the eve of going to press with this issue of the *Calcutta Review*, and it is thus beyond our power to notice it adequately.

We can only say that, like all the fruiting of Sir Alfred's restful aftermath, it shows thorough grasp of the essentials, of his subjects widely catholic faculty for sympathy, and a power of pithy condensation and versatile preparedness with apt illustrations drawn from life—all which contributories to the lecture's interest are admirably utilized and to be admired. Whoso has not yet read and thought over the propositions and arguments set out in these 64 pages of big, clear type, will do well to procure forthwith a copy of *Natural Religion in India*, and to study it. To men living in the Mofussil, among unsophisticated peoples, it may haply prove a fresh stimulant to the pleasurable pursuit of folklore, ethnic congruities and emergencies, hitherto undiscovered heredities, the blendings of

old faiths with new ones—to these and similarly agreeable pastimes for dreary hot weather days, and the solitary watches of uncompanionable cold weather nights. Sir Alfred Lyall says.—

My point is that Hinduism can be seen growing, that one can discern the earliest notions, rude and vague, among the primitive jungle tribes; that one can see the same ideas and practices upon a higher level, in more distinct and reasonable shape, among the settled classes, and that one can follow them upwards until they merge into allegory, mysticism, or abstract philosophical conceptions. I think that it is possible to trace in India, less obscurely than elsewhere, the development of natural into supernatural beliefs. I do not pretend that India contains any very rare or unusual kinds of ritual or worship, for nothing is more remarkable than the persistent similarity of such ideas and practices among primitive folk. What makes India so valuable as a field of observation, is that the various forms and species lie close together in one country at the same time, so that their differences and affinities can be compared
